

Unit-1

Major Concepts

1. Justice

The concept of justice has been an important subject of political thought since ancient times. The Greek conception of justice was the virtue of the soul and action. To both Plato and Aristotle, justice meant goodness as well as willingness to obey laws. Western concept of justice was based on virtues. The Virtuous man was nucleus of this concept. To Plato, “justice was one of the highest of virtues”. In individual, those virtues were searched which persuaded him towards justice. It connoted correspondence of rights and duties. Justice to the Greeks was the spirit which animated men in the proper discharge of their duties. The promotion of balance and harmony in thought and action was pre-eminently social in character. Justice was the ideal of perfection in human relationships. In the Indian tradition, the importance is given on *Dharma* or the path of righteousness in the life of an individual. Both ideologies have emphasized the dutifulness of man. Justice means doing ones' own duty and not interfering in others' work. However, the definition of justice has changed in modern times. Different thinkers have defined it in their own ways. An early theory of justice was set out by the Ancient Greek philosopher and political thinker Plato in his work *The Republic*. Plato's definition of justice is that justice is the having and doing of what is one's own. A just man is a man in just the right place, doing his best and giving the precise equivalent of what he has received. Plato also regarded justice as the true principle of social life. Plato considered justice to be a virtue of a person's soul. Plato held that the soul is

in essence rational and immortal. According to Plato, justice is the virtue which motivates an individual to seek its good in good of others. Plato and every thinker till the date have considered justice an important moral and political concept. Justice is not only an essential personal moral attribute of an individual but it is also a desirable social and moral attribute of the society. Justice is an important factor that influences moral, political and social aspects of decision making. Medieval Christian thinkers Augustine and Aquinas have explained justice in their own style. Modern thinkers Hobbes, Hume, Karl Marx, Kant and Mill have also given justice an important place in their respective thoughts. Among the contemporary thinkers, John Rawls has discussed the concept of justice in a new perspective.

1.1 Plato's Concept of Justice-

According to Plato justice is the having and doing of what is one's own. A just man is a man in just the right place, doing his best and giving the precise equivalent of what he has received. Aristotle says that in justice is contained everything that is legal and just. Like Augustine, Plato also considers justice to be a cardinal. To Plato, “justice was one of the highest of virtues”. Justice is prerequisite for peace and harmony in the society. Justice is a principle of non-interference, which keeps within proper bounds the various classes of society, various individuals of each class and various elements in an individual's soul. It is a principle of functional specialization, which moves everyone to make a

specialized contribution to society. Specialization leads to efficiency. Justice is architectonic and keeps other virtues in harmonious relationship with each other. It permeates and integrates the other virtues of wisdom, courage and self-control and keeps them within proper bounds. As such, justice is the bond that holds the society together. To Plato, "Justice, like the ideal state, therefore, it demands division of society into three classes representing the elements of reason, spirit and appetite, one man, one work, on the basis of functional specialization, a state-regulated scheme of education, the rule of philosopher rulers and their emancipation from domestic and economic worries by a system of communism, and emancipation of women and their equality with men. Plato's concept of justice is based on the submergence of the individual in the society. It refers to the whole duty of man and not merely his legal duties".

Ebenstein, while making an assessment of Plato's justice says that "In the discussion of justice all elements of Plato's political philosophy are contained."

In book II, III and IV the Republic Plato tries to analyse justice in a very interesting manner. He first of all, attempts to distinguish individual justice from the social or political justice. He considers two forms of justice. One form is related to one's own self and the other form is concerned with the state or the society. Plato thought that in soul of every individual were found three elements of reason, spirit and appetite. On the analogy of the tripartite division of the soul, society is stratified into three classes, the rulers or the guardians, the soldiers and the producers or the auxiliaries. Each class having its own specific virtue: the rulers' wisdom, the soldiers' valour, and the producer or auxiliaries the self-restraint and willing obedience. Accordingly, he also gives an outline of what he regards as the Ideal state. It is a form of intellectual aristocracy. The state is the individual writ large. These three classes, working in proper correlation, will insure the maximum of well-being throughout the state. Every member of the community must be assigned to the class for which he proves himself best fitted. Thus, a perfect harmony and unity will characterize both the state and every person in it. Plato while

laying down the foundation of the state stresses upon the fact that one man should practice one thing only, the thing to which his nature was best adapted.

In his theory of Ethics, Plato held that the soul is in essence rational and immortal. The world of true beings, the world of ideas, is the source of all its goodness. The body is material and is the ground of all-evil. It is only a temporary prison house. Release from the body and contemplation of the beautiful realm of ideas, is the ultimate goal of life. The embodied soul is wise if reason rules all its impulses. It is brave if its spirited part aids and obeys the rational part, temperate, if both spirit and appetite obey the dictates of reason, and just. All the three parts must perform their respective functions in unison. The idea of this life is achieved when a man is wise, brave, temperate, and just. The highest good of life is the harmony of the soul which is attained by the exercise of all the four virtues, wisdom, courage, temperance, and justice, under the guidance of reason. The greatest happiness attends the life that achieves the highest good and contemplates the highest ideas. For Plato, justice is the fundamental virtue, mother of the virtues belonging to each of the three souls. For the intelligence it consists in the correctness of thought; for the will, in courage for the sensibility, in temperance. Wisdom is the justice of the mind; courage, the justice of the heart; temperance, the justice of the senses. Piety is justice in our relation with the Deity; it is synonymous with justice in general. Man must be educated in order to reach justice and through it to become like God. Justice is realized only in the collective man or in the state. In order that the collective man or the state may form a real unity or an individual on the large scale, particular interests must be merged in the general interest, the family must be absorbed in the state, and the individual must cease to be a proprietor. Henceforth, the children belong to the state only, which forms one large family. The state is the father of the children; the state also educates them. Plato thought that every individual should work according to his abilities and capacities and should refrain from interference in the field of others. He considered interference harmful for both the individual and the state. Justice, to Plato, has a moral rather than legal content. It has its individual

and social aspects. So in Plato's theory individual justice is a prerequisite of social justice and only that society can legitimately be called "just" in which wisdom reigns supreme. Or in other words justice can prevail only in that society which is ruled over by the King Philosopher. Therefore, justice according to Plato is:

1. Doing one's own job which one has been assigned
2. Justice is harmony

1.2 Aristotle's Concept of Justice-

Aristotle, the greatest of Plato's disciples believed that justice was related to regulating the human behaviour in the scheme of the state. Aristotle believed that justice is the very essence of the state, and that no polity can endure for a long time unless it is founded on a right scheme of justice. Justice is relative to persons, and a distributive justice is one in which the relative values of the things given correspond to those of the persons receiving. In the Aristotle's political philosophy, essential criterion of justice is treating equals equally and un-equals unequally but also in proportion to their relevant differences. Aristotle discusses "Distributive justice in accordance with geometrical proportion instead of arithmetical proportion." According to Aristotle, justice in individual is the harmony in the human soul, and in the society is equality and proportion in the enjoyment of values. All men think justice to be a sort of equality; for they admit that justice is a thing having relation to persons, and that equals ought to have equality. Justice, to Aristotle is virtue in action. Justice means that every member of a community should fulfill his moral obligation towards the fellow-members of his community. Justice means that each individual does not get equal share but gets his share according to his merit and contribution to the society. Therefore, man's rights, duties and rewards should correspond to his merit and social contribution. Aristotle has described two forms of Justice or divisions:

1. Distributive Justice

Distributive justice consists in proper allocation to each person according to his worth or merits. Distributive justice assigns to every man his due according to his contributions to the society.

This type of justice relates primarily but not exclusively to political privileges. From this point of view, each type of political organization has its own standard of worth and, therefore, of distributive justice. Distributive justice assigns to every man his due according to his contributions to the society. Aristotelian distributive justice is, thus, the other name of proportionate equality i.e., a man's rights, duties and rewards should correspond to his merit and social contribution.

2. Corrective Justice

By corrective justice Aristotle mean that it prohibits violation of rights of other individuals and ensure protection of their individual rights by the state. It is primary duty and responsibility of the state to ensure protection of life, property, honour and freedom of its citizens. Aristotle opined that corrective justice relates to voluntary and commercial activities such as hire, sale and furnishing security. These actions involve aggression on life, property, honor and freedom. In brief, this justice aims at virtue and moral excellence of character and it is for this reason, it is called corrective justice. Thus, according to Aristotle; to protect the rights of individuals received in the scheme of distributive justice the state provides corrective justice.

1.3 The Concept of Justice in Medieval Period-

1. Augustine's Concept of Justice:

In propounding his theory of "The City of God," Augustine considered justice as an essential element of the state. In his book The City of God he writes *"Set justice aside them and what are kingdoms but fair thievish purchases"*, The Augustinian notion of justice includes what by his day was a well-established definition of justice of "giving every man his due." "Justice," says Augustine, "is love serving God only, and therefore ruling well all else." Accordingly, justice becomes the crucial distinction between ideal political states (none of which actually exist on earth) and non-ideal political states the status of every political state on earth. No earthly state can claim to possess true justice, but only some relative justice by which one state is more just than another. Augustine defines justice in context to family, the earthy state and the

city of the god. He considered obedience of an individual to the divine rule of city of the god justice.

2. Aquinas's Concept of Justice:

According to Aquinas, the virtue of justice, governs individual's relationships with others and therefore has legal bearing. Specifically, it denotes a sustained or constant willingness to extend to each person what he or she deserves. Justice seeks to preserve equality between persons by giving to each person what is due. Justice is certain rectitude of mind whereby a man does what he ought to do in the circumstances confronting him. For Aquinas, justice is principally about man's relations to others, and so he thinks that "all the virtues that are directed to another person may by reason of this common aspect be annexed to justice". Justice directs a man in his relations with another. That may be either with another in his individual aspect or with another in general, inasmuch as he who serves a community serves all the human beings who are comprised in that community. To Aquinas, "**Justice lies in abiding in a systematic and disciplined life and adhering to duty.**" For Aquinas, justice is the highest of all moral virtues.

1.4 The Concept of Justice in Modern Period-

Hume (1711-76) opines that justice consists in adhering to rules as the past experiences have led human beings to accept that the rules are the basis of common interest of all and therefore interests of all or public utility should be the main sources of justice. Hume's central idea is that the development of the rules of justice responds to a sense of common interest that progressively tames the destructiveness of natural self-love and expands the action of natural moral sentiments. Hume discusses the morality of justice by using a revolutionary method that displays the foundation of justice in social utility and the progression of mankind. He offers his theory in order to explain a spontaneous process of evolution to a cooperative and mutually advantageous society. For Hume, "virtuous actions derive their merit only from virtuous motives, and are considered merely as signs of those motives". Hume distinguishes virtuous from vicious motives by the pleasure and pain each respectively produces upon its "mere view and contemplation."

The profounder of Utilitarianism **Jeremy Bentham** emphasizes the terms such as natural law etc. makes the real values opaque. He advocates that distribution of various articles and services should be made on the basis of *utility* keeping in view the ultimate goal of "**maximum happiness of maximum numbers**" Utilitarianism as a theory of justice is based on a principle of utility, approving every action that increases human happiness (by increasing pleasure and/or decreasing pain, those being the two "sovereign masters" of man) and disapproving every action that diminishes it.

