

Paper : Principles of Political Science

Unit 5 : Political Ideologies

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Faculty : Dr.P.Kanagaraj PhD.

Mobile Number : 9443935919

1) Liberalism

-Liberalism is the most important ideology of modern political theory. It emerged in the seventeenth century and continues to be the most widely followed ideology of the contemporary world.

-A number of influential ideas and forces of modern life like Limited State, Individual Autonomy, Globalization, Liberalization and Privatisation have sprouted from the soil of liberalism.

-The etymology of the word liberalism is from Liber that means liberty.

-The supporters of the Spanish Constitution in nineteenth century made the word popular by calling themselves as liberals.

-Liberalism chronologically had experienced **three major phases**.

-In its initial phase from the time of inception till the decade of the 1930 it was called as **Negative Liberalism**.

-The second phase termed as **Positive Liberalism** emerged after the Great Economic Depression and lasted up to 1970s.

-The third phase of Liberalism known as **Libertarianism** is what is being followed by major countries of the world for the last four decades.

A) Negative Liberalism

-The earliest form of liberalism, Negative Liberalism is also known by many names like *Laissez Faire* Liberalism and Classical Liberalism. John Locke in his books "Two Treatises of Civil Government" propounded the basic political principles of Negative Liberalism that came to be implemented vigorously in the United States of America.

-Thomas Paine, Montesquieu, Jeremy Bentham are the other important proponents of Negative Liberalism. Economically Adam Smith advocated Negative Liberalism in his book "An inquiry into the Nature and Causes of Wealth of Nations".

Essence of Negative Liberalism

-The ideology of Negative Liberalism considers man as a rational, capable and masterless individual. All human beings are equal and free. Everyone knows their interests and is endowed with the capacity to satisfy their interests. Society is a mere aggregate of freely existing individuals. There is no necessity for state and society to interfere or regulate the life of individuals.

-The state is a **necessary evil**. It is necessary for the protection of law and order without which individuals can not realize their interests. But nevertheless state is an evil as even its mere existence itself endangers the rights and liberties of the individuals.

-The state is a negative state as it is prohibited from carrying out developmental activities. The state is called as **Laissez Faire State**. *Laissez Faire* has its origin in the French language meaning Leave Alone. The state must leave the individuals alone to pursue their activities. **Maintenance of law and order and enforcement of legally made contracts** are the only functions assigned to the state by Negative Liberalism.

-Economically Negative Liberalism supports free market economy based on demand and supply. It prohibits the state from interfering with the economic activities. **The state under negative liberalism is akin to a cricket umpire in its powers and functions**. The umpire does not play the game but watches whether the players are playing the game in accordance with the laws of the game. Similarly

the state should not interfere in the economy as market alone determines its activities.

-Negative Liberalism believes in the **concept of natural rights**. When mother nature created man it endowed him with basic rights that are called Natural Rights. The state should not erode or undermine these natural rights. The Rights to Life, Liberty and Property are very indispensable for human existence and development and therefore the state should never abolish or erode them.

- The Right to Property is very special to the proponents of Negative Liberalism. It is an unlimited right as all individuals can acquire, enjoy and dispose of property without interference from the state.

B) Positive Liberalism

-Negative liberalism metamorphosed into Positive liberalism in the twentieth century.

-Even though Negative Liberalism contributed to the generation of unprecedented wealth in the western countries it had also inflicted enormous pain on common people.

-**Glaring inequalities among people, appearance of slums in the cities and exploitation of the workers exposed the deficiencies of Negative Liberalism.** Humanist thinkers like Ruskin protested against misery of the people.

-In this backdrop Negative Liberalism changed into Positive Liberalism because of two important factors i.e. **Democracy and Marxism**.

-Nineteenth century witnessed the gradual **spread of democracy** whereby the common people came to be provided with voting rights. They demanded fundamental changes in polity.

-The second factor is the **advent and rise of Marxism** that appealed to the workers to overthrow the exploitative inequality laden Negative Liberalism. Subsequently,

under pressure from democracy and Marxism, Negative Liberalism changed into Positive Liberalism

-The liberal world experienced a devastating **Great Economic Depression from 1928** affecting economies of numerous countries including United States of America. The newly elected American President Franklin Roosevelt implemented the New Deal Program for uplifting American economy from the quagmire of depression.

- **J.M.Keyne**, the Economic Advisor to American President played a crucial role in the formulation of the New Deal program signifying the advent of Positive Liberalism.

-A number of thinkers enriched the content of Positive Liberalism of which **T.H.Green, Harold Laski, L.T.Hodhouse** are very important.

- Positive Liberalism brought out the **new concept of Social Welfare State**. This concept projects the state as a positive instrument for the promotion of social welfare. The role of the state is to provide social services to the people.

-It should construct and maintain hospitals, educational institutions, factories and industries, infrastructural facilities like roads, railway tracks and ports. The state is also came to be known as **Social Democratic State**, a nomenclature that explains the significance of democracy in the constitution of a positive State.

-The rights of the people can be modified so that welfare of the society can be promoted. Positive liberalism supports a close relationship between rights and duties and argues for Social Welfare theory of Rights.

- Similarly freedom is positive in content. While Negative Liberalism expounded freedom from the state Positive Liberalism recommends freedom through the state.

-Freedom does not mean being free from the interference of the state but adhering to the social welfare activities of the state. **Freedom through the State and Not from the State is their theme.**

-The **economy must be regulated** by the state so that alternate, painful appearance of Economic Booms and Depressions can be averted. Progressive taxation can be adopted by the state to generate resources required for its social welfare activities.

-Similarly the state has power and authority to adhere to economic strategies like bank nationalization, minimum wages and reservation of industries as public sector to bring in the upliftment of all sections of society.

-Positive Liberalism was followed in the western democracies for many decades from 1930s.

-But gradually philosophers and political leaders began to question the utility of a Social Welfare State propagated by Positive Liberalism.

