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POLITICAL IDEAS AND IDEOLOGIES

By: Dheeraj Pandey

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CONTENTS

POLITICAL IDEAS AND IDEOLOGIES

Question Bank – (Previous Year Solved Question Papers)

<i>Question Paper—June, 2019 (Solved)</i>	1
<i>Question Paper—December, 2018 (Solved)</i>	1-2
<i>Question Paper—June, 2018 (Solved)</i>	1-2
<i>Question Paper—December, 2017 (Solved)</i>	1-3
<i>Question Paper—June, 2017 (Solved)</i>	1-3
<i>Question Paper—December, 2016 (Solved)</i>	1-4
<i>Question Paper—June, 2016 (Solved)</i>	1-3
<i>Question Paper—December, 2015 (Solved)</i>	1-2
<i>Question Paper—June, 2015 (Solved)</i>	1-2
<i>Question Paper—June, 2014 (Solved)</i>	1-2
<i>Question Paper—June, 2013 (Solved)</i>	1
<i>Question Paper—June, 2012 (Solved)</i>	1-2
<i>Question Paper—June, 2011 (Solved)</i>	1
<i>Question Paper—June, 2010 (Solved)</i>	1-2

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Chapterwise Reference Book</i>	<i>Page</i>
--------------	-----------------------------------	-------------

INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL THEORY, ITS NEEDS AND IMPORTANCE

1. Understanding the Political Theory	1
2. Theorizing the Political Theory	7
3. The Need for Political Theory	10
4. Conceptions of Political Theory	12
5. Political Arguments and Conceptual Analysis	15

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Page</i>
<u>POLITICAL TRADITIONS</u>		
6.	Indian Political Traditions	18
7.	The Confucian Tradition	23
8.	Arabic-Islamic Political Traditions	27
9.	Greek and Roman Traditions	29
10.	Western: Liberal and Marxist Traditions	32
<u>UNDERSTANDING THE STATE</u>		
11.	Meaning and Nature of the State	40
12.	Sovereignty	47
13.	State, Civil Society and Community	53
<u>POWER, AUTHORITY AND VALIDITY</u>		
14.	Power and Authority	57
15.	Legitimacy	62
16.	Political Obligation and Revolution	68
<u>RIGHT, EQUALITY, FREEDOM AND JUDICIARY</u>		
17.	Rights and Citizenship	76
18.	Equality	80
19.	Liberty	86
20.	Justice	92
<u>DEMOCRACY</u>		
21.	Direct and Participatory Democracy	97
22.	Representative Democracy	101
23.	Socialist Democracy	108

<i>S.No.</i>	<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Page</i>
<u>POLITICAL THOUGHT</u>		
24.	Individualism and Communitarianism	112
25.	Fascism	119
26.	Marxism	123
27.	Gandhism (Dharma, Swaraj, Sarvodaya and Satyagraha)	129
<u>CONTEMPORARY ISSUES</u>		
28.	State and Globalization	136
29.	Secularism	142
30.	Development	145
31.	Disadvantaged and Affirmative Action	153
		■ ■

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Sample Question
Papers**

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QUESTION PAPER

(June – 2019)

(Solved)

POLITICAL IDEAS AND IDEOLOGIES

Time: 3 Hours]

[Maximum Marks: 100

Note: (i) Section I-Answer **any two** questions.
(ii) Section II-Answer **any four** questions.
(iii) Section III-Write short notes on **any two**.

SECTION-I

Answer the following questions:

Q. 1. Discuss the views of Eric Voeglin and Christian Bay on the New Science of Politics.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-2, Page No. 8, 'The New Science of Politics' and Page No. 9, Q.No.8.

Q. 2. Describe Max Weber's Typology of Authority Systems.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-14, Page No. 57, 'What is Authority?' and Page No. 58, 'Classification of Authority'.

Q. 3. Describe Fundamental Principles of Representative Democracy.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-22, Page No. 103, Q.No. 1 and Page No. 102, 'Fundamental Principles of Representative Democracy'.

Q. 4. Discuss globalisation from the perspective of developing and developed nations.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-28, Page No. 141, Q.No. 7.