JS Mill considered justice one of the most essential elements for the social utility. He said that every individual desires his protection and so he readily accepts moral principles which helps others feeling in similar way. Mill lays out five dimensions of justice as we use the term: (1) respecting others' "*legal rights*" is considered just, while violating them is unjust; (2) respecting the "*moral right*" someone has to something is just, while violating it is unjust; (3) it is considered just to give a person what "*he deserves*" and unjust to deny it; (4) it is thought unjust to "*break faith*" with another, while keeping faith with others is just; and (5) in some circumstances, it is deemed unjust "*to be partial*" in one's judgments and just to be impartial. People commonly associate all of these with justice, and they do seem to represent legitimate aspects of the virtue. Utility the basic mantra of justice.

In modern times the theory of justice based on mere natural law or the utility is not substantially believed by many and stress is being given on research to find a new theory of justice which is more relevant socially, morally, economically and politically. In nutshell it can be said that we have yet to find a universally accepted and recognized definition of justice. A new theory of justice is only desirable if it seeks to address the current social, economic and political issues of the society.

1.5 Rawls' Concept of Justice-

John Rawls in his book "**A Theory of Justice**" assumes that society is a more or less self sufficient association of persons, who in their mutual relations recognise as binding certain rules of conduct specifying a system of co-operation. Principles of social justice are necessary for making a rational

choice between various available systems. The way in which a concept of justice specifies basic rights and duties will affect problems of efficiency, coordination and stability. This is why it is necessary to have a rational conception of justice. Practical rationality has three aspects, namely value, right and moral worth. John Rawls analyzed law on the basis that a rational person will pay for those things wanted badly enough. His theory rejects utilitarianism, which was based on maximizing happiness and constructs a social contract aimed at establishing principles of justice. Free and rational persons concerned to further their own interests adopt principles of justice, which define the basis of their association.

His analysis is purely hypothetical. It holds that the concept of the rational choice as one that could help our understanding of what justice might require. In practice, all human beings are born into a particular society with no option.

In making the hypothetical choice, Rawls insisted that the individual should operate behind a "**Veil of Ignorance**" where they do not know their sex, class, religion or social position or whether they are strong, clever or stupid, the state or period in history in which they exist. Rawls then predicted that any such society would exhibit two essential features.

1. People in the original position would agree that each person should have an equal right to certain basic liberties, such as freedom of person, freedom of speech and thought, freedom to participate in government, and freedom to possess property, to the greatest extent compatible with the enjoyment of the same basic liberties by others.
2. Social and economic inequalities, and differences of treatment, would be acceptable only in so far as they were available in principle to anyone, and were for the benefit of the least well off members of the society. Rawls suggests that you imagine yourself in an original position behind a **veil of ignorance**. Behind this **veil**, you know nothing of yourself and your natural abilities, or your position in society. You know nothing of your sex, race, nationality, or individual tastes.

Thus, for example people would agree that doctors should be paid higher than average incomes, because this would encourage able people to qualify as doctors and so benefit everyone in the long run.

On 'lifting the veil', anyone could be at the bottom of the social hierarchy. Rawls considers that there are two principles of justice namely; liberty and equality, and they would select liberty over equality. Liberty (ensures an equal right to basic liberties). Equality (economic and social inequalities arranged for the benefit of the least advantaged, and equality of opportunity).

Rawls is criticized for not explaining why liberty would be selected before equality or why natural talents to be treated as collective assets.

1.6 Justice in Indian Political Thought-

The concept of justice as found in ancient Indian political and social thought has close resemblance to Plato's theory of justice. The ancient Indian concept of *Dharma* gives emphasis on individual's assigned place in the society and his duties towards it. The justice was essential element for establishing harmony in the society and polity. A sense of self-righteousness (Swadharma) makes a man realize his duties. The discussion about the concept of justice will not be complete without reference to the ideas of philosophers of ancient India such as Manu, Kautilya, Vrihaspati, Shukra, Bhardwaj, Vidur and Somdev. All of them have given importance to justice in the political system. Whereas Plato's justice was limited to political and social order, Indian concept of justice accepted its legal aspect too. Manu and Kautilya both considered the justice and impartiality as the fundamental tendencies of the polity. Both of them were in favour of protection of social order in accordance with the system of *Varna* and *Dharma*.

1.7 Different Types of Justice-

Traditionally there had been two important theories of justice in vogue-moral justice and the legal justice. But, in present times two more theories namely social justice and economic justice have emerged as eminent theories.

1. Moral Justice-

The fundamental principles of justice are founded on the concept of morality.

It contains in it, some universal; non-

transferable and perpetual natural laws which govern the mutual relations of human beings in wider scheme of mankind. When the behavior of the individuals in a society is virtuous, the society also becomes moral and virtuous. Moral justice seeks to accomplish highest good in a society and the polity. When the conduct of ruler and the ruled is beyond the accepted moral norms of society, it is called immoral and hence: undesirable for seeking the highest good.

2. Legal Justice-

In a political system, the legal system is also known as *jurisprudence*. Legal Justice must be supported by law. Legal justice implies justice given according to law which again implies equality before law. It functions on two premises-first; all laws formulated by government must be lawful and second; all such laws must be implemented honestly, impartially and justifiably. It means no one can be above the law and everybody should be equally punished for equal crimes. Barker says that law ought to have both validity and value. Validity stands for sanction of law and law draws its value from justice. The courts of law can give legal justice. Thus the fundamentals of modern justice are the codes of civil and criminal law, law of evidence, property and contract law, procedure of trial, provisions for appeal to higher courts etc. All those were evolved from the medieval concept of rude and crude justice based on the mood and mercy of the ruler or similar self-styled despot.

3. Political Justice-

Political justice must be based on equality and equity. Political justice prevails in a society where everyone has a share in the political process. The state should establish political justice by creating conditions under which all including the minorities find scope for exercising their political rights in pursuance of a system of Universal Adult Suffrage, rule of law, achievement values as opposed to ascriptive values. The essence of political justice as enshrined in the Constitution of India is the opportunity to all for taking part in the government of the state. The makers of the Indian Constitution say that political justice involves Universal Adult Franchise and no distinction on the grounds of religions, sex, caste, colour and the like in matters of

recruitment of public services. It also ensures reasonable reservations and safeguards for the betterment of the minorities and other weaker sections of the society.

4. Social Justice-

Social justice may be regarded as an important factor of social transformation. Social justice implies the absence of discrimination on the basis of caste, colour, religion etc. It also prohibits forces creating artificial social barriers like those of untouchability. Social justice demands equality along with liberty. Besides these, protection and improvement of the weaker and downtrodden sections of the people, equitable distribution of the necessities of life etc. constitute social justice. Social justice, in a wider sense; demands harmony and co-operation between labour and capital, a substantial minimum wage according to the capacity of each industry and other incidental benefits that improve the standard of living of the general people of the country. John Rawls and a few other thinkers have given special emphasis on social justice.

5. Economic Justice-

To Karl Marx, economic inequality is the root cause of strife between the haves and have not. Continuous economic disparity may lead to situation of class struggle in the society. The concept of economic justice is very wide. Economic justice is nothing but a corollary of social justice. It evolves equal economic values, opportunity and right for all and prohibition of economic discrimination between man and woman in economic matters. No other form of justice is realisable without being associated with economic justice. The very concept of economic justice involves the idea of a socialistic pattern of society. The ideal of Indian constitution is to establish a welfare state. Therefore, economic justice has been accepted as one of the basic principles of our Constitution. The economic justice will lead us to the real freedom. The Constitution makers' desire about the social welfare activities to be undertaken by the government is reflected through the principles of economic justice enshrined in the Preamble and the Directive Principles.

Conclusion:

Justice is a moral concept that has been

construed in many different ways. Although, the fundamental perspective of justice has changed in the course of its long journey from ancient times of Plato to present times of modern political thinkers like John Rawls but its goals and objectives remain the same. Aristotle's and Plato's justice, in fact, both were complementary to each other, but they also differed in many fundamental respects from each other. The goal of justice in a just polity is to distribute profits and responsibilities equally and reasonably among all segments of society without any discrimination whatsoever. There are many competing conceptions of justice: libertarian, contractarian, egalitarian, and so on. Each of these theories purports to give an account of the features that determine whether an action, character-trait, social structure, and so on, is just. If these theories are genuine competitors, they must understand the concept of justice in the same way and offer different conceptions (or grounds) of justice. The aim of justice is to find out a principle of capacity through which unity, harmony, virtue and happiness can be established in the society. The purpose of justice is to give every citizen his due in accordance with his capacity or nature. The discussion of justice is relevant to such societies where there is lack of basic necessities, opportunities and amenities necessary for proper growth of personality of an individual as an essential ingredient of society. In such societies there should be enough freedom to its citizens to discuss, criticize and reject the existing laws, rights, property relationships, the moral rules and codes that govern the society. In dictatorial and tyrannical societies there is little scope for seeking new means and methods for equitable distribution because their parameters are predetermined and fixed. In competitive systems of market economies, the complete distribution is determined and carried out by the inter-activities of market oriented powers and hence new measures for distribution are not recognized by them. In utopian communist societies everyone shall get as per his necessities and therefore there is no room for justice in such societies because when necessities of everyone are fulfilled, the injustice will automatically wither away from the society and polity.

Important Points

- In western political thought, the justice was first of all, explained by the Greek philosopher Plato.
- In ancient Indian political thought the '*Dharma*' has been used in similar terms to '*Justice*'.
- Plato considers justice to be an attribute of soul of a man.
- To Plato, justice is doing one's assigned duties and not interfering in others' duties.
- To Aristotle, justice is concerned with the regulation of human relations.
- The traditional justice was concerned with the character of an individual; the modern perspective of justice is more concerned to social justice.
- Plato and Aristotle are the main profounder of traditional justice.
- Plato described theory of justice in his book '*Republic*'.
- Plato considers two forms of justice
1. Individual justice 2. Justice concerning the state.
- Aristotle described two types of justice. 1. Distributory justice 2. Corrective justice.
- In medieval period Saint Augustine considered justice to be an essential element of "*City of God*".
- Thomas Aquinas considered equality as a fundamental element of justice.
- John Rawls described his views on justice in his book '*A Theory of Justice*'.
- John Rawls propounded the principle of '*Veil of Ignorance*'.
- Various types of Justice
1. Moral Justice
2. Legal Justice
3. Political Justice
4. Social Justice
5. Economic justice
- To David Hume, adhering to rules is justice.
- To Jeremy Bentham, "Maximum happiness of maximum numbers" is the fundamental source of the justice.
- To John Stuart Mill, justice was the most important factor of social utility.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions-

1. Who was the first thinker to describe the theory of justice in Western Political Thought?
(A) Saint Augustine (B) Aristotle
(C) Plato (D) Aquinas ()
2. Who is the proponent of Distributive theory of Justice?
(A) Plato (B) Aristotle
(C) Aquinas (D) John Rawls ()
3. "Set justice aside then and what are kingdoms but fair thievish purchases", was said by whom?
(A) Saint Augustine (B) Kautilya
(C) Aristotle (D) Aquinas ()
4. Who considered impartiality in justice as a fundamental tendency of political system?
(A) Vrihaspati (B) Manu and Kautilya
(C) Plato
(D) Acharya Narendra Dev ()
5. 'On violation of laws, punishment is given' is an example of which type of justice?
(A) Moral justice (B) Political justice
(C) Economic justice (D) Legal justice ()

Very Short Answer Type Questions-

1. Who are the Indian proponents of justice?
2. In which book Plato has described his theory concerning justice?
3. In how many classes have Plato classified the society?
4. Who is the author of book 'Republic'?
5. How many kinds of justice are described by Aristotle?
6. On what does the distributive justice of Aristotle give more emphasis?
7. What is the aim of corrective justice of Aristotle?