-They argued that state interference in society and economy had precipitated a plethora of problems like industrial sickness, economic inefficiency, lessened productivity, corruption, erosion of liberties of people and economic stagnation therefore should be curtailed.

C) **Libertarianism**

-The third phase in the history of liberalism is called as **contemporary Liberalism or Libertarianism**.

-It emerged in the western world after the end of positive liberalism and gradually spread to most parts of the political universe.

-The President of the United States **Ronald Reagan** implemented libertarian ideology in his country from 1980 to 1988.

- The first woman Prime Minister of the United Kingdom **Margaret Thatcher** was the political architect of libertarianism.

-The last president of Soviet Union Michel Gorbachev introduced the two path breaking reforms of *Perestrioka* (Restructuring) and *Glasnost* (openness) that pushed the Soviet India into the direction of libertarianism .

-A number of political scientists have advocated libertarianism. F.A.Hayek, M.Oakeshott, Karl Popper, Milton Friedman, Nozick and Nock are important among the supporters of libertarianism.

-Libertarianism is a reinvention and reapplication of Classical Liberalism in the second half of twentieth century and in the first half of twenty first century. It believes in the worth and importance of individuals.

- It firmly advocates that individual freedom is indispensable for the life of man. It staunchly supports the concept of 'Personal Autonomy' whereby every human being is provided with complete freedom of choice to make decisions in their life as they want. It restricts the domain of the state to maintenance of law and order.

-Nozick famously coined the slogan "Minimal State is inspiring as well as right". He criticized any more functions of the state as unjustified and unwarranted. Another proponent of libertarianism Oakeshott commented that the "Government merely pursues peace".

The libertarians argue that the increase in the functions of the state in the name of development and social welfare leads inevitably to emergence of collectivism and resultant concentration of power in the hands of the state leading to the destruction of personal liberties of man. Karl Popper wrote the book "Open Society and its Enemies" condemning positive state and advocating minimal state and the unregulated competitive society.

2) Marxism (Communism)

- Marxism, an important variant of communism was brought out by Karl Marx
- He authored numerous books like Das Capital, The Communist Manifesto, Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844
- Marx distinguished his thoughts from earlier strands of socialism by naming his thoughts as Scientific Socialism and predecessors as Utopian Socialism
- He provided a revolutionary ideology as he proclaimed "*The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways. The point, however, is to change it.*"

Historical Materialism

- Marx provides an economic interpretation of human history and predicts a future of communism in his Historical Materialism
- Man is basically an economic animal or being. Economy constitutes the base and everything else like society, philosophy, religion constitute the super structure. Economy decides our life
- He divides the history of mankind into four stages in his Historical Periodization
 1. Primitive Communism
 2. Ancient Slave Society
 3. Feudalism
 4. Capitalism

1) Primitive Communism

- First social life stage in human history. Man in association with other men practices hunting and food gathering. There was common ownership of production, distribution and consumption. Men went for hunting and women gathered fruits and leaves from the commonly owned forest and other natural resources. The technology of production is primitive and

ownership is common and therefore this stage is called Primitive Communism

2) Ancient Slave Society

- The second stage of human history is ancient slave society. Marx makes a fundamental assertion that man is always technologically progressive. Therefore hunting technology is gradually replaced by small scale agriculture. In this stage economy witnesses surplus production which is appropriated by some people. The people who appropriate surplus become rich class and the others become poor. Surplus appropriation leads to the emergence of private property and owners of property become masters and others become slaves

3) Feudalism

- The third stage of history is feudalism that is based on large scale agriculture. The feudal lords control all economic resources and a meager portion of production is provided to the peasants. Large scale land holdings is the bedrock of economy

4) Capitalism

- Karl Marx lived in this age and here capital became the main form of property. The capitalists own all the aspects of economy-production, distribution and consumption. They owned the industries and factories.

5) Dictatorship of Proletariat

-Karl Marx issues a clarion call to the workers to unite and conduct a struggle against capitalism and its exploitative structures. They should capture the state and use the political power to eliminate capitalists and to abolish private property

6) Communism

- Once the economic resources are brought under common production, common distribution and common consumption communist society will be established
- In communism there will be equality, humanism and technological development.
- There will not be classes, class struggle, state, private property

Critical evaluation

Liberalism, socialism, Communitarianism criticize the Historical Materialism of Karl Marx. Economy does not constitute the base of human life. All other factors like nationalism, language, religion also are important

Theory of Class and Class Struggle

Basis of Classes

- The widely quoted lines of The Communist Manifesto say "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles."
- Karl Marx considers class and class struggle as the key events of human life
- Marx identifies class on the basis of economic ownership and not on the basis of factors like birth, education, abilities
- There are usually two classes in any society. The class that owns the forces of production is called the property class or rich class and the other one not owning the resources of economy is called poor class or workers

Class Struggle

- The inter relationship between the two classes is characterized by antagonism, exploitation, suppression and struggle
- Classes arose only after and because of the emergence of private property
- The first stage of human history is the Primitive Communism where there was no property and therefore no inequality existed among people.
- Classes emerge only after the advent of the second stage called Ancient Slave System. As there is surplus production and resultant private property some

people appropriate the surplus and become property class or masters and others are called slaves

- While masters seek to exploit the slaves animosity and resistance arises and therefore class struggle begins to influence the dynamics between the two classes.
- The third stage of human history is the feudalism where the feudal lords own all landed resources and the peasants work in their land. Their relationship is characterized by tension and struggle
- The fourth stage of human life is the Capitalism where the capitalists are the property class and workers of industries and factories are the propertyless class. Marx appeals to the workers to unite and conduct a revolution for the capture of the state machinery
- The workers will establish Dictatorship of Proletariat after the success of their revolution. Here also class struggle will continue. But there are crucial differences. First time in human history the majority the workers will control and exercise power over the minority, the property class. The power will be used by workers to confiscate the private property of the rich class and to enforce common ownership of economic resources.