SECTION-II

Answer the following questions:

Q. 5 Distinguish between state and other associations.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-11, Page No. 40, 'Distinction between State and Other Associations' and Page No. 43, Q. No. 2.

Q. 6. Discuss some contemporary ideas of liberty.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-19, Page No. 88, 'Other Contemporary Ideas on Liberty'.

Q. 7. Describe Gandhi's conception of state.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-11, Page No. 44, Q.No. 6.

Q. 8. What do you understand by Affirmative Action? Explain.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-31, Page No. 154, 'Affirmative Action : A Global Perspective'.

Q. 9. Discuss the relationship between Democracy and Civil Society.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-13, Page No. 54, 'Democracy and Civil Society'.

Q. 10. What do you understand by revolution? How is it different from a revolt?

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-16, Page No. 73, Q.No. 4.

Q. 11. Examine the appropriate version of Secularism for India.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-29, Page No. 142, 'Appropriate Version of Secularism for India'.

Q. 12. Describe the salient features of Fascist state and society.

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-25, Page No. 122, Q.No. 5.

SECTION-III

Q. 13. Write short notes on the following:

(a) Dand-Dharma interface

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-6, Page No. 20, Q.No. 3.

(b) Swaraj

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter 27, Page No. 129, 'Swaraj: Inward Freedom and Outward Freedom'.

(c) Right to Development

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-30, Page No. 148, 'Right to Development'.

(d) Dialectical Materialism

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-26, Page No. 123, 'Dialectical Materialism'.



QUESTION PAPER

(December – 2018)

(Solved)

POLITICAL IDEAS AND IDEOLOGIES

Time: 3 Hours]

[Maximum Marks: 100

Note : Section I-any two questions to be answered, Section II-any four questions to be answered, Section III-any two questions to be answered.

SECTION - I

Answer the following questions:

Q. 1. What do you understand by the term Politics? Why is it considered an inescapable feature of human condition?

Ans. Ref.: See Chapter-1, Page No. 1, 'Politics As a Practical Activity' and Page No. 2, 'What is Politics?'

Q. 2. Write an essay on Asian Nationalism in the 19th century.

Ans. Nationalism emerged in East Asia as a result of the influx of Western-derived political thought in the nineteenth century, but its formation drew heavily on pre-existing notions of identity. In Japan, the Meiji Restoration of 1868 set the path for a modern, state-driven nationalism that would underpin the country's economic and diplomatic resurgence as an imperial power. China, in contrast, was unable to repel foreign incursions, and used nationalism to articulate resistance to the domination of the country by other powers. Resistance to Japanese imperialism also shaped Korean nationalism during this period. From the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, key shapers of nationalism in East Asia included ideas of race, Social Darwinism, and pan-Asianism. World War II was a confrontation between various types of nationalism in China in particular, with 'collaborationist' models losing out to those that articulated strong resistance to domination by the West or Japan, in particular Chinese communism.

In Asia, as elsewhere, nationalism has been used to mobilize support for the creation of new nation-states or the reinvigoration of existing ones. It has also been activated for such goals as national self-determination, social and economic development, the

defense of territorial integrity or territorial expansion, and domination over other nations. Like other nationalisms, Asian nationalisms have deployed historical memories and myths, belief in a shared ethnicity, links to a territorial homeland, and shared cultural characteristics such as language, literature, religion, and customs to create a sense of common identity, purpose, and responsibility.

The diversity of Asia in terms of geography, culture, religion, and ethnicity is such that in many contexts the adjective Asian has little meaning. However, Asian nationalisms do have one important common feature: they developed largely in response to Western invasion or intrusion. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Western powers increasingly competed for power and influence in Asia. India, Burma, and Malaya were British colonies; the East Indies were under the Dutch; while the French colonized Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, collectively known as Indochina. The United States occupied the Philippines and used military force to open Japan to foreign trade. China escaped outright colonization but was forced to open more than one hundred ports to trade and to allow foreign settlements and concessions on Chinese territory that were, in effect, mini colonies. Foreign troops protected foreign interests, and foreign gunboats patrolled Chinese rivers. The Japanese occupation of much of East and Southeast Asia in the 1930s and the 1940s accelerated the growth of nationalism in the affected nations.