8. Who are the two main proponents of justice in medieval period?
9. Which thinker has spoken of economic disparity?
10. Who has propounded the principle of 'Veil of Ignorance'?
11. Which principle has been propounded by John Rawls to establish social justice?

Short Answer Type Questions-

1. What do you understand by Plato's theory of justice?
2. Make a comment on Aristotle's views concerning justice.
3. Do compare between the traditional and modern perspectives of justice.
4. What is the relevance of universal virtues of justice in present times?
5. How is the theory of justice of utilitarian thinkers different from the traditional justice?
6. Write John Rawls' theory of justice in brief.
7. Make a comment on universal and perpetual elements of justice.
8. In absence of the economic justice, the social and political justice are meaningless. Explain.
9. "Justice is fundamentally a moral concept, but by different thinkers it has been treated differently". Explain.

Essay Type Questions-

1. What do you understand by justice? Explain traditional theory of justice.
2. Evaluate Plato and Aristotle's views on justice.
3. In your view, what are the differences and similarities between Indian and western concepts of justice? Describe.
4. Describe the various types of justice.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions-

- 1.A 2.B 3.A 4.B 5.D

2. Power, Authority and Legitimacy

POWER

POWER has been the basic concept of political science because politics is the area of our society, where rules are made for all, decisions are made for everyone and rights and duties are allocated. To do all these tasks requires power. But what is the nature of power? What is the tendency? What is the source of power in society? There is lack of uniformity on these elements. While the military power was considered the most important factor in ancient times, in present times special emphasis is placed on the political power. In ancient Indian thought, Manu, Kautilya and Shukra etc. have highlighted various elements of power (Shakti). In the modern age Machiavelli, Hobbes, Treitschke and Nietzsche have emphasised the importance of power. In the European or the Western political thought Machiavelli is considered the first political thinker to define the concept of power in modern perspective. He wrote elaborately about power in his book-“The Prince”. After that, Thomas Hobbes of England also underlined the importance of power in the field of politics in his book -'Leviathan' in 1651 AD. But special emphasis on power as a political concept is a feature of modern political science. Charles Merriam, the chief strategist of modern political science, explained the various aspects of power in his book - Political Power: Its Composition and Incidence. Many other scholars have also played an important role in explaining the concept of power, such as Catlin, Lass well, Kaplan, Morgenthau. **Harold Lasswell** analyzed various aspects of the concept of power in his book-“*Politics: who gets what, when, how*”. Catlin defines "Political science as the science of power"

and said that politics is an area of competition wherein continuous struggle between individuals continues to gain power. Lasswell, like Catlin, also believes that the scope of political science is inevitably linked to power. Hans Morgenthau's *Politics Among Nations*, originally published in 1948, is the bible of the realist school of international relations. ... In *Politics Among Nations*, Morgenthau defined international politics as “the struggle for power” and “power politics.” **MacIver** defines power in his book “*The Web of the Government*”: “It is such a capacity under any relation in which any work is taken from others or obeyed.” MacIver is of the view that everything that is happening around us is in some way or the other concerned with power. It is power which vests the state with order and peace.

In words of **Organski**, "power is the ability to influence the behavior of another according to its goals."

According to **Robert Bierstadt** “power is the ability to use the force, not the actual use of force.” In politics, power is the ability to influence or outright control the behaviour of people. The term "authority" is often used for power perceived as legitimate by the social structure. Power can be seen as evil or unjust, but the exercise of power is accepted as endemic to humans as social beings. The definition of power indicates that those who have the power can adapt their actions, behaviors and ideas to others. On the other hand, the meaning of power in contemporary social thought is considered - the power of doing something, that is, when a

person does some work for himself or for the society, then he uses power in that sense. It should be noted at the outset that there is no unanimity among the political scientists regarding the definition of power. Like other people, political scientists use a variety of terms: power, influence, authority, control, persuasion, might, force and coercion to convey the same meaning.

2.1 Difference between Power and Force and Power and Influence

Generally power and force are considered to be the same, but in reality there is a difference between the two. Power is the power of the desired force and force is power. Power is an undisclosed element but the force is a visible element, like - the police have the power to punish the culprit, when it actually punishes it, which can be anything from financial penalties to corporal punishment then that becomes the force. The teacher has the power to take the student out of the classroom and when he actually does so, his power changes in force. Similarly, power and influence also have many similarities and dissimilarities. Both of them provide strength to each other. Both are effective only after they become justified. Influence generates power and the power generates influence. But there are differences in both. Strength is oppressive and behind it harsh physical force is used, while the influence is psychological. The power can be used against someone against his will, but the influence is relational, and the basis of its success depends on the person's consent. Apart from this, power is an anti-democratic element, whereas the influence is completely democratic. The power is so much that it requires influence for stability but the influence does not require the use of force for its existence. Just like the British used to follow their orders through the power of the Indian people, while Mahatma Gandhi used the influence.

2.2 Various Kinds of Power

There is a very wide spectrum of power in political science, which we can call different dimensions of power. Broadly speaking, there are three types of power which can be identified as political power, economic power and ideological

power.

1. Political power - Political power means the allocation of various social groups such as post, prestige, tax, award, punishment etc. to the society. Generally, political power is used by different types of government administrators, executive, judiciary, whom we call the formal organ of power. Apart from these various pressure groups, political parties and influential people also have the ability to influence public policies. So we call them the informal organ of power. Power is the ability to influence and direct the behaviour of other people and guide the course and outcome of events. Authority means that an individual or group has the right to use power by making decisions, giving orders, and demanding obedience. Legitimacy refers to citizens' belief that their leaders have the right to exercise power and authority; it is the acceptance of the government by the governed. Sovereignty is the highest exercise of political power; it is supreme and ultimate authority that cannot be overruled by a higher power.

2. Economic power - Economic power means ownership of means of production and wealth. Economic power affects political power in many ways. It is believed that those who are financially powerful are also politically powerful. But there is a difference between economic and political power, and there is a difference between liberalism and Marxism. According to liberalism, the society that determines the political power has many elements, which have interdependence among themselves and the sole economic element does not determine the political power. On the other hand, Marxism believes that all kind of power rests on the foundation of economic power and economic power determines political power in society. Although the former Soviet Union, in spite of stopping private ownership of private property and production in a communist state, a new political class, a new powerful force remained in existence which establishes the very fact economic notion of Marxism is not true.

3. Ideological power - Ideology means the group of ideas on the basis of which our approach develops. It influences the thinking and understanding of people. This ideology justifies a

governance system in the eyes of the people, so it gives legitimacy. Different types of social, economic, political systems are prevalent in different countries and ideologies such as liberalism, communism, socialism, egalitarianism etc. are used to justify them. But an idea is born in a particular social situation. The circumstances and the situations changes with change in times. An ideology also gets old and outdated accordingly. But some people want to keep that ideology alive and thriving, because their interests are associated with it. This class also uses violence to protect it. In the name of Marxism and communism, thousands of millions of people were killed in the erstwhile Soviet Union and Cambodia, etc. In the name of the Cultural Revolution in Maoist China, millions of people have been wiped out. In India, Maoists-Naxalites are inspired by this ideology and engage in violent action. Even in democratic countries, some people engage in violence proceedings to maintain their ideology. The Marxist activists in the Indian state of Kerala engage in violent actions against their ideological opponents. Similarly, there are also people and groups who outwardly take help of religious ideologies in propagating and accomplishing their political cause. Terrorist organizations such as ISIS, Al-Qaeda and Taliban are openly professing to be guided and governed by Islamic doctrines.

2.3 Structure of power

In conventional sense, power is the ability to influence or outright control the behaviour of people. Can we identify groups in the society who regularly use power on others? Mainly, there are four important theories in vogue about this.

Principle of class dominance

The principle of class dominance is the basis of Marxism. This believes that the society is divided into two opposing classes on the economic basis - financially powerful bourgeois class and economically feeble - the proletariat. There is constant conflict between the two opposing classes in the society. Therefore, they believe that "History has been hitherto a history of class struggle." According to Marxism, every work of a person is

done with an economic interest. The logical consequence of this thesis (Marxism) may lead us to believe that, the mother's parenting or child's service to her parents is oriented by economic interests. This really does not hold good morally and rationally. Is this view not imperfect and unilateral?

Specific class principles - According to the specific class principles, according to the principle of society, is divided into two sections - special category which is powerful and the general category on which power is used. But according to this principle, this class division, not only on economic basis, has its many capabilities like skill, organization capacity, intelligence, management capacity, leadership capacity etc. On the basis of these abilities, a small class of society emerges in every country and every type of governance, which is powerful and uses its power over the general body. Like - the country's politicians, administrators, industrialists, lawyers, professors, doctors, etc. together create a class that is always powerful. These elements remain powerful in the formal government which may belong to any party. In books "**the Minds and Society**" by **Wilfred Pareto** of Italy, in "**the Ruling Class**" of **Gaetano Mosca** and in "**Political Parties**" of **Robert Michels** of Germany this concept is elaborately enunciated.

Feminist theory

Feminist theory believes that the basis of division of power in the society is sexual. All the power of the society is with the men who use their power over women. Therefore, on this basis, the movement of women's liberation in Europe started, who wanted to end male domination. But Indian tradition towards women is different from the West. There was a long struggle for women to get the status of franchise and equal status in the west, while Indian women were getting high positions in the concept of Indian philosophy and ideal society. Indian traditions and culture are based on the theme- 'Where women are worshiped, there the gods dwell'. In reality, India also gave women the right to vote and to get elected as early as its getting independent from British colonial rule in 1947. Therefore, the

Indian concept not merely a demand liberation of women, it fully supports the cause of women at par with men.

Pluralist theories- Forth theory of power division is the pluralist theory, which is different from the above three. Class dominance, specific classism and feminism claim that the use of power divides society into two classes - powerful and powerless. But according to pluralistic theories all the power in society is not in the hands of any one class but is divided into several groups. Continuous bargaining between these groups continues in the liberal democratic system. Hence, society does not have exploitation system on the basis of power. This is an Indian concept which is not based on exploitation or the class struggle. It is based on the sense of responsibility and the belief that “the powerful will use its power for public interest”. In this, emphasis has been laid on establishing a harmonious society by making powerless empowered.