Communist Society of Classlessness

- Once private property is abolished communism will be automatically established. Here there will be no private property and therefore classes. A new communist society of classlessness will be established where equality and humanism will replace inequality and suppression. Class struggle will be replaced with harmony among people.

Critical Evaluation

- Class Struggle concept was and is vehemently criticized by many ideologies and philosophers. Indian tradition of Ahimsa, No-Violence advocated by Budha, Mahavir, Asoka and Mahatma Gandhi rejects the struggle and violence as means of change. Libertarianism and Positive Liberalism arose as the primary ideological opponents of class struggle theory. Many argue that class harmony and cooperation is more desirable and productive than class struggle

3) Socialism

-Socialism is an ideology that supports public ownership of property and natural resources.

- It is fundamentally opposed to Liberalism that believes in the private ownership of property.

-There are many varieties of socialism like **Democratic socialism, Evolutionary Socialism, Fabian Socialism, Guild Socialism etc.** The terms

-Socialism and Communism are at times interchangeably used. But Karl Marx introduced a distinction by describing his ideology as “**Scientific Socialism**” and other prevailing varieties of socialism as “**Utopian Socialism**”.

1. Utopian Socialism

- Many thinkers in nineteenth century had questioned the negative consequences of Liberalism. They strove to protect the interests of the working class.

-**Robert Owen** was a successful industrialist and philanthropist. He started the cooperative movement and experimental socialist communities in England to realize betterment in the conditions of the workers.

-He associated the workers in the management of his industries and showed that profits can be increased by the joint endeavor between workers and employers.

-He appealed to the reason of the fellow capitalists to take into account the welfare of the working classes.

-**Saint Simon**, a French industrialist and thinker argued that the welfare of the working class must also be taken into consideration for realizing an **efficient economy and effective society**.

-**Charles Fourier**, another French thinker suggested the socialist reconstruction of the society by forming association of producers termed as *phalanges*.

- Both Saint Simon and Charles Fourier appealed to the conscience of the capitalists to improve the miserable state of the tiling workers.

-These three notable theorists advocated ideas in favour of the workers in 19th century. **Karl Marx** described their thoughts as **Utopian Socialism** as they provided only a superficial understanding of capitalism and their alternative schemes are wishful and utopian in nature.

-He claimed that, in contrast his communism is based on scientific understanding of capitalism meriting the name of **Scientific Socialism**

2. Democratic Socialism

-Democratic Socialism as the nomenclature indicates combines the two systems of socialism and democracy to provide a unique political and economic system to promote equality and freedom.

-It differs from Marxism in its conception of state. It believes that the state is not an instrument of exploitation of workers by the capitalists. Rather the state is an instrument of social welfare.

-The state must be made democratic. All classes in society own the state. Socialism can be established only through the state. It will not and should not wither away as Marxism predicted.

-Democratic Socialism argues that socialism can be established through **evolutionary and peaceful means**. It's methodology of change characterized as **gradualism or ballot box socialism**.

-It dismisses revolutionary, violent struggle as unnecessary. Democratic Socialism argues for harmonious relationship among classes and class differences must be solved through peaceful methods.

-The right to property need not be abolished. Rather for the sake of social welfare the right to property must be limited.

-There are crucial differences between Marxism and Democratic Socialism. Many basic concepts of Marxism are either modified or rejected by Democratic Socialism.

-Nevertheless both of them have certain similar goals like ending the exploitation of workers and promoting equality among people.

Differences Between Communism and Socialism

Communism

- 1. Revolution is the mid wife of change. Only through revolution changes be implemented
- 2. the state is an instrument of exploitation of the property- less classes by the property class and therefore it should be abolished
- 3. Class struggle is the fundamental force of human societies in history. The workers should conduct their struggle against the capitalists to bring in proletariat revolution
- 4. The right to private property must be abolished as it causes exploitation and inequality
- 5. History of humankind can be explained by Historical Materialism. Economy alone drives human history

Socialism

- 1. Evolutionary and peaceful changes are more enduring, plausible and beneficial
- 2. State should not be abolished. It should be made more democratic decentralized and social welfare oriented.
- 3. Violent class struggle is unnecessary
- 4. Violent, Class struggle is unnecessary. The right to private property should be modified and limitations must be imposed for general welfare
- 5. Historical Materialism is not adequate to explain human history. Apart from economy other factors like culture, politics, religion etc are also important to explain human history

3. Fabian Socialism

-Fabian Socialism was the British version of Socialism propagated by the Fabian Society from 1884.

-They chose the nomenclature Fabianism inspired by the **great Roman General Fabius** who was historically very famous for adopting the **military strategy of “wait and hit hard at the right moment”**.

-Sidney Webb and Sidney Oliver H.G Wells brought out the ideology of Fabianism. The famous English playwright George Barnard Shaw was one of the greatest proponents of Fabianism.

-As an ideology Fabianists attacked capitalism as an exploitative system and advocated a thorough reorganization of economy and politics of their contemporary period.

- It expressed its resolute support for democratic state. There are two important attributes of the Fabian State. Firstly it should be based on decentralization of power.

-Secondly it should be led by experts. Fabianism rejected Marxist call for the abolition of the state. It wanted the state to exist on the foundations of decentralized power and expert leadership to promote social welfare.

-Fabianism believed that **socialism and democracy are complementary and supplementary** to each other. They are to be appreciated as noble ideals of equality and justice as very dear to them.

-The Fabians did not advocate the abolition of private property. On the contrary they supported existence of limited right to property governed by the principle of social welfare.

-Fabianism as an evolutionary socialism rejected communist revolutionary methods of change.

-It staunchly supported peaceful methods of change in society. The Fabian ideologues depended on persuasion tactics to realize socialism.

4. Evolutionary Socialism

-Evolutionary Socialism was initially advocated by **Lassalle**, one of the earliest leaders of the **German Social Democracy** tradition.