Nationalism developed earlier and faster in some Asian countries than in others. It took quite varied forms: in Japan and Thailand it was based on loyalty to a sovereign and the revival of traditional religion;

Sample Preview of The Chapter

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POLITICAL IDEAS AND IDEOLOGIES

INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL THEORY, ITS NEEDS AND IMPORTANCE



Understanding the Political Theory

INTRODUCTION

Politics is a process by which groups of people make decisions. The term is generally applied to behaviour within civil governments, but politics has been observed in all human group interactions, including corporate, academic and religious institutions. It consists of “social relations involving authority or power” and refers to the regulation of a political unit, and to the methods and tactics used to formulate and apply policy.

The term “Politics” is derived from the Greek word ‘Polis’ which means city-state.

Polis or city-state was a small independent self-contained political society. Greeks did not make any distinction between politics and society. These Greek cities-states of ancient times provide an ideal point for the beginning of a systematic study of political science.

CHAPTER AT A GLANCE

POLITICS AS A PRACTICAL ACTIVITY

It is unfortunate that politics has come to be associated with the pursuit of self-interest by any and every method. We need to realise that politics is an important and integral part of any society. No society can exist without some form of political organisation and collective decision-making. A society that wants to sustain itself needs to take into account the multiple needs and interests of its members. A number of social institutions such as the family, tribes, and economic institutions have emerged to help people fulfil their needs and aspirations. Such institutions help us find ways of living together and acknowledging our obligations to each other. Among such

institutions governments play an important part. How governments are formed and how they function?

Politics Difficult to Define Precisely: People have different ideas about what politics is? Political leaders, and persons who contest elections and hold political office, may argue that it is a kind of public service. Some others associate politics with manipulation and intrigue undertaken to pursue ambitions and satisfy wants. A few think of politics as what politicians do.

Nature of Politics: Politics is not confined to the affairs of government. In fact, what government do is relevant because it affects the lives of the people in many different ways. We see that government determine our Economic policy and Foreign policy & Educational policy. These policies can help to improve the lives of people but an inefficient or corrupt government can also endanger people’s lives and security. If the government in power allows caste and communal conflicts to occur, markets close down and schools are shut. This disrupts our lives; we cannot buy things that we may need urgently; those who are sick cannot reach the hospital; even the school schedule gets affected, syllabi cannot be completed and we may have to take extra coaching for the exams and pay tuition fees. If, on the other hand, the government makes policies to increase literacy and employment, we may get an opportunity to go to a good school and get a decent job.

Politics an Inescapable Feature of the Human Condition: Politics arises from the fact that we have different visions of what is just and desirable for us and our society. It involves the multiple negotiations that go on in society through which collective decisions are made. At one level, it involves what governments do and how

2 / NEERAJ : POLITICAL IDEAS AND IDEOLOGIES

they relate to the aspirations of the people; at another level, it involves how people struggle and influence decision-making. People may be said to engage in political activity whenever they negotiate with each other and take part in collective activities which are designed to promote social development and help to resolve common problems.

WHAT IS POLITICS?

People have different ideas about what politics is? Political leaders, and persons who contest elections and hold political office, may argue that it is a kind of public service. Some others associate politics with manipulation and intrigue undertaken to pursue ambitions and satisfy wants. A few think of politics as what politicians do. If they see politicians defecting from parties, making false promises and tall claims, manipulating different sections, pursuing personal or group interests ruthlessly and in worst cases stooping to crime, they link politics with 'scams'. So, prevalent is this way of thinking that when we see people in different walks of life trying to promote their interests by any means possible, we say, they are playing politics. We are thus confronted with conflicting images of politics. It is unfortunate that politics has come to be associated with the pursuit of self-interest by any and every method. We need to realize that politics is an important and integral part of any society. Mahatma Gandhi once observed that politics envelops us like the coils of a snake and there is no other way out but to wrestle with it. No society can exist without some form of political organisation and collective decision-making. A society that wants to sustain itself needs to take into account the multiple needs and interests of its members. A number of social institutions such as the family, tribes, and economic institutions have emerged to help people fulfil their needs and aspirations. Such institutions help us find ways of living together and acknowledging our obligations to each other. Among such institutions governments play an important part.