AUTHORITY

As the power was an important concept in ancient and medieval monarchical systems. In same way the concept of authority is far more important in the modern democratic system. Power is not always just or right; many times we accept it as a forced compulsion due to the fear of power. Those in power do not merely possess the ability to make us comply, but are also thought to have the right to do so. This is a really important distinction, and is the difference between power and authority. Therefore, power is the ability to make us do something, whereas the authority is the right to make us do something. The authority is such a virtue of a person, organization, rule or order, due to which its instructions are voluntarily followed. It seeks obedience by voluntary following. When we comply with the orders of a Hooligan, then the basis of obedience to him is power, whereas when we stop at traffic at the behest of a police constable, then it is a symbol of authority. In this way, when the validity joins with power, then it is called authority. In other words, legitimate power is authority. Authority is always legitimate and backed by the power of law and common consent. Legitimate power or influence is

generally called authority.

Robert Bierstadt defines *"authority is the use of power as an institutional right."*

According to **Henry Fayol**, **Authority has the power to order and to get the order obeyed."**

2.4 Bases of Authority

One important question on authority is- why it is followed by the people? The main bases of following of authority are mainly -

Faith- The most important element of governance is the trust of the ruled in the rulers. The deeper the faith will be, the command of the ruler will be obeyed willingly as an easy order. In such authority the need for the use of power is minimal.

Homogeneity- The uniformity of ideas and ideals is also an important basis for power. Ideal homogeneity automatically creates obedience status. For this reason, the states support the ideals of liberalism, socialism, etc.

Public welfare- Public welfare is also an important basis of power. We do not comply with most of the laws of the state under pressure of power, but because they promote public interest, such as - taxing, compliance with traffic rules etc.

Pressure - Sometimes the pressure and power also have to be used for getting the authority followed. There are some people in every system, which are less influenced by other bases of authority .Such elements are made to follow the authority by exercising pressure over them.

2.5 Kinds of Authority

Famous sociologist Max Weber has given the following three forms of power:

1. Traditional Authority - This Authority is based on the traditions and history. It is believed that a person or a family the use the authority according to the prevalent tradition, the authority should always remain with them. This authority lacks logic and intelligence. The authority of elderly people in the house is an example of traditional authority.

2. Charismatic Authority - This authority is based on a person's personal qualities and wonders. In it the public is ready to make any stake at the

behest of that person. People are prepared to make any sacrifice at the gestures of their leadership. It has the power base of emotions. Leaders such as Hitler, Mahatma Gandhi, Pt Nehru, Indira Gandhi, AtalBihariVajpaye and NarendraModi etc. are examples of charismatic power.

3. Legal and Rational Authority- It is based on rank and not the personality. The authority is vested in the person who holds that post. By virtue of his powers inherent with his post and position he uses his authority. Such authority is vested in the teacher, the Collector and also in the prime minister etc. If the person, who is using legal authority, is also endowed with remarkable personality, then his authority can be unlimited. In the post of the prime minister of India, equal authority was provided by law to all those who have held that position but it is the personality which makes all the difference. Use of authority largely depends on quality of the person who is holding that post at a particular moment. Max Weber admitted that none of these types of authority is found in pure form. Authority, being legitimate is based on consent and thus commands more respect than the illegal force. In this way civil society cannot be imagined without authority, but every society determines certain limitations on authority, so that it cannot be used arbitrarily. Authority has to work according to constitutional laws of the country and its culture, values, traditions and moral concepts etc. Therefore, authority is not itself power, rather it is the embodiment of reason. In simpler words, and we can say that we obey the authority because it is reasonable.

LEGITIMACY

The word legitimacy originated from the Latin word '*lēgitimātus*' (past participle of *lēgitimāre* to make lawful), which means conformity to the law or to rules. It is an ability to be defended with logic or justification; validity. There is a long history of legitimacy or justification. Plato tried to prove the legitimacy of the ruler by his theory of justice and Aristotle by his concept of constitutional rule. In ancient Indian political philosophy we find indirect description of legitimacy. In *Manu Smriti* and Kautilya's *Arthashastra*, we find that the king or *Swami* was assigned powers with certain conditions

of specific duties towards the people and the state. The welfare of the people or subjects was one of the binding and primary duties of the king. In the medieval period, the principle of the king's divine origin was considered the basis of the state's legitimacy. Hobbs, Lack, and Rousseau made people's consent the basis of the legitimacy. Public participation in modern democratic governance is considered to be the proof of the legality of the state. In fact, the legitimacy points to that reason, due to which we accept any power or the authority. It means that the consent of the people is given to the political system. If a political system does not receive such acceptance of people, then that system cannot exist for a long time. Voting, public opinion, means of communication, nationalism etc. are the means through which legitimacy is achieved. Legitimacy validates this statement of **Green** that "*Will, not force, is the basis of the state.*"

Legitimacy is actually the link between power and authority. Any ruler can control the person on the basis of power; but on the basis of legitimacy he can rule the hearts of the people. The difference between democracy and the dictatorship is that the powers prime character of democracy is based on legitimacy, while the supremacy of the dictatorship is primarily based on power or force use. Every political system has to try to maintain the legitimacy because there are continuous changes in political, social, economic and cultural conditions. If the political system does not make itself compatible with these changes then it affects its legitimacy. In ancient times, there was primarily a monarchy system; the era of democratic elements emerged in the long run. The legitimacy of the political systems which adopted themselves in accordance with democratic elements remained legitimate but those who did not adapt to the changes had to face bloody revolutions. The communist system could not reform and change to the tune of time and has failed miserably in the former USSR and also elsewhere. It has lost the amount of legitimacy it used to have in the past. Likewise, sometimes the traditional states and groups also do not accept and adapt to new changes as by doing so they are likely to end their existence. In such a situation, it challenges the new system with full force. Similarly entry into the new

groups' politics also affects the legitimacy. If their admission is accepted by the old guards then the legitimacy will remain intact but if obstacles are created to bar their entry then legitimacy will be affected. Apart from this, excessive aspirations from political systems also influence legitimacy. When political arrangements were unable to meet these hopes of the public, then people would get ready for revolution and coup against them. Such coup has been taking place in many Asian-African countries. In such a situation, the political systems try to keep themselves in tune with the new system, protect the traditions and face the crisis of legitimacy on the basis of personal qualities.

In this way the concepts of power, authority and legitimacy are closely related to each other. Without power, peace, order, justice and prosperity cannot be established in society. But the role of power proves to be the most effective in the legitimate systems, where it is not only the means of use of force but also part of the legitimacy. In order to maintain order in society, legitimacy and power play a role in complementing each other. If we compare power with a bare sword, the power is a sharpened sword in its sheath, which is carried out only when it is needed. In fact, when the power of the ruler takes the form of authority then it becomes his right and since the legitimacy is connected in power, obedience to the citizens becomes their duty. So we can conclude by saying that the Authority will be transformed into power if it is not legitimized. Therefore, the Authority has to be legitimate under all circumstances.

Important Points

- Power is the central concept of political science.
- Various forms of power - political, economic and ideological power
- Four theories of structure of power - The principle of class dominance, the special classical theory, The Feminist theory and the pluralist theory.
- The bases of the following of Authority are -

Faith, Homogeneity, Public welfare and the Pressure.

- Legitimacy is a link between the Power and Authority.
- There are three forms of Authority - Traditional Authority, Charismatic Authority and Legal and Rational Authority.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions :

1. The author of the book "Politics : Who Gets What, When, How" is -
(A) Catlin (B) Lasswell
(C) MacIver (D) Laski ()
2. "Power is the ability to influence the behavior of another according to its goals." Who said this statement?
(A) Organski (B) Lasswell
(C) Bierstadt (D) Thomas Hobbs ()
3. "Authority has the power to order and to get the order obeyed." Who said this?
(A) Pareto (B) Mosca
(C) Henry Fayol (D) Macaulay ()
4. Which of the following is not a form of power?
(A) Traditional power
(B) charismatic power
(C) Legal and rational power
(D) military power ()
5. The Latin word 'lēgitimātus' means -
(A) Lawful (B) Harmful
(C) Authority (D) Powerful ()

Very Short Type Questions

1. Write name of the famous book of Thomas Hobbes.
2. Which scholar believes that the science of political science is the science of power?
3. Write any two forms of power.

4. Write two popular bases of acceptance or adherence to Authority.
5. What are the two means of attaining legitimacy?

Short Type Questions

1. What do you understand by the concept of Ideological power?
2. What is the 'feminist theory' in terms of power?
3. Explain the public interest oriented authority.
4. How many forms of power have been described by Max Weber? Explain.

Essay Type of Questions

1. Write an essay on the concept of power.
2. What is authority? Explain its various forms and analyze the reasons of why we follow it.
3. Evaluate the relationship among the Power, Authority and legitimacy.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions:

- 1.B 2.A 3.C 4.D 5.A

3. Religion

Swami Vivekananda, while separating spiritual and external formalism, has said that *“Religion is the extension of divinity and spirituality already prevalent in man”*. All the religious teachers and the scholars have defined religion and spirituality in terms of teachings and principles of their respective faith and belief systems. Confucius, Moses, Pythagoras, Buddha, Mahavir Swami, Mohammed, Martin Luther, Calvin, Guru Nanak have all stressed upon the element of "divinity" in humans. Historically, different religions originated and developed in different parts of the world in different periods, places and culture. Changes in time, place and cultural and spiritual conditions also led to changes in religions. Externally, all religions basically talk about the fundamental facts and values of unity. The current problem is to establish unity among different religions and opinions. **Dr. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan** has considered spirituality as the centre of religion, according to him -

"The essence of religion lies in the fact that it should emphasize the spiritual side to upgrade the soul. And forward the life towards secularism."

3.1 The Meaning of Religion

As far as the definition of religion is concerned, it is used in different meanings in different cultures and nations. In India, it is recognized in terms of **duty (kratavya)**, **non-violence**, **justice**, **morality** and **virtue**. Generally we can define religion as a system of *"beliefs and practices"* through which a group of people explain what is sacred and righteous for them. Virtually there is a seeker in advancement and welfare of a religion.

The person's high growth is to know 'Self'. When he learns about the 'Self', then only he gets involved in pursuing the highest good (**Paramartha**). In English, the paralleling term of '**Dharma**' is **Religion**, which means - Faith, belief or the opinion. It implies in the belief in and worship of a superhuman controlling power, especially a personal God or gods. But English word religion does not explain '**Dharma**' in the true sense. In fact, religion is not the name of any worship system, ritual, worship method or in narrow sense having **Tilak** (a mark on the forehead) and keeping a **Shikha** (braids), wearing a beard-cap, or **Gandda-Tabeez** (amulet, talisman). All the sections of society and all the people have to follow their own deeds, namely, to perform their duty strictly according to their religious beliefs. This is possible only when human beings abandon their selfishness, arrogance, pride and desire to rule over others. Religion is universally held sacred, but religious holiness is relative. One who believes that a religion is sacred, it is possible to see it in other religions with hatred. Indeed, humans only determine what is sacred for them, or not. **Dharma** can also be defined as an integrated system that connects a community-specific to ethics with its practices and beliefs.