-The ideals of Evolutionary Socialism were formally expounded in the **Gothe Program** in 1875, an important document in the evolution of socialism in Germany and Europe.

-Later on **Eduard Bernstein** wrote the book “**Evolutionary Socialism**” that attracted the many supporters like Jaures in France, Anseele in Italy, Bauer in Austria.

-It argues for an evolutionary change in capitalism. It believes that along with economic factors non-economic factors are also important to explain human life. Democratic Socialism and Evolutionary Socialism are innately interrelated. Marxism attacked Evolutionary Socialism as “**revisionism**”, “**Broker’s view of socialism**”

5. Guild Socialism

-It is a kind of evolutionary socialism that emerged in Great Briton in the first two decades of twentieth century.

-The English political thinker and the founder of National Guilds League in England, **D.H.Cole** was the leading advocate of this brand of socialism.

-He wrote the book “ **Guild Socialism A Plan for Economic Recovery**” to propagate the tenets of guild Socialism.

-Guild Socialism criticized the exploitation of workers by the capitalists in the western world and arose essentially as a protest ideology against capitalism

-The word **Guild** refers to the association of craftsmen and artisans of a particular profession in the medieval period in Europe. It acted as a

source of mutual support, as a medium to pass on the professional knowledge to new entrants.

-Guild Socialism combines the medieval guild with modern socialism and envisages a political organization in which organized workers based associations will discharge most of the political functions.

-This ideology believes that in any society there are numerous professions, trades and occupations and a member of one profession cannot represent the interests and welfare of members of another profession and therefore every profession must have its own organization.

- All such organizations must come together to form a governing council at the district, state and national levels to administer the system. A national level confederation of Guilds will govern the country.

-Guild Socialism does not call for the destruction of state. It endows the state with certain common functions like providing education and health services to the people.

- Guild socialism firmly supported the principle of gradualism to bring about change in the existing capitalist system.

-It abhorred the revolutionary methods of struggle associated with Marxism. All changes in society should be brought through peaceful and democratic means was a cardinal principle of Guild Socialism.

-Though Guild Socialism was laudable in its commitment to the welfare of workers it was criticized as an **impractical alternative**.

-Its attempt to reduce the state to the position of an ordinary Guild was not accepted by many political theorists who asserted that the weakened state of Guild Socialism cannot maintain law and order and protect its people from invasions and insurrections

4) Utilitarianism

- It is an ideology that arose in England about a hundred fifty years ago
- Jeremy Bentham and J.S.Mill are proponents of Utilitarianism

Bentham

- -Utilitarianism does not mean usefulness. It is an ideology of Pleasure and Pain
- -Bentham's utilitarianism is described as **quantitative Hedonism**
- - Bentham advocate that mankind always wants to live in the **Kingdom of Pleasure and to avoid the Kingdom of Pain**
- - Pleasures are measurable. They differ only in terms of quantity and not quality
- - There are no moral differences among pleasures only numerical differences
- - A pleasure can be called a greater one or lessor one in terms of quantity.
- - A pleasure can never be called a better pleasure or worse pleasure in terms of morality
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- Bentham provided **Felicific Calculus** to measure pleasures.
- 1. Intensity: How strong is the pleasure?
- 2. Duration: How long will the pleasure last?
- 3. Certainty or uncertainty: How likely or unlikely is it that the pleasure will occur?
- 4. Propinquity or remoteness: How soon will the pleasure occur?

- 5. Fecundity: The probability that the action will be followed by sensations of the same kind.
- 6. Purity: The probability that it will not be followed by sensations of the opposite kind.
- 7. Extent: How many people will be affected?
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- Bentham elucidated a phrase **“Greatest Happiness of the Greatest Numbers”** as the guiding principle and objective of the government. The state should not aim for the pleasure of the majority or minority or the oligarchy but the Greatest Numbers.

J.S.Mill

=is the political successor to Jeremy Bentham in Utilitarianism

- He authored books **“On Liberty”**, **“Considerations on Representative Government”**
- He introduced significant modifications in the Utilitarianism of Bentham
- **Pleasures differ not only in quantity but also in quality.** He rejects the quantitative hedonism of Bentham. A person who enjoys two different pleasures will say which one is morally superior. If he does not say it means that he has not experienced the greatness of the morally superior pleasure.
- **Mill rejects Benthamite Felicific Calculus** on the grounds that pleasures are not quantitative but qualitative
- Being a human being even if dissatisfied is better than being a pig even if satisfied
- As he advocates that pleasures differ in quality the objective of human life is not the satisfaction of any pleasure but only the higher pleasure. The objective of the state and man is the **moral development** and not any development.

5) Nazism

-Adolf Hitler was the architect of the totalitarian ideology of Nazism that ruled Germany in the inter war period.

- Hitler formed the Nazi Party (**officially National Socialist German Workers' Party**) on the basis of a radical 25-point program in 1920 that included nationalization of all major industries, forfeiture of war profits and freedom from the thralldom of money lenders.

-Adolf Hitler was a wily demagogue and attracted all sections of German society by promising everything to everybody.

-He promised “food to every belly, cloth to everybody, work to every hand and house to every family”.

-He arrived at the citadels of power without shedding blood by manipulating the parliamentary and constitutional processes in 1933.

Cause of Emergence

-The major cause of emergence of Hitler and Nazism can be located in the patently controversial Versailles Treaty of 1919 that was signed in Paris in the post war settlement process.

-Hitler resorted to heighten the emotions of the ordinary German people by condemning the economic, military, and political humiliation of the German nation by the victorious Allied Powers.

-He authored the book “**Mein Kampf**” meaning My Struggle containing his views and ideas about German nation.

Core Features

-Nazism believed in totalitarianism. It adhered to the historical slogan of the German philosopher Friedrich Hegel that “**the State is the march of God on earth**”. Complete obedience was demanded from the citizens.