WHAT IS STATE?

The state is the central theme of political science. Opinions differ as to the connotation of the term 'state' and as to when the concept emerged. The ancient Greek city-states exhibited distinct political patterns. For the Greeks, political science was largely municipal science. The conceptual frame of a modern nation-state was unknown to the Greek political thinkers. Aristotle's 'Polis' was more a 'city community' than a 'state'. These city-states stood in the way of a perfect differentiation between the state and the community or other associations. The Greek commonwealths put accent on the enjoyment of rights rather than on supremacy and obedience; while the Roman citizens formed a 'political guild' based on the exploitation of the slaves. The term 'state' is comparatively modern. It was not articulated and fully developed during the Greco-Roman period, Machiavelli seems to be the first writer who introduced the concept of the state in political science. Political science today seeks to analyse the state scientifically. It needs to be treated not as an *a priori*

concept but as it exists and operates as a living political reality. Hegel, for example, idolised the state as the movement of God on earth. States, past or present, may vary in certain respects. But on a careful observation, they are found to exhibit some common features. The State can be studied and defined in terms of these features, which are common to all the states. Thus population, a fixed territory, government and sovereignty, these are supposed to be the essential constituent elements of a state. A state is found in its elaborate system. It is found in those institutions which creates laws and which enforce them, i.e. Legislature, Executive and Judicial institutions. It is found in the bureaucratic institutions which are attached to every executive ministry of the government.

State: differences on account of political institutions/ social context: The state is the most universal and most powerful of all social institutions. The state is a natural institution. Aristotle said man is a social animal and by nature he is a political being. To him, to live in the state and to be a man were identical. The modern term "state" is derived from the word "status". It was Niccolo Machiavelli (1469–1527) who first used the term "state" in his writings. His important work is titled as "Prince".

The state is the highest form of human association. It is necessary because it comes into existence out of the basic needs of life. It continues to remain for the sake of good life.

The aims, desires and aspirations of human beings are translated into action through the state. Though the state is a necessary institution, no two writers agree on its definition. The State is the central subject of our study. It is used as a synonym for nation, society, government etc. The term State is very commonly used to express the collective action of the community, through the agency of the government. There can be no community without the people to form one, and no common life without some definite piece of territory to live. The State is a natural, a necessary, and a universal institution. It is natural because it is rooted in the reality of human nature. Man needs the State to satisfy his diverse needs and to be what he desires to be. Without the State he cannot rise to the full stature of his personality. It has existed whenever and wherever man has lived in an organised society. The structure of the State has been subject to a great evolution. In this sense, state can be taken to mean:

- (a) an organisation of individuals,
- (b) an organisation confined to a defined territory,
- (c) an organisation that claims monopoly of the use of violence against a group or population, and
- (d) an organisation that carries out its functions through a set of institutions collectively known as the government.

Ralph Miliband's Views on the State: Significant aspects of Miliband's thought—indeed entire chapters of *The State in Capitalist Society*—that contravene this idealtpe. The most concise summary of Miliband's theory of the state is that: In the Marxist scheme, the "ruling class"

of capitalist society is that class which owns and controls the means of production and which is able, by virtue of the economic power thus conferred upon it, to use the state as its instrument for the domination of society.

For Miliband, the state system is actually composed of five elements that are each identified with a cluster of particular institutions:

1. The governmental apparatus which consists of elected legislative and executive authorities at the national level, which make state policy,
2. The administrative apparatus, consisting of the civil service bureaucracy, public corporations, central banks, regulatory commissions, which regulate economic, social, cultural, and other activities,
3. The coercive apparatus, consisting of the military, paramilitary, police, and intelligence agencies, which together are concerned with the deployment and management of violence,
4. The judicial apparatus, which includes courts, the legal profession, jails and prisons, and other components of the criminal justice system,
5. The sub-central governments, such as States, Provinces, or Departments; counties, municipal governments, and special districts.