3.2 Religion and Secularism -

In Indian perspective, secularism is different from western religion. India is a nation of polytheism, in which followers of many religions and religions reside. Non-secularism means that there is no discrimination against any religion, and all religions should be viewed in a similar way. Secularism is a constitutional status in India and it is

universally acceptable. It is the fundamental identity of Indian culture because there are many opinions and differences in India. This is not just a book or pilgrim. In India, there are people who believe in God and there also other people who reject the power or the authority of God. In India, for religious reasons, neither anyone was crucified, nor was he got rid of from the world by pelting stones on him. Religious tolerance and dissent is in the soil of this nation.

3.3 Religion and Morality -

The basic goal of religion is to serve the human beings. Religion emphasizes good conduct, compassion, devotion and non-violence. Basically, in all religions this principle is rooted. Religion teaches us to stay away from evil and walk on the path of good and virtues. The basic form of religion is spiritual and without any hypocrisy in it. The work of religion is to do good and praise it. The judicious meeting of religion and politics is good for the human welfare. Many scholars of Indian ideology hesitate to accept the word religion as the synonyms of the word "**Dharma**" because "**Dharma**" is a more elaborate and ethical ideology than "Religion". In "**Dharma**", not only the inherent ethical behaviour of human beings is contemplated it also undertakes to study human relations with the animals, moral nature of physical properties, and the nature. However, such a wider perspective can be irrelevant in today's context. Even today, we can use abundant logical and moral force as explained in Indian philosophy in our daily life. If a religion in it, adopts the moral values as propagated by its spiritual men, then it is absolutely useful for humanity. Unfortunately, various religious beliefs and sects have started fighting each other to establish their personal superiority. This kind of mutual opposition, the tendency of quarrels, has created a situation of religious conflict in the world. Despite having the common belief and values, which are found in all religions, they are not ready to come to the common ground yet. The exchange of knowledge and values of different religions can be

much more useful than science. A scientific truth becomes stronger when it is believed to be certified by research conducted in other countries. Just as there is no dejection in the field of science, there should be no communalism in the field of religion as well. Of course, there have also been many such reformers who have tried to synthesize and integrate the practical synthesis of all religions. If parallel experiences of common elements of all religions are stored as a treasure of knowledge and shared and used for the betterment of the mankind, then the status and prestige of religion can be equivalent to science and democracy. If a religion claims to establish the truth, then it will have to establish universal admissibility and applicability. A religion is useful only if it establishes unity with other visible religions. The religion that condemns, frightens and dislikes other religions, and sees their religious beliefs, practices and customs in a loathing manner is not a true and universal one. Religious beliefs and views cannot be experimented in any laboratories. The religions which strive for the welfare of human beings and are morally measured on the scale of ethics are relatively considered superior to others. Beliefs and religious views can vary in different countries, but the truth and ethical values remain the same. They cannot be divided into the period of time and area. Ethical truth gives the message of love, compassion and kindness in all religions. It is possible to establish a superior state in the world by synthesizing best values of all religions in it. Adhering to the principles of ethics is the symbol of religion.

3.4 Religion and Politics-

Since ancient times, there has been deep connection with "religion and politics" or "politics and religion". Whenever there is a negative **contagion** of religion and politics, then politics has misused religion. Scholars such as Bertrand Russell and E.M. Foster have criticized the religion for the fact that there have been many bloody clashes in the world in the name of religion in the past and it

continues even to this day. Even today, fanatics are ready to die in all religions. After the Second World War several such groups of power and cadres have been created. Initially, religion became the founder of governance and good policies, but later many rulers declared religion as their state religion and in order to increase dominance and the number of followers, they fought in the guise of religion. Some religious offshoots separated from Islam, Christianity, Judaism and Hinduism, expanded their religion by means of power. Empires were expanded under the guise of religion and there were mutual wars in many countries. History of the past two thousand years is witness of many such bloody wars fought in the name of religion. In the latter part of the twentieth century, religion-based wars between the nations seemed to have ceased. But there was a flood of terrorist activities under the guise of religion to prove religious superiority in parts of the world. Terrorists have begun making unsolicited prey of other religious leaders. India is its biggest victim. According to Ram Manohar Lohia, "the realities of religion and politics are different, but the roots of both are one. Religion is long-term politics, whereas politics is a short time religion. The work of religion is to do good and praise, whereas the goal of politics is to fight evil and condemn evil. Problems arise when politics only condemns instead of fighting the evil, it becomes banished. So there is a need to understand the fundamental elements of religion and politics. The judicious meeting of religion and politics is good for human welfare, while the unwise union of these two corrupts both. Such union is bad for humanity. This unwise and evil union creates communal fanaticism. The main motive for separating religion and politics is that both of them remain active only in their respective area and do not trespass in the domain of others. Both of them are forbidden to abuse each other for the fulfillment of their vested interests. In fact, there should always be limited contact between religion and politics, so that they can collaborate together each other. The pursuit of ethical religion and religious politics is indispensable for establishing world peace. If the politics negatively affect religion and the vice versa,

then both are dangerous for the humanity. This creates a tendency of religious reactionism, fanaticism, communalism and slavery, which in turn affect important values like independence and equality. In today's world, the principle of secularism has been adopted in most democratic systems.

According to the Indian thinker Swami Vivekananda, *"Awe-inspiring and dogmatic religion divides human beings, whereas religion developed by experience acts to reconcile humans."*

He also said that *"Those who live for others are actually living but those who live for themselves are though living but are virtually dead."*

According to him, the mutual compatibility of the person and the society is possible in unity and the humanistic view of religion.

3.5 Religion and Non-violence-

There is an unbreakable relationship between religion and non-violence. Forgiveness, mercy, compassion, truth, devotion and honesty are fundamental elements of Non violence and religion both. All these elements have been accepted in all the religions of all the nations. In the absence of these values, the formation of any religion is not possible. The ethical doctrines such as *"Golden Rule"* and *"Ethics of Reciprocity"* which are much talked about today were already in vogue in ancient India. In **Sanatan Dharma** this doctrine was known as "धर्म सर्वस्वम्" *"What is the essence of religion"*.

3.6 Religion and Nationality-

Sometimes, groups with vested interests instigate the innocent people to follow divergent and pervasive religious views blindly. Development of such divisive tendencies helps in creating misconception, mistrust and misunderstanding in the minds of the effected persons and they took to anti national activities, which are harmful for both individual as well as the nation. We may follow different religions, sects and methods of our worship may also be different, but the country should always

be paramount for all of us. Nation and not the religion is supreme authority for a true law abiding citizen.

Our overall interests' lie in the unity and integrity of our country India i.e. **Bharat**. Safety of the citizens and security of the nation should be primary duty of not only of the government alone but also the people. The development of the nation is of the utmost interest in its unity and progress. It is our religion to worship our nation over anything else. In whatever position we are we must perform our duty towards the nation honestly. No religion can obstruct our unshakable trust and faith towards our country. It is above everything else, even the god. It is here that we are born, do breathe, grow, marry and bear children and are finally buried or burnt.

The basic essence of religion is that while individually you are free to follow the religion, community, caste, **ashram** of your choice and be true to God and but as a citizen your country should be paramount for you.

3.7 The Concept of Religion in Indian Culture-

It is mentioned in the Sanskrit theology that -

- **Yato Abhyudha Nishreyas Siddhi San Dharma**
- यतो अभ्युदय निःश्रेयस सिद्धि सः धर्म

The meaning of this couplet is as follows:

“That, which directs and leads to the attainment of abhyudaya in the world; that shows the pathway to cessation of griefs and pains in toto, and get the one to nihshreyasa thereafter, is Dharma.”

The concept of religion in Indian tradition is far wide than as perceived by many. Religion in India is characterised by a diversity of religious beliefs and practices. Secularism in India means treatment of all religions equally by the state. India is a Secular State by the 42nd amendment act of Constitution in 1976. The Indian subcontinent is the birthplace of four of the world's major religions;

namely Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism. Throughout India's history, religion has been an important part of the country's culture. Religious diversity and religious tolerance are both established in the country by the law and custom; the Constitution of India has declared the right to freedom of religion to be a fundamental right. Hinduism or the Hindu religion is the major religion of Indian sub-continent. The word Hindu has geographical significance and was used originally for those people who lived beyond the river Sindhu or the region watered by the river Indus. Hinduism is also called "Sanatana Dharma, " meaning "Eternal Law." It was primarily known as a Vedic Religion and was the main concept of Indian culture and philosophy. Various definitions of religion and different meanings of religion can be presented on the basis of different opinions. But the exact interpretation and meaning of religion is mentioned in Sanatana texts. In Sanskrit, the word Dharma is made in the word "**Dharanat**" "**धारणात्**". The word 'Dharma' is very difficult to find in any of the Western languages. In the Indian concept, 'Dharma' is not the temporal religion alone. In Indian context, there are various meanings of religion in which the main are - duty, non-violence, justice, virtue and good conduct etc. The Western concept of religion is very different from the Indian concept. Regarding religion, it is commonly said that it tells the way to live life. There is a different interpretation of this matter in all religions. Religion is not restricted to statute only, but religion helps to maintain a sense of unity in the human beings. In today's perspective, it is necessary that the religion of humanity be considered the best religion. The earliest foundations of religion are from the sacraments given to the children in the family.

"Ekam Sat, Viprah Bahudha Vadanti"

एकं सद्भिप्राः बहुधा वदन्ति ।

(There is only one truth, only men describe it in different ways).

It is said in Rig Veda that unique Brahman or truth is one; only intellectuals have given it different names. Brahma has been addressed in the Rig Veda

by the name of Indra, Agni, Mitra, Varun, Yama and Matarivwan etc. Actually God is the one who creates the creation by presenting his form in many manifestations.

अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं शौचमिन्द्रिय निग्रहः ।

दानं दमो दया शान्तिः सर्वेषां धर्मसाधनम् ॥

ahinsa satyamasteyan shauchamindriy nigrahah.

daanan damo daya shaantih sarveshaan dharmasaadhanam..

Yajnavalkya has described nine characteristics of religion.

ahinsa (Nonviolence), **satya** (truth), **asteya** (do not steal), **Shauch** (cleanliness) **Indriya - nigraha** (Subdue the senses) **dan** (charity), **Dam** (breath), **daya** (compassion) **shanti** (peace)

The following traits of religion are mentioned in Manusmriti.

दयुतिः क्षमा दमादस्तेयं शौचमिन्द्रिय निग्रहः ।

घीर्विद्या सत्यमक्रोधो दषकं धर्मलक्षणम् ॥

dyrtih kshama damaasteyan shauchamindriy nigrahah.

gheervidya satyamakrodho dashakan dharmalakshanam

Patience, forgiveness, no accumulation and not stealing, sanitation, keeping the senses in control, wisdom, truth and no anger are the symptoms of these ten religions.