-Nazism resorted to systematic glorification of war. Hitler said that “**War is eternal, war is universal. War is life. War is the origin of all things**”. This war mongering precipitated the Second World War and inflicted tremendous misery on mankind.

-Perhaps the one of the most controversial principles of Nazism is **its racial superiority and purity myth**. Hitler considered the Aryan Race as the most intelligent and superlative one calling it the master race of mankind. He detested other races living among or in the vicinity of German nation especially Jews and

Slav Races. A set of laws known as **Nuemberg Laws** were enacted in 1934 to preserve the racial purity of the Aryan race. Marital relations between Aryans and other impure races like Jews, Gypsies were banned. The Aryan race was glorified as culture creating race, the slaves were described as culture bearing race and the Jews were portrayed as culture destroying race.

-Nazism implemented a brutal campaign of persecution against the Jews that resulted in the killing of millions of people which is now observed as the **Holocaust**. Nazism suppressed Jews holding them responsible for the misery of German people. The disproportionately higher representation of Jews in the wealthy classes and their lower percentage presence in lower sections of society invited the wrath of the Nazi state. They were subjected to inhuman conditions in places of detention known as **Concentration Camps**.

-Nazism was **aggressively expansionist**. Germany wanted to capture colonies so that the surplus population can be exported and it could overtake England as the colonial giant of the world.

-Nazism rejected out rightly the prevailing political ideologies and systems like communism of Soviet Union, liberal democracy of the United States of America and internationalism of League of Nations.

-Nazism believed in hero worship. The idea that “Germany is Hitler and Hitler is Germany” was instilled deeply in the minds of the people. The concept of equality of human beings was out rightly rejected and Adolf Hitler was respectfully addressed as the **Fuehrer** (leader). In fact Germany itself was called as **Fuehrer-State meaning the “Leader-State”**

-Nazism intensely followed **irrationalism** and was vehemently against reason. Adhering to the philosophy of irrationalism it appealed to the emotions, sentiments and passions of the German people.

-Nazism recognized only single party rule. All other political parties were banned and suppressed. The party resorted to intensive mobilization of the people. Organizationally it was based on strict hierarchy principles with Hitler concentrating all power at the top.

-Succinctly to state, Nazism is criticized for being totalitarian, irrational, racist and inhuman ideology.

- The defeat of Germany in the Second World War and the suicide of Adolf Hitler extinguished the Nazi party and ideology.

-The emergence of the liberal democratic political system in Germany based on competitive party system has denied scope for the revival of Nazism

6) Fascism

-Benito Mussolini founded a totalitarian party, movement and ideology in the inter war period and ruled Italy for more than two decades.

-Fascism in Italian language has its origin in the word *Fasci* meaning the **bundle of rods bound with a red cord round an axe helve**.

-In Italian tradition this symbol is very powerful as it was borne by the magisterial attendants before the Roman consuls as symbol of political power.

- The bundle of rods signify unity and strength and Benito Mussolini consciously chose the nomenclature to arouse the emotions of the cadre

-The most important factor for the emergence of Fascism can be attributed to the **socio economic problems of Italy** in the post war period.

-Though it was on the side of the successful Allied Powers in the First World War there was a huge popular disappointment that it did not receive any commensurate benefits from the post war settlement. The country suffered from numerous socio economic problems like unemployment, inflation, stagnation and instability in industrial sector.

-All sections of Italy like workers, farmers, middle class and even rich classes faced war related miseries.

-Benito Mussolini, being a dangerous demagogue capitalized on this widespread discontent and conducted a 'March on Rome' in 1922. The political authorities in the face of fascist intimidation capitulated and Mussolini and National Fascist Party captured power without any violence.

Basic Characteristics

-Fascism preached and practiced **aggressive nationalism**.

- Fascism proclaimed that Italy is the greatest nation in the world and created hatred against other nations and people.

- Fascism pursued imperialism both in theory and practice. Its expansionist drive reignited colonial rivalries in Africa precipitating the Second World War.

-A Fascist writer **Giovanni Gentile wrote the book "Doctrine of Fascism"**.

-He said that "The Fascist state is a will to power and empire. The Roman tradition is here a powerful force. According to the Doctrine of Fascism, empire is not only territorial or military or mercantile concept, but a spiritual and moral one. One can think of an empire, that is, a nation, which directly or indirectly guides other nations, without the need to conquer a single square kilometre of territory".

-Mussolini believed that the Fascist State is the "Third Rome", a worthy successor to the First Ancient Roman Empire and second the Renaissance Rome that disseminated the seeds of renaissance throughout Europe.

-Fascism extolled the virtues of war. Mussolini infamously stated "**War is to man what maternity is to woman**".

- It deprecated peace as a slogan of the weak and cowardly. Fascism sought to honour women as 'reproducers of the nation'.
- Fascism rejected the idea of a limited state. It enthusiastically followed the concept of totalitarianism.
- Mussolini exclaimed "Everything within the state, nothing outside the state, nothing against the state".
- The state was empowered to create a radically new society. It exercised a complete control over the minds and actions of its citizens.
- Fascists provided a positive outlook to the concept of totalitarian state contending that the powerful authoritarian state is vital for the metamorphosis of Italy into a mighty nation state and molding of its citizens into politically active brave people.
- Fascism considered communism as its mortal enemy and endeavored hard to suppress it. The great Marxist thinker of Italy Antonio Gramsci was jailed for twenty long years. The official prosecutor in that case ended his peroration infamously demanding the judge "we should stop this brain working for twenty years".
- Fascism banned political parties, movements and writings supporting communism. Ideologically it repudiated the Marxist concepts of State, Society, Class, and Revolution. As against the class ridden society of communism Fascism supported the organic unity of the state.

The notable fact of the Fascist State is its nature as a Corporate State.