According to Miliband: 'These are the institutions—the government [executive], the administration, the military and the police, the judicial branch, subcentral government, and parliamentary assemblies—which make up the "the state," and whose interrelationship shapes the form of the state system'. Miliband's emphasis on the state system as a set of interrelationships between particular institutions warrants special attention, since he has often been accused of reducing the state to a mere tool in the hands of the ruling class. Yet, contrary to these assertions, Miliband offers an important qualification that belies this metaphorical straw man.

POLITICS AS A VOCATION

Politics as a Vocation was a lecture given by Max Weber. In his essay Weber states that the ethos of politics is directed by the commandment of trade-offs. Politics is the art of compromise and decision-making based on social benefits weighted against costs. In this respect, political action cannot be rooted only in conviction, since one's conviction can be another's social anathema. Using as an example Christianity, seen as a core conviction, Weber affirms that a politician cannot only be a man of "true Christian ethic" (understood in terms "turning the other cheek"). The political realm is no realm for saints. A politician should marry the ethic of ultimate ends with an ethic of responsibility. The latter, which is the ultimate criterion for judging politicians, should take into account all that is at stake in making a political decision, namely all the convictions and the relative weight and moral importance. A politician must possess both passion for his vocation and the capacity to distance himself from the subject of his exertions (the governed).

In subsidiary, the lecture offers a definition of the state that has become pivotal to Western social thought: that the state is that entity which claims a monopoly on the legitimate use of physical force, which it may nonetheless elect to delegate as it sees fit. Politics is to be understood as any activity in which the state might engage in order to influence the relative distribution of force. Politics thus comes to obtain two power-based concepts, to be understood as deriving of power.

THE LEGITIMATE USE OF POWER

If power is the exercise of constraint and compulsion against the will of an individual or group, authority is the sub-type of power in which people willingly obey commands because they see the exercise of power as legitimate. Power without authority remains uninstitutionalized, and relative. Because it is instrumental and conditional, its effectiveness is uncertain. Authority being institutionalized, is fixed in its scope, character and distribution. Authority represents the set of rules, procedures, traditions and norms that are regarded as binding when they are applied within a given social unit.

Max Weber on Legitimization: Max Weber, argued that there are three forms of legitimacy, and that all human societies, across history, have been based on them.

Charismatic Authority: Legitimacy based on the charisma of the leader, often partly based on the perception that this leader has certain extra or supernatural attributes. Example: a tribal chieftain or a religious leader.

Traditional Authority: Legitimacy based on tradition; e.g., people accept the government for the simple fact that it has been around for so long and is based on popular customs and usages. Example: a monarchy.

Rational/legal Authority: Legitimacy based on the perception that a government's powers are derived from set procedures, principles, and laws which are often complex and are written down as part of the constitution. Example: representative democracy or bureaucrats.

Legitimation: *Central concern on political science:* Mills argues that the holders of these 'command posts' though apparently distinguishable from one another in terms of their association with three key institutions, are sufficiently similar in their values, interests and ideals and are interconnected to form a single ruling minority. He names this ruling minority 'the power elite'. He argues that economic, military and political interests which these three groups represent are promoted to the extent that there is co-operation and sharing among them. Legitimacy in political science, is the popular acceptance of a governing regime or law as an authority. Whereas authority refers to a specific position in an established government, the term legitimacy is used when describing a system of government itself—where government may be generalized to mean the wider "sphere of influence." It is considered a basic condition for rule: without at least a minimal amount of which, a government will lead to frequent deadlocks or collapse in the long-run. In modern society those centralization of power and that the men who head

4 / NEERAJ : POLITICAL IDEAS AND IDEOLOGIES

government, corporations, the armed forces and the unions are closely linked. The means of power at the disposal of centralized decision-makers have greatly increased. The Power Elite is made up of political, economic and military leaders. Mosca believed that elite rule is inevitable. The elite are drawn from a wider range of socio-economic background. As a result, the interests of various social groups are often represented in the decision-making process of the government. The majority may therefore have some control over the government. However, the government is never by the people. It is by the elite only. Above all, Mosca held the view that democracy is the best form of governance.