Thus all true values are reflected not only in the religions originating in India, but in other religions of the world, it is acceptable as basic living values.

In the Christianity and Buddhism also, there is a special emphasis on the person's ethics which restricts the behaviour of one person with the other person.

3.8 Concept of Religion in Christianity

Christianity is a monotheistic religion which was propounded by Jesus exactly 2018 years ago from today. Christianity originally developed as a part of Judaism. Christianity developed out of Second Temple Judaism in the 1st century CE. It is

founded on the life, teachings, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ, and those who follow him are called Christians. There are many offshoots and branches of Christianity such as Catholics, Protestants, Orthodox, Moronic, Evangelical and Anglican etc. Population wise Christianity is the world's largest religion, with about 2.1 billion followers worldwide. The principles and teachings of Christianity stress upon non-violence. In Western Christian ideology, the parallel power of religion and politics is accepted. Christianity shares a number of beliefs and practices with other religions, particularly Judaism and Islam. Christianity, Islam and Judaism are often known as **Abrahamic religions** because of their common origin through Abraham. Jews and Muslims consider Ishmael (*Isma'īl*), to be the "*Father of the Arabs*" and Isaac (*Isāq*) the "*Father of the Hebrews*". Muslims commonly refer to Jews as "*People of the Book*", people who follow the same general teachings in relation to the worship of the One God (*tawheed*) as known by Abraham. With Judaism and Islam, Christians believe in one God, who created the universe and all that is in it. All three religions, including Christianity, have been called "*ethical monotheism*".

3.9 The Concept of Religion in Islam

What is Islam?

The Arabic word Islam literally means "surrender" or "submission." Islam, as a faith, means total and sincere surrender to God so that one can live in peace and tranquillity. Peace (**Salam** in Arabic, **Shalom** in Hebrew) is achieved through active obedience to the revealed commandments of God, for God is The Just, The Peace. **Allah** is an Arabic word, meaning "The One and Only True God," the proper name of The One who created the heavens and the earth. Arabic-speaking Jews and Christians also call God by the name Allah. For a Muslim, Allah is the greatest and most inclusive of names for God, denoting The One who is adored in worship, The One who created all that exists. The concept of monotheism (known as *tawheed* in Arabic) is the single most important concept in

Islam. There are three perspectives of Monotheism - the oneness of god (Omnipotence), devotion of all worship to the one god alone, the uniqueness and oneness of god in his Names and attributes. In Islam everything is built upon the oneness of God. Islam calls humanity away from the worship of any part of creation to the worship of The One and Only True God.

Origin, Historical Advent, expansion and present status of Islam -

Islam is one of the latest religions of the world. Today about 1.5 billion people of the world belong to the followers of Islam. The fifth part of the world's population is Muslim. Since the origin of Islam in 622 AD, followers of Islam are growing increasingly. Islam came in the form of a small community in the seventh century in Mecca and Medina. Mohammad laid the foundations of this religion with two of his followers. Within a few years of its emergence all the Arabs were united under the banner of Islam. Within the first two centuries, the effect of Islam spread to the global level. Through its continued conquest of Islam, Islam has taken the region of the entire Middle East, North Africa, Arabian Peninsula, Iranian Terrain, Central Asia and Indus Valley into its area of influence. This victory process continued uninterrupted and later Islam inherited the civilizations of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia. From the geographical point of view, the central part of the world is dominated by Islam. Islam spread from east to west from *Morocco* to *Mindanao*; it has also under its influence North American consumer nations and the deprived country of the south. It is located on the important strategic crossroads connecting America, Europe and Russia. Islam also dominates many countries of Africa, Indian sub-continent and China. Due to its crucial geographical position, Islam will play an important role in 21st Century politics. Islam is not a religion bound in the periphery of a national culture and national border, but is spread throughout the world in the form of a universal power. Islam, after accepting the

philosophy and science of Greece, and reforming it according to its convenience, Islamized it. While learning arts of administration from Persian subjects, it adopted the logic of Jewish law, the methods of Christian religion and Dualism of Zoroastrianism. It also assimilated in it philosophy and science of Mahayana Buddhism and India in its eastern victory journey in Islam. The great metropolitan centres of Islam, Baghdad, Cairo, Cordoba, Damascus and Samarkand became such distillers, in which the energy of these cultural traditions started to be transformed into new religion and politics. Along with these major cities, the legacy of the Arab tribal tradition has been merged with newly released cultural trends in the newly established provincial capitals - Basra, Kufa, Aleppo, Kuravan, Phage, Rey (Tehran), Nishapura and Sara etc. Through religious change, whether it was fervent, formal, compelled or overwhelming, Islam united diverse cultural elements under its banner. By ethnic intervention, Islam has absorbed the diverse nations of the world. In this process, Islam has adopted all the weapons and methods. Islam does not distinguish between the spiritual and temporal, supernatural and practical, religious and secular religion. While Western-Christian political ideology has accepted the parallel power of both religion and politics, Islam does not distinguish between religion and politics. Religion and politics are confused with one another.

Conclusion

Religion is a belief and faith and it has a strong connection to Indian culture. In Indian culture, the fundamental concept of cultural and social activities has been religion. Religion has great role in shaping the lives of its adherents and developing culture. Faith and belief of people has a strong connection to their culture and value system. Since ancient times, the *Rishis* of India have been curious to know the unknown power, and there has been a process of faith and research towards religion. Religion has been determining factor in making the difference between right and wrong in thought, behaviour and action to human beings. In every part of the world

God's imagination has been in vague in some form or another. In the era of change, the nature of religion has also changed. Today, in the materialistic era the religion has remained a personal and optional subject of the person. In modern times, due to scientific inventions and the effects that have arisen, social life is changing rapidly. Under the influence of western culture, literature and philosophy; the religious outlook and the social and cultural beliefs of people of India have also changed. The achievements of scientists have altered the attitude of human beings. The science has confronted the reality of religious intolerance, customs and horoscopes and made people aware of reality. In the modern era, religion became a means of livelihood and a profitable business. Ghosts, religious intolerance, worship of pirates in guise of pious people, religious places have become the basis of immoral acts. In the end of the 20th century, the negative role of religion has increased in the whole world due to the use of religion in politics. Religious fanaticism has created political evils like terrorism and virtually divided the world between two camps- those who harbour and sponsor religious fundamentalism and terrorism and those who are victims of it. But, contrary to their designs; the foundation of the secular nation is based on religious tolerance, religious harmony and ethics, and there is no acceptance for violence here.

Important Points

- Religion is the extension of divinity and spirituality already prevalent in human beings.
- In all political arrangements of the world, there is emphasis on secularism to be accepted as a policy.
- Many religions originated and developed in different parts of the world in different times, different places and different cultures.
- Changes in time, place, culture and the spiritual conditions also led to changes in religions.
- All religions basically talked about the fundamental facts and values of unity.
- The current dilemma is to establish unity among different religions and opinions.
- Religion emphasizes to upgrade the spiritual part of life and to orient it towards secularism.
- Religion has always been an important concept in Indian culture and philosophy.
- Religion first of all, originated in eastern cultures.
- Religion in India is recognized in terms of duty (*kratvya*), non-violence, justice and virtues.
- Religion is useful for advancement and welfare.
- In English, the paralleling term of **Dharma** is Religion, which means - Faith, belief and esteem or opinion.
- Religion is universally held sacred, but religious holiness is relative.
- Religious beliefs and cultures have started fighting each other to establish their personal superiority. This kind of mutual opposition, the tendency of quarrels, has created a situation of religious conflict.
- In today's perspective, the **religion of humanity** is considered to be the best religion.
- A religion is useful only when it establishes unity with other religions.
- By adhering to common values of all religions, state of the God can be established in the world.
- Whenever there is a negative connotation of religion and politics, then politics has misused religion.
- Secularism in Indian perspective is different from the western religious perspective.
- In the Indian concept, '**Dharma**' is not the temporal religion alone.
- There is an unbreakable relationship between religion and non-violence.
- In India, religion is related to **Sadhana Paksha**(practice) and **Achar Paksha** (conduct), whose goal is to elevate the soul.
- Yajnavalkya has numbered nine characteristics

of religion.

- Nation as religion is paramount
- Christianity is an egalitarian religion
- In the Christian political ideology, the parallel power of both religion and politics has been accepted.
- Islam is one of the latest religions of the world.
- Islam does not distinguish between the spiritual and temporal, supernatural and practical, religious and secular religion.
- Islam does not make any distinction between religion and politics, but believes that the two are intertwined and amalgamation of one another.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions

1. "Religion is the extension of divinity and spirituality already prevalent in man" - Who is this statement?
(A) Confucius (B) Swami Vivekananda
(C) Plato (D) Mahatma Gandhi ()
2. Which heart is considered by Maithili Sharan Gupta as stone?
(A) The heart without religiosity
(B) The heart without love for one's country
(C) The heart of open surgery
(D) None of these ()
3. What is considered to be against religion in the *Manu Smriti*?
(A) Forgiveness (B) Patience
(C) Accumulation (D) No anger ()
4. The secular state means-
(A) Religion less state
(B) State recognizes one religion
(C) State which views all religions as equal
(D) Religious States ()
5. The founder of Islam is -

(A) Prophet Mohammad

(B) Abu Bakker

(C) Hassan and Hussein

(D) Mohammed Bin Qasim ()

Very Short Answer Type Questions-

1. Which scholar has considered *spirituality* as an essential part of religion?
2. Write an English translation of the word *Dharma*.
3. In which year, Islamic religion was founded?
4. Who was the originator of Christianity?
5. Which religion was originated by Gautama Buddha?

Short Answer Type Questions-

1. What is religion? Explain.
2. Explain the concept of Secularism.
3. Explain the relationship between religion and ethics.
4. What is the religious concept in Christianity?
5. Write the names of the five nations, where Islam spread the most.

Essay Type Questions-

1. Explain the inter relationship between the religion and the politics.
2. Discuss the relationship between state and religion in Islam.

Answers to Multi Choice Questions

1. B 2. B 3. C 4. C 5. A

4. Liberty and Equality

Liberty

The word 'Liberty' means - the absence of restrictions or bonds. It is an exemption to work as one desired. It is the state of being free within society from oppressive restrictions imposed by authority on one's behaviour or political views. The term natural liberty is often used to connote complete freedom of the human mind, or freedom of thought. It is also used to mean freedom from the conventions of the society, and desire to do just as one likes. In broad sense, freedom is not a word but a movement. In the Indian National Movement, innumerable people sacrificed their lives for attaining independence. Freedom was also central theme in the American and the French Revolution. 'History of Parliament is also a history of struggle for independence. 'Freedom is the fundamental requirement of a decent state system and the concept of democracy. It is so important in human life.' Liberty is an expression of what is valuable about us as human beings.

Patrick Henry best illustrates the worth of freedom - '*Give me freedom or death*'.

“Independence is my birthright and I shall take it.” These words of Bal Gangadhar Tilak symbolize the constant struggle for independence.