- Every profession, trade or occupation possessed its own corporate organization. The national objectives of the state were given primacy over everything.
- The Corporate state was promoted to remove any conflict between employers and employees. Mussolini firmly believed that the disputes between the business classes and labour should and could be removed through the system of corporate bodies.

-The workers were sternly told that strikes were illegal. They came to be affected greatly as wages were fixed very low by the Fascist state and party. The corporate organizations suffered from corruption and inefficiency.

-The Corporate State was the bedrock of Fascist economy but trampled upon the rights of the workers.

Criticism

-Fascism was the most powerful totalitarian state that mankind had the misfortune of being ruled. It was entirely undemocratic.

- Fascism was attacked as an opportunistic, intellectually dishonest ideology as it changed frequently its core ideological principles and postures.

-Though Fascism and Nazism had been cruel collaborators in inflicting massive death and destruction on humankind in the Second World War, Fascism as an ideology was more coherent and therefore continues to be used as a term even in twenty first century to assail dictators and totalitarian states.

7. Gandhism

-The ideology of Mahatma Gandhi occupies an important position in the landscape of political ideologies

1. Nature and Environment

- Gandhiji advocated a developmental model that is in harmony with nature. He believed in naturalization of human beings and humanization of nature

2. Ramrajya

- Gandhiji expounded Ramrajya as the ideal rule and governance. Spiritualization of politics and not politicization of religion is needed

3. Gramrajya

- For Mahatma Gandhi India is a land of villages. He articulated Panchayat Raj system in villages. Political decentralization through the traditional Panchayat raj system will promote India's development

4. Cottage Industries

-Gandhiji believed in the development of cottage industries to lift India out of poverty

-Each village must become self- sufficient and reliant economically

5. Ahimsa

Gandhiji firmly believed in the ideology of Ahimsa. His entire life is an epitome of Ahimsa

6. Satyagraha

- Truth and the struggle for truth is the paramount feature of Gandhian ideology

7. Means

Gandhiji emphasizes that means justify ends. Our goals must be noble and more importantly the means that we adopt must also be pure

8. Feminism

-Feminism refers to the movements and ideologies that strive to promote empowerment of women so that they achieve equality with men domains.

- Feminist schools of thought emerged on the horizon of Modern Political Theory from the last decades of the nineteenth century. It was propelled by scientific realization about the innate capability and equality of women with men.

- There are different feminist schools of thought that can be broadly categorized as

1. Liberal Feminism
2. Radical Feminism
3. Marxian Feminism
4. Post-Colonial Feminism
5. Eco-Feminism

1. Liberal Feminism

-The feminist movement in infant stage in late nineteenth century advocated equal political rights for women.

-It believed that the subordination of women in society could be rectified with electoral enfranchisement of women and endowment of other political and economic rights. The state was considered to be a gender neutral institution.

-Therefore granting of voting rights to women will culminate in the fruition of women development. The greatest feat of liberal feminism lies in winning voting rights to women in the democratic western countries.

2. Marxist Feminism

-It placed gender inequality and exploitation in the origin of private property from the second stage of human history called Ancient Slave Society.

- Friedrich Engels, a close associate of Karl Marx wrote the book “The Origins of The Family, Private Property and the State”.

-He argued that subordination of women emerged with the rise of private property as men controlled the property and used it to establish their domination over women.

- The struggle for women liberation should take place simultaneously with the struggle for liberation of the working class.

Marxist revolution will lead to the destruction of capitalism and the establishment of communism where there will be no private property. There will be equality among not only men but also between men and women

3. Radical Feminism

-There are no innate differences between men and women and women came to be subjugated deliberately for the purpose of exploitation is the crux of Radical Feminism.

-Simone de Beauvoir, the famous radical feminist and author of the work “The Second Sex” powerfully asserted that “A woman is not born but made”.

-Both woman and man are endowed with same capacities when they are born. Male dominated society and culture known as patriarchy creates through indoctrination the inequality between them.

-The differences in gender are created artificially and unjustly. We can understand this assertion when we note the enormous differences in the status and position accorded to women among the cultures of the world.

-Carole Hanisch, the famous Radical Feminist brought out the most important slogan of Radical Feminism **“Personal is Political”** to reveal patriarchal domination over women.

-The liberal politics divides the activities of humankind into personal and public domains. The personal domain is considered to be a sphere of personal life where family operates.

- It is believed that there is no scope for conflict and domination in this sphere and only love, affection and empathy are relevant. Women live in the personal sphere and therefore there is no necessity to allow them political rights, power and authority.

-But the public domain is a sphere of struggle, competition and therefore politics. This domain is dominated exclusively by men. Therefore men alone participate in politics and possess political power.

-Radical Feminism repudiates the above liberal exposition and asserts that private and personal domain is also subject to politics.

- The relationship between man and women in personal domain is not always characterized by the considerations of love and affection.

- Even here struggle, competition and domination operate. For example the relations between husband and wife and a brother and sister are not always friendly and affectionate.

- Struggle and competition can also be found in them. Therefore we should speak about politics, women rights, gender equality in personal domain too. Radical Feminism argues for a revolutionary reordering of the society and politics to implant gender equality in personal and public domains.

4. Eco Feminism

-Eco Feminism provides a feminist interpretation of nature. The two ideologies of Feminism and Environmentalism are fused in Eco Feminism.

- It argues that patriarchy is the root cause of environmental degradation and women exploitation. **The important architects of Eco Feminism are Françoise D'Eaubonne, Rosemary Ruether, Ynestra King and Vandana Shiva.**

-There are two schools of thought in Eco Feminism. They are Radical Feminism and Cultural Feminism. **Radical Feminism** asserts that patriarchy or male dominated system subjugates and degrades both environment and women.

-Male domination of society must be eliminated to realize the twin objectives of environmental preservation and women empowerment.

-The other school, **Cultural Feminism** argues that women are closer to nature as both are food providers and play indispensable role in biological reproduction.