Process of Delegitimation: The process of delegitimation refers to a situation when the dominating ideas of a system are subjected to sustained decision. This process brings revolution, for example, the ideas of divine right and of autocracy were ridiculed by the philosophers and brought French revolution. When Weimar Republic lost confidence in democratic regime it supported Hitler's national socialist party. Similarly, many liberal democracies of Europe were overthrown by fascist systems.

Manipulated Consent: Manipulated consent is prepared by preventing ideas arising at the level of sub-conscious mind. It affects and moulds conscious of the people so that they accept the existing state of affairs. For example, gobblers' propaganda machine in Germany served this purpose in maintaining the Nazi regime. According to C. Wright Mills, manipulation is power wielded unknown to the powerless. Peter Worsley and Marxists also discuss manipulation of consciousness. In this manner choice cannot be taken as something that is completely free from the outside influence.

Personnel of State Machine: The elite is a relatively small dominant group within a large society, having a privileged status perceived as being envied by others of a lower line of order.

The *elite* at the top of the social strata almost invariably puts it in a position of leadership, whether it be expected or volunteered, and often subjects the holders of elite status to pressure to maintain that leadership position as part of status. However, in spite of the pressures, the existence of the elite social stratum is usually unchanged. In his work, *The Politics of the Judiciary*, J.A.C. Griffith describes about the state elite in Britain and says 'in broad terms, four out of five judges are products of the elite. Elitist theories give highest importance to the nature and composition of the state elite. Max Weber also was concerned about the nature of Germany political leadership. However, Marxists gives less importance to the nature of the state elite. They emphasize the role of social context and the economic framework.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 1. What is Politics as a Political Activity?

Ans. Political activity attempts at changing policy, and is associated with theories of collective action, that

predicts there will be little political activity, most of it having no impact on policy. The activity consists of four questions: (1) What are our theoretical expectations about how much political activity there is? (2) What are our theoretical expectations about its impact? (3) What do the data show about the actual incidence and impact of political activity? (4) What are the implications of our findings for the study of democratic politics? It may be that political activity often has little effect on policy because there is so little activity to begin with.

Q. 2. Discuss the essential nature of Politics.

Ans. Politics is a collective activity, presumes an initial diversity of views, involves reconciling of differences, produces decisions become authoritative policy and consist of public choice.

Q. 3. What do you understand by the term Politics?

Ans. Politics is a process by which groups of people make collective decisions. The term is generally applied to behaviour within civil governments, but politics has been observed in other group interactions, including corporate, academic and religious institutions. It consists of "social relations involving authority or power" and refers to the regulation of a political unit, and to the methods and tactics used to formulate and apply policy.

The word "Politics" comes from the Greek word *politika* from *politic* modelled on Aristotle's "affairs of state," the name of his book on governing and governments, which was rendered in English mid-15 century as Latinised "Polettiques." In Latin, this was "politicus" and in French "politique". Thus it became "politics" in Middle English.

Q. 4. Describe Ralph Miliband's views on the State.

Ans. The most concise summary of Miliband's (1969) theory of the state is that:

In the Marxist scheme, the "ruling class" of capitalist society is that class which owns and controls the means of production and which is able, by virtue of the economic power thus conferred upon it, to use the state as its instrument for the domination of society. In empirical terms, Miliband identifies the corporation as the initial reference point for defining the capitalist class. In the United States, for example, the bulk of economic activity, whether measured in terms of assets, profits, employment, investment, market shares, or research and development expenditures was concentrated in the nation's fifty largest financial institutions and the 500 largest non-financial corporations. Thus, members of the capitalist class are identified as those persons who occupy the managerial and ownership functions of corporations. In this respect, the capitalist class is an overlapping economic network (i.e., structure) of authority based on institutional position (i.e., management) and property relations (i.e., ownership). Consequently, Miliband empirically identified the ruling classes of the advanced capitalist societies with wealthy families who owned large blocks of corporate stock and with the high ranking managers of those same corporations—about 0.5 percent to 1 percent of the total