According to the historian 'Richie', after the 'right to life', the 'right of freedom' is usually taken as primary and most necessary thing by many people. The search for man's independence is the central section of human history and the best aspiration of mankind; he always strives for its fulfillment. This is not only the means of achieving other

accomplishments, but it is supreme in itself. To achieve this, he is willing to give the highest sacrifice of his life.

4.1 Meaning and Definition of Liberty

The word or movement around human civilization is so distraught, what is that? What is liberty, and why is it important? Why do we care about it? The first premise is that liberty is an expression of what is valuable about us as human beings. It is a natural law idea; that is to say, it is a moral imperative based on what is fundamental about our human nature. Liberty has different meanings when used in different contexts. If only the lack of bondage is freedom, then human beings will be destroyed by mutual struggles. Only empowered or competent will be free in such situation. Then what is liberty? Liberty is the ability of a man to work according to his wish and in doing so he must not curtail or pose any obstacle in the freedom of other people. In this way, there are two views of liberty. First - the absence of one's bondage. The second one's being put under reasonable bond. We need to look upon both these aspects.

The Meaning of Negative Liberty

This is the situation in which there is no fastening. The person is free to arbitrate according to what he his desires. Liberty, according to Hobbes, signifies “the absence of opposition” or “external impediments” to motion. Such Liberty applies not only to rational agents but also to “irrational and inanimate creatures.” It is a complete lack of control and restraint over freedom. Hobbes's distinction between freedom (the absence of external

impediments) and power (the internal ability to do something) is frequently cited as an early formulation of negative freedom. For Hobbes, therefore, freedom consists of unimpeded power. In a social context, a free man "is he that in those things, which by his strength and wit he is able to do, is not hindered to do what he has a will to do." Hobbes employed the mechanistic concept, defining "freedom" as the absence of physical impediments; whereas Locke employed the social concept, defining "freedom" as the absence of coercion in human affairs. Rousseau was also influenced by this concept. Many other thinkers of individualism also supported this type of liberty.

J. S. Mill is one of such thinkers who thought on similar lines. 'In the field of conscience, thought, religion, publishing, business and relationships with others, the man should be left uninterrupted.' Mill further said that the state should not interfere in the personal functions of a person. The only freedom which deserves the name is that of pursuing our own good, in our own way, so long as we do not attempt to deprive others of theirs, or impede their efforts to obtain it.

The negative concept of liberty assumes that

1. Lack of restrictions is freedom.
2. Increasing the scope of the state limits the freedom of the person.
3. The government that governs the least is the best one.
4. The principle of open competition is beneficial for human development.
5. The government-backed protection is not good in personal interest.

In the present civilized era of globalization, where human beings are mutually dependent, above concept of liberty is not tenable. While living in a society, man has to follow many limitations and put under legal restrictions to safeguard the liberty of his fellow beings. He cannot enjoy arbitrary and unlimited freedom.

The Meaning of Positive Liberty-

Positive liberty is the possession of the capacity to act upon one's free will, as opposed to negative liberty, which is freedom from external restraint on one's actions. A concept of positive liberty may also include freedom from internal constraints. Man helps create such circumstances such conditions which are necessary for his development as well as fellow citizens.

According to Herbert Spencer "If every man has freedom to do all that he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man, then he is free to drop connection with the state-to relinquish its protection, and to refuse paying toward its support".

In the words of Paine, 'freedom' is the right to do those things, which is not against the rights of others. He further said that -"It has been thought a considerable advance towards establishing the principles of Freedom, to say, that government is a compact between those who govern and those that are governed: but this cannot be true, because it is putting the effect before the cause; for as man must have existed before governments existed, there necessarily was a time when governments did not exist, and consequently there could originally exist no governors to form such a compact with. The fact therefore must be, that the individuals themselves, each in his own personal and sovereign right, entered into a compact with each other to produce a government: and this is the only mode in which governments have a right to arise, and the only principle on which they have a right to exist."

To Mahatma Gandhi Individual liberty and interdependence are both essential for life in society. He sees liberty not mere lack of control over man, but as an essential necessity for the development of his personality. In this sense, freedom means the circumstances which can lead a person to live a free, fair and secure life. He should get the opportunity to raise resources for living; he can reveal his thoughts and manifest the all-round development of personality. Freedom is positively in favour of that

1. The reasonable restrictions on freedom are necessary.
2. The interest of the society and the person is mutually dependent.
3. The true liberty is vested in obedience to the laws of the state.
4. The value of political and civil liberties is meaningless without economic liberty.
5. It is necessary to recognize the freedom of others to accept the existence of liberty.

4.2 Various Kinds of Liberty-

1. Natural Liberty - This form of freedom is not obtained from human or any human institution but it is given by nature. It is enunciated by nature in the person's personality right from his birth. It is supposed that nature has implanted certain instincts in man, and man should be free to pursue the urges that are instinctive. Natural liberty, in that sense, amounts to license. It is subversive of social and other forms of organization. Besides, life, property, and the pursuit of happiness, are regarded as the rights inherent in human nature, and therefore are natural rights. The concepts of natural law and natural rights went together. The person himself cannot even transfer it. This freedom is a condition even prior to the state came into existence. It is believed that this liberty gradually became extinct with the establishment of the state. The Rousseau has said - "Man is born free, but he is in chains everywhere". The Social contract thinkers were supporters of this liberty.

2. Personal / Individual Liberty- It is freedom of the person in going and coming, equality before the courts, security of private property, freedom of opinion and its expression, and freedom of conscience subject to the rights of others and of the public. Humans must have freedom in the work of their personal lives. Restrictions can be imposed only in the interests of society. The personal liberty of citizens is very important in democratic countries as it enables them to live life according to their likes, views, expressions and values. Personal enunciates

that the person should have full independence in the areas such as dressing, eating, living, family and religion etc. Having personal freedom does not mean that we can behave without consideration for others.

3. Civil Liberty- The term civil liberty means the Rule of Law. The powers of government are defined by the constitution of the state, and the laws of the constitution guarantee certain freedoms to the individual. These freedoms are enjoyed by all alike. Thus civil liberty is a gift of the state to the citizen. Civil liberties are freedoms due to every individual, just based on the fact that they are human beings. It is based on the belief that all men are endowed with certain inalienable rights, such as life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Civil liberties are not gifted by governmental action, as they are rights of birth. The government cannot take away or change these rights by making or doing away with legislation. Civil liberties or personal freedoms are personal guarantees and freedoms that the government cannot abridge, either by law or by judicial interpretation, without due process.

4. Political Liberty- It is share of an individual in the affairs of the state and the political system. This is the freedom in which every citizen has the right to vote, to participate in elections and to get public posts. Political liberty means that the people are free to determine how they are to be governed. It really signifies constitutional government, that is, a government, based on constitution which the people, in their free will, have created and adopted for themselves. Gilchrist calls it the second name of democracy.

5. Economic Liberty- Economic freedom or economic liberty is the ability of members of a society to undertake economic actions. It is the freedom to prosper within a country without intervention from a government or economic authority. Individuals are free to secure and protect his/her human resources, labour and private property. It is economic freedom that helps in a viable economic level of the person enabling him to

provide not only for himself but also for his family. He can lead a life with self-esteem and there are no financial challenges to cope up with. It's also economic security. It also includes attempts to reduce inequalities on the economic basis, in which the scope of exploitation is minimal, the person is not in the state of economic slavery, everyone has the same opportunity as economic advancement, choosing business and freedom of employment, through which he could lead a dignified life.

6. Religious Liberty - It is related to inner conscience. It gives a person the freedom to obey, believe and practice any religion. It enunciates freedom of religion, method of customs worship, the formation of institutions and the promotion of religion. Disobeying the law system or forcing a change of religion upon others in the name of religion is not part of religious liberty. Freedom of religion is a principle that supports the freedom of an individual or community, in public or private, to manifest religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship, and observance. It also includes the freedom to change one's religion or belief.

7. Moral Liberty- It is s related with a person's character, conduct, ethics and justifiable behavior. Being influenced by interdependence and moral qualities, when a person acts, it is moral independence. Individuals working under the influence of character deficiencies such as selfishness, greed, anger, hatred, maladies come in the category of moral imperfection. Moral freedom is not the right to do what you want it is the strength to do what is right. Moral freedom is not the absence of restraint, but rather it is a resolve to abide by the truth and lead an honest and virtuous life. Moral freedom is liberty that comes from knowing the truth and living in harmony with that truth.

8. Social Liberty- It is considered as the mother of social freedom, social equality and justice. It is not be discriminated against and treated equally with the people on the basis of race, class, color, gender, religion, race etc. The right to equality in our constitution has been given to strengthen this

independence. It emphasizes on social equality and equal legal protection should be attained before law. Social liberty is the synthesis of individual independence and communal autonomy from overarching government or state control. Social liberty is the rejection of the concentration of decision-making authority into distant, oligarchic, centralized bureaucracies - federal or monolithic - and the embrace of diffusion and localization of that decision-making authority. Social liberty exists in a political, social, and economic environment which allows voluntary accession to associations, but also permits a person to choose to remain free of restraint by society, except in cases in which an individual's claim of freedom interferes with another individual's right to be free from unwarranted, aggressive coercion or harm. An economic system of social liberty regards free-market capitalism and democratic, communalistic socialism as equally conducive means towards the ends of generalistic liberation from tyranny.

9. National Liberty- National liberty simply means national independence, that is, freedom from control exercised by one people over another. The term signifies a free country with sovereignty of the people established therein. When we talk of liberty as a concept of political science in relation to the individual we mean civil liberty. The first thing that we have to remember in this connection is that the state is the only source of civil liberty. The state guarantees liberty to every individual by means of its sovereign power exercised through a system of laws. Other liberties of the person without national liberty are secondary.

10. Constitutional Liberty- It is provided by the Constitution to the citizens. The Constitution guarantees protection of such freedoms. Such freedom as is enjoyed by the citizens of a country or state under the protection of its constitution; the aggregate of those personal, civil, and political rights of the individual which are guaranteed by the constitution and secured against invasion by the government or any of its agencies. As Prof. Laski puts it- "liberty is the atmosphere

created by constitutional rights.” Article 32 of Indian Constitution gives citizens the right to constitutional remedies.

4.3 Essential Conditions for Liberty-

Some natural conditions are necessary in society for the maintenance of human freedom. In absence of these conditions, the existence of liberty may get endangered. These conditions can be summed up as under.

1. Persistent awareness towards the individual's liberty.
2. Fearlessness and courage of the citizens.
3. Democratic sentiment must flourish in the society.
4. Liberty can flourish only in democratic rule.
5. One should not have special privileges.
6. Financial equity oriented society.
7. Rule of non-partisan law.
8. Freedom of press.
9. Fair Opinion
10. An atmosphere of peace and security in society.
11. Independent judiciary
12. Constitutionalism

4.4 Hurdles in the way of Liberty-

1. Lack of awareness about freedom.
2. Lack of education
3. Poverty and lack of resources
4. Executive interference in the functions of the judiciary
5. Lack of respect for the Constitution and the laws
6. An atmosphere of chaos.
7. Autistic conduct of the executive.
8. Anti-national elements and terrorism.