-The environmental degeneration affects women more than men. The division of work between the two genders leaves women more disadvantaged in the age of environmental crisis.

- They suffer more as in male dominant societies they are given the responsibilities directly linked with nature.

5. Post Colonial Feminism

Post Colonial Feminism arose as an ideology and movement in the 1980s in the countries of Asia and Africa that were formerly enslaved in colonialism.

- Audre Lorde contributed to the emergence of Post Colonial Feminism in one master piece essay “The Master’s Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master’s House”.

-Gyatri Spivak, Chandra Talpade Mohanty and Ethel Crowley are important Post Colonial Feminists.

- It revolts against the western feminist movements’ attempts at universalizing their experience. Women do not constitute a single and homogenous category as they are differentiated by a host of factors like class, race, religion and country.

-The mainstream feminism suffers from several deficiencies when applied to non-western societies

-The Post Colonial Feminism criticizes the negative impact of western colonialism on the social economic and political universe of women in Asia and Africa, a reality that was ignored and never experienced by the mainstream feminist thought.

- They had experienced racism, slavery, forced migration and numerous other evils that make them very different from the Western women.

-It also condemns the projection of the western women who are educated, politically conscious, modern and empowered and non western women as passive, powerless victims.

- Post Colonial Feminism argues that women in these societies are **victims of double colonization represented by the exploitative forces of colonialism and patriarchy.**

-Post Colonial Feminism castigates the visible indifference of the mainstream post colonial political thought to the peculiar sufferings of the women in their societies and countries.

9) Post Modernism

-Post Modernism refers to a variety of ideas that criticize Modernity and emerge as its successor and rival. The major proponents of Post Modernism include Fredrick Nietzsche, Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida.

-Modernity has dominated the political theory in the last two hundred years. Rationality, universalism, reductionism are among the dominant principles of Modernity.

- Post Modernism challenges these principles and advocates alternatives. It emerged in the last three decades in Western political theory.

-Fredrick Nietzsche is called Father of Post Modernism. He famously said "God is dead". He argued that man should stop the search for the ultimate truth to explain human life. It is beyond our capacity.

-Modernity believes in universalism and reductionism. It explains all the phenomena through a single factor or one ultimate truth.

-For example Karl Marx asserted that human life depends entirely on economy and all problems can be solved by eliminating the right to private property.

-Similarly Fredrick Hegel, the German philosopher argued that the world is nothing but the embodiment of World Spirit.

-Post Modernism in contrast advocates that the world and our life is very complex and cannot be explained by a single factor.

-A host of factors like culture, language, religion, politics, and economy decide human life and this world.

- Post Modernism believes that truth is not singular but plural.

-There are multiple versions of truth. For example take any one leader or historical event.

-Different people will talk about the leader or the event differently. One person may call that leader a visionary. Another person may call him a demagogue. Another person may have a different perspective. All may be right in their own perspective and interpretation.

-The world is not constituted only by the two colors of black and white. There are more colors positioned in a continuum in between black and white.

-**Jacque Derrida** was a French Philosopher who advocated an innovative Post Modern concept called Deconstruction.

-He provides deconstruction as an approach to understand meanings and texts. There are multiple meanings in a text and as human language is not so developed it may not be possible for the author of a text to communicate all his thoughts and the receiver or reader of the text may understand the meanings differently.

-Multiple interpretations of a text exist and therefore Derrida suggests deconstructing the meanings of the text.

-Post Modernism opposes the universalism of Modernity. In contrast it supports Particularism. It argues that the parts are more important than the whole. For example modernity pays attention to universal theory of rights or welfare.

- Post Modernism focuses on the rights of particular social groups like women, tribals and the like, who are less privileged.

-Modernity devotes attention to systemic change but Post Modernism focuses on emancipating or changing the condition of specific social groups. Identity Politics is closely interlinked with Post Modernism.

-**Identity Politics** refers to the activities of specific social groups, usually the weak, vulnerable and under-privileged communities who organize themselves under the

banner of their own caste, race, and gender to resist domination of others groups over them.

-The members of these groups call themselves 'we' and oppose the activities of others, 'they'. Post Modernism and Identity Politics promote the empowerment of local, specific communities.

-Post Modernism itself has been criticized by many thinkers and scholars.

-In fact Alan Kirby, the British cultural critic has said that Post Modernism is dead as its cultural period is over and the world has entered **Digimodernism** or the **Era of Digital Modernism**.

10) Environmentalism

-The advent of modern science and technology driven development had devastated the planet's environment precipitating several ecological crises like Ozone Depletion, Climate Change, and Acid Rain.

- Environmentalism arose as a protest movement and ideology against the perilous destruction of the earth. We have only one habitable planet in the entire universe and there is no alternative home and therefore protecting the environment assumes paramount significance

Philosophical Debate between Deep Ecology and Shallow Ecology

-There exists a profound debate in philosophy about the relationship between man and ecology, development and environment. **Deep Ecology versus Shallow Ecology** controversy is the central point of discussion in the debate.

Deep Ecology

-The Norwegian ecological philosopher Arne Naess coined the term **Deep Ecology** in 1973. He was deeply influenced by Rachel Carson and Mahatma Gandhi.

- Deep ecology theory argues that the planet Earth is constituted by three **interlinked parts of the human beings, non-human biological forms and the inanimate objects** and forces.

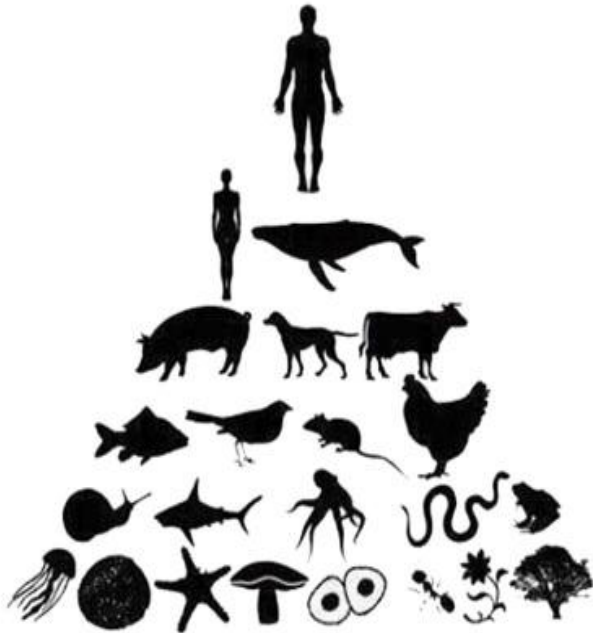
-The human beings are one among the millions of living organisms in this world. They do not possess any superiority over other organisms.

-**Anthropocentrism**, that is, the belief in the centrality and supremacy of human beings in this world must be discarded.

Wrong Perception

Right Perception

EGO



ECO



-The non human biological forms also possess intrinsic value, inherent worth and identity. It believes in **biocentric equality**.

-The human beings need to satisfy the vital needs by making careful use of this biodiversity. Preservation of biodiversity is indispensable. The interference of human beings on the domain of the non human sphere of the planet so far, is destructive, excessive and unacceptable.

-There is an urgent need to limit the population of the world as the current population explosion has injected enormous stress on the ecology.

-We should change our technology, philosophy, economy and politics so that ecological crises can be rectified and averted in the future.

- The human beings are 'ecological selves' the materialistic and consumerist life style must be changed and a new ecologically sensitive social and economic order must be created.

-We should reduce our 'ecological footprint' by adopting a meager resources based life style.

-As the nomenclature indicated deep ecology asks deeper questions of how and why examining philosophically the impact of human life as one part of the ecosphere on other components.

Shallow Ecology

-Shallow Ecology refers to an ideology that approaches ecology through an anthropocentric and utilitarian outlook.

-The American philosopher Anthony Weston is the greatest supporter of shallow ecology. It considers the human beings as fulcrum of life in this world. It accords the position of centrality and supremacy to man in ecology.

- It adopts an instrumental value of nature meaning that the ecology is important only as it useful to human welfare. The non human biological forms and inanimate world are nothing but natural resources for human life.

Anthropocentrism



-It looks for technological solutions for any environmental problem. If pollution imperils environment then alternative energy sources that are renewable and environment friendly should be developed.

-It believes in the strategy of three R, Reduce, Reuse and Recycle.

Political Theory and Ecology

The words environment and ecology are synonymous. Environmentalism in political theory can be classified into three kinds

- A) Modernist Ecology
- B) Social Ecology
- C) Deep Ecology

A) Modernist Ecology

The term 'Social Ecology' was coined by the American philosopher Murray Bookchin. It advocates radical changes in the existing social and political structures

to make them ecologically correct. There are three distinct trends in Modernist Ecology

1. Eco-socialism
2. Eco-anarchism
3. Eco-feminism

Eco-socialism

-Rudolph Bahro in his book 'From Red to Green' supported Eco-socialism. It considers capitalism as the enemy of ecology. By breeding materialism and consumerism capitalism has inflicted horrific destruction on the environment.

-The unlimited right to private property, the cardinal principle of capitalism endangers the precious health and wealth of the planet's ecology. The nature is seen only as a commodity to be traded in the market and consumed by the man.

-Eco-socialism propounds a new approach in politics that combines socialism and ecologism. Socialism alone can nurture environment. The state must be imparted with a socialist content and direction to end the evil of capitalism and to protect environment

Eco-anarchism

-Murray Bookchin advocated Eco-anarchism. It considers authority as the enemy of ecology. The emergence of authority in human history in the form of state, religion and even family had led to the domination of man over man.

-The same forces have produced the subjugation and domination of nature by man. Man is a voluntary animal and his original instinct is the cooperative instinct. In the ideal society, man establishes various associations based on voluntary cooperation to achieve development.

-But artificial forces of state, religion, private property have subverted the system and created structures of domination and subjugation. They have also wrecked havoc on ecology. Therefore we should create a new society based on voluntary instincts to protect man and ecology

Eco-feminism

- Carolyn Merchant in the book "The Death of Nature" propounded Eco-feminism. This perspective considers patriarchy as the enemy of ecology and feminism as its beloved friend.
- Patriarchy means domination of man over women. Eco-feminism argues that patriarchy created the domination of man over not only women but over nature also.
- Patriarchy follows instrumental reason whereby both women and ecology are seen merely in terms of use value, as objects to be exploited and not as subjects endowed with life and intrinsic worth.
- Eco-feminism demands gender and ecology sensitive politics so that a new world of justice and sustainability can be established.

B) Modernist Ecology

- Modernist ecology is synonymous with Shallow Ecology. It attempts to promote a new harmony between liberalism and ecology.
- The liberal tenets and approach should be reformed so that the menace of ecological destruction can be avoided.
- It advocates a new 'enlightened anthropocentrism' where man, being the centre of the planet must consider the long term interests of humanity and ecology in his developmental activities and should not be driven solely by short term interests.
- Modernist ecology believes in the concept of **Inter Generational Justice** and argues that we did not inherit the earth from our previous generations but borrowed it from the future generations of humanity and therefore there is a moral responsibility to protect and preserve the earth for their life in the future.

-The concept of 'Sustainable Development' is a basic characteristic of modernist ecology. It argues that 'getting richer faster' should not be the goal of human world rather 'getting richer slower' should be its guiding approach.

-The modernist ecology is not a homogenous ideology. On the contrary it is very heterogeneous.

-There are different perspectives and prescriptions. Certain followers have called for the establishment of a totalitarian 'Green State' to protect ecology.

-Another group of supporters have demanded 'Green Capitalism'.

- The majority of advocates and supporters of modernist ecology suggested the green tilted state intervention in market to protect ecology and satisfy human interests.