Equality-

The concept of equality originated in response to the prevalent practice of privilege. Nature has

created all humans equal from birth and inequality is created due to man-made conditions and circumstances. In the Human Rights Declaration, it has been said that "Human beings are born free and equal, and they are also free and equal in respect to their rights". America's Independence Declaration 1776 also states that we believe this truth as axiomatic that Nature has created all humans equal.

4.5 Meaning of Equality

Equality is the name of that circumstance, due to which all persons can get equal opportunities for the development of their existence. Also, inequalities arising due to social inequality can be eliminated. The concept of making all people equal in the society is not possible. Nature has not given equal rights to all people physically and mentally. According to Laski, “equality does not mean that every person should be treated equally or each person should be given equal pay.” If the salary of a laborer is equal to the famous scientist or mathematician, then the objective of the society will be destroyed, hence the meaning of parallelism is that 'there is no class of privileged people and everyone should get equal opportunities for progress'.

4.6 Basic Elements of Equality -

1. Equality is similar behavior with people with similarities.
2. All people get equal opportunities for development.
3. The state and the society must behave equally with all the people.
4. Human dignity and rights get equal protection.
5. No discrimination towards any person in the society on the basis of race, creed, religion, language, class, character, sex, place of residence, property, nationality etc.
6. Every person should be given equal importance in society.

4.7 Kinds of Equality-

Various kinds of equality as given by political

thinkers can be expressed in a consolidated form as under-

1. Civil Equality - All citizens of the state get civil rights and the state does not discriminate with its citizens, so that the spirit of confidence in the state can be ensured in the minds of the citizens. Civil equality can be established by establishing the rule of law. Under Article 14 of the Indian Constitution, under the fundamental rights, all citizens are given equal rights before the law and also equal protection of the law. Civil equality implies equality before law.

2. Political Equality- Political equality refers to the equality of each citizen's individual rights and liberty. In a politically equal society, citizens who are unequal socially or financially still possess identical voting rights and have the right to expect equitable treatment under the law. All citizens of the state have the similarity and equal rights to participate in the work of state without any discrimination. All the citizens who meet other qualifications have the right to vote in an equal suffrage; to be a candidate for election and also to receive public posts. Political equality is the pillar of democracy.

3. Social Equality- Social equality or equal society implies that everyone enjoys the same rights. Everyone is bound by the same laws, has access to the same health care and education, and equal opportunity to employment. Given the diversity in race, social status and economic status in our society .All persons are equal in social view; nobody gets privilege. The tendency of all in society to get equal opportunities and participation in development will ultimately help in attainment of the social justice.

4. Natural Equality - The exponents of this concept believe that nature have made all humans equal. They have the same body and intelligence. The difference that we see is the result of the differentiation of social situations in the long course of history. The concept of natural equality is most contradictory. Nature does not create equality

at all, nor does all human beings are by nature equal in qualities, abilities, capabilities, power, images, ideas etc. Aristotle contends that individuals are naturally unequal. It seems odd for us to be able to speak of political equality in any sense. For men act in many ways contrary to their habituation and their nature through reason, if they are persuaded that some other condition is better.

5. Economic Equality- This equality is the basis of all other equalities. In the absence of economic equality, political, civil and social equality is meaningless. It implies to a more equal distribution of goods and services to citizens and is also known as economic equity. Equal distribution of wealth or giving equal salary is not economic equality. Economic equality is a commonality of opportunity, that is, to provide equal opportunities for all people to work.

6. Cultural Equality- Cultural equality embodies the values, policies, and practices that ensure that all people including but not limited to those who have been historically under represented based on race/ethnicity, age, disability, sexual orientation, gender, gender identity, socioeconomic status, geography, citizenship status, or religion. Treating the majority and minority sections of the society by the state on equal terms comes in this category. They are provided with appropriate opportunities for preservation of their language, script, culture and social conception. Our Constitution provides fundamental right to cultural equality. The Constitution provides that every community has full freedom to run its own institution to preserve its own language and culture. The Indian constitution guarantees Cultural and Educational Rights under Articles 29 and 30.

7. Legal Equality- In the democratic states, dissimilarities can be removed only by establishing legal equality and the rule of law. It implies equality before the law and equal protection of laws. The doctrine emphasises that all persons, regardless of wealth, social status, or the political power wielded by them, are to be treated the same before the law.

Equality before the law, also known as: equality under the law, equality in the eyes of the law, or legal equality, is the principle that each independent human being must be treated equally by the law (principle of isonomy) and that all people are subject to the same laws of justice (due process) without any discrimination whatsoever. Right to equality given under article 14 of Indian law. It is one of the fundamental rights. It ensures the guarantees to every person the right to equality before law & equal protection of the laws. It is not only right of Indian citizens but also right of non-citizens. Article 14 says that “no one is above the law. All are equal in eye of law.

8. Equality of Opportunity- It implies that the state gives equal opportunities to all its citizens for their fullest growth. . The state provides equality of opportunity to all its citizens without any discrimination on the basis of caste, creed, religion, class, gender and race etc. When equality of opportunity prevails, the assignment of individuals to places in the social hierarchy is determined by some form of competitive process, and all members of society are eligible to compete on equal terms. Different conceptions of equality of opportunity construe this idea of competing on equal terms variously. Article 16 gives the guarantee of equality of opportunity in matters of public employment. Article 16(1) & 16(2) have laid down a general rule that there shall be equal opportunity for all citizens and thus emphasizes on universality of Indian Citizenship. However, further section of Article 16 provides the exceptions. Article 16(3) reads as follows:

Nothing in this article shall prevent Parliament from making any law prescribing, in regard to a class or classes of employment or appointment to an office [under the Government of, or any local or other authority within, a State or Union territory, any requirement as to residence within that State or Union territory] prior to such employment or appointment.

9. Equality of Education- Educational equity, also referred to as equity in education, is a

measure of achievement, fairness, and opportunity in education. Equality of opportunity means to give equal chance to every individual for the development of his capacity. The state provides for educational opportunities to all citizens of the country without any discrimination between persons on grounds of their religion, caste, race, sex or place of birth.

4.8 Relationship between Liberty and Equality

Liberty is moral freedom, and equality is essential to it, for without equality, the price of liberty for might be the denial of liberty. Liberty and equality both go together in claims to fundamental rights. But the two have not always and everywhere been claimed with equal fervor. We need to consider the mutual relationship of liberty and equality. Both of these concepts have deeply influences life of an individual. But there is no consensus among scholars on this relationship. Some considers them to be conflicting of each other, while other thinks them to be supplementary of each other. Those who consider liberty and equality are contradictory of each other believe that there is no equilibrium in them. Liberty and equality are opposed to each other. There is a view point that both liberty and equality are opposed to each other and they cannot go side-by-side. The main advocates of this view point are De Tocqueville and Lord Acton. According to **Lord Acton**, *“The passion for equality has made vain the hope for liberty.”* They believe that - Inequality exists in nature itself. There is no justification for establishing equality between qualified and inefficient and neither can survive **Rousseau** says - *“Without equality, liberty cannot survive.”* **Pollard** writes, *“The only solution to the problem of liberty lies in equality”*. Both are essential for the development of a person. It is also imperative that both the concepts remain in their limits. This idea of **Mahatma Gandhi** is elusive that - *‘Freedom does not mean the absence of control but the condition of development of personality’*. Without political equality, liberty will become meaningless. A large group of citizens will be

deprived of the participation of the government. At the same time, there will be no opportunities to enjoy freedom in the absence of civil equality. In the absence of social equality on the other hand, freedom will remain the privilege of a few people. In the absence of economic equality, the rest of society will live on the mercy of capitalists. **Herbert Dean** describes the relationship of both in these words- *“there is no conflict between freedom and equality, nor are they different from one another, but there are two facts of the same ideal.”*

Important Points

- The word 'Liberty' means - the absence of restrictions or bonds.
- During Indian freedom movement BalGangadharTilak said 'Freedom is my birthright, and I shall have it.'
- There are two views of Liberty - lack of bonds and lack of reasonable constraints.
- Nature has created all humans free and equal.
- Political Liberty is the soul of democracy.
- Other liberties without economic liberty are meaningless.
- National liberty is the second name of sovereignty.
- State's sovereignty does not impose restrictions on the person's liberty. In fact, humans can enjoy real liberty as part of the state.
- Economic inequality, control of judiciary, lack of education, lack of rule of law, terrorism etc. are the obstacles of liberty.
- Liberty and equality complement each other.
- There are various forms of equality Civil, political, social, natural, economic, cultural, and legal equality and also equality of opportunities and education.
- The plant of freedom flourishes in the courtyard of equality.

Exercise

Multiple Choice Questions-

1. Freedom means -
 (A) Lack of restrictions
 (B) Exempt to do any work
 (C) The power to do any work
 (D) Facilities available for the overall development of the citizens ()
2. Which of these / statements are appropriate, select the correct pair -
 (i) There is no justification for equality without political liberty;
 (ii) Political equality is possible in the rule of law.
 (iii) There should be equal distribution of wealth among all citizens of the society.
 (iv) Without national sovereignty, liberty is just an imagination.
 (A) i,ii,iii (B) i,ii,iii
 (C) i,ii,iv (D) i,ii,iii,iv ()
3. The statement which correctly clarifies the social equality is?
 (i) Equal Opportunities of Development;
 (ii) Legal protection without any discrimination;
 (iii) Equal income of all citizens of the society
 (iv) End of discrimination on a religious basis;
 (A) i,iii,iv (B) i,ii,iii
 (C) i,ii,iv (D) i,iii,iv ()
4. Which idea is considered the Mantra of liberty?
 (A) The rule of law (B) The law of chaos
 (C) Arbitrariness of the executive
 (D) Illiteracy ()

5. The citizens of which country are provided equality as the fundamental rights -
(A) India (B) Afghanistan
(C) Pakistan (D) Sri Lanka ()

Very Short Answer Type Questions-

1. What are two views of liberty?
2. Write Tilak's slogan regarding liberty?
3. Which liberty is the soul of democracy?
4. What does the equality of opportunity mean?
5. Which liberty are the capitalist countries lacking in?

Short Answer Type Questions-

1. Write any five types of liberty?
2. What is political liberty?
3. Write the views of Laski on the concept of equality.
4. Explain the concept of 'Rule of Law'?
5. Comment briefly on 'Equality of opportunities'.

Essay Type Questions-

1. "Give me liberty or death" Patrick Henry. Write elaborately on the concept of liberty in terms of this statement.
2. Seamless liberty is not possible today. Do you agree with this statement? Illustrate the hurdles in the path of liberty.
3. The complete equality is like a dream. Explain this concept in the context of the meaning of equality, the basics and the interpretation of the types.
4. Explain the implications of liberty and equality.

Answers to Multiple Choice Questions-

1. D 2. B 3. C 4. A 5. A