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# QUESTION PAPER

June – 2024

(Solved)

## CIVIL SOCIETY, POLITICAL REGIMES AND CONFLICT

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Time: 2 Hours ]

[ Maximum Marks: 50

Note: Answer any **five** questions, selecting at least **two** questions from each section. All questions carry equal marks.

### SECTION-A

**Q. 1. Trace the genesis and evolution of peace movements.**

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-12, Page No. 98, 'Genesis and Evolution of Peace Movements'.

**Q. 2. Write a note on capacity building.**

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-13, Page No. 112, Q. No. 3.

**Q. 3. Enumerate the characteristics of decentralization according to WHO.**

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-14, Page No. 115-116, 'Characteristics of Decentralisation According to WHO'.

**Q. 4. Examine as to what makes local institutions accountable.**

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-15, Page No. 122, 'What Makes Local Institutions Accountable'.

**Q. 5. Elaborate Gandhian notion of civil society for peace.**

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-16, Page No. 134, Q. No. 1.

### SECTION-B

**Q. 6. Examine Hegel's views on state and civil society.**

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-5, Page No. 38, Q. No. 1.

**Q. 7. Discuss Gramsci's views on civil society.**

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-2, Page No. 11, 'On Civil Society'.

**Q. 8. What is global civil society? Explain.**

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-3, Page No. 22, Q. No. 1.

**Q. 9. Discuss Swaraj as self-reliance and self-government.**

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-4, Page No. 27, 'Swaraj as Self-Reliance and Self-Government'.

**Q. 10. Write a note on the pluralist state.**

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-5, Page No. 36, 'The Pluralist State'.

■ ■

# QUESTION PAPER

December – 2023

(Solved)

## CIVIL SOCIETY, POLITICAL REGIMES AND CONFLICT

MGPE-13

Time: 2 Hours ]

[ Maximum Marks: 50

Note: Answer any **five** questions, selecting at least **two** questions from each section. All questions carry equal marks.

### SECTION-I

**Q. 1. Discuss Thomas Paine's views on civil society and state in opposition.**

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-1, Page No. 3, 'Civil Society and State in Opposition: Paine'.

**Q. 2. Examine the post-Second World War debate on civil society.**

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-2, Page No. 14, 'Post-Second World War Debate'.

**Q. 3. Elaborate Gandhi's views on autonomy of the individual.**

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-4, Page No. 27, 'Autonomy of the Individual'.

**Q. 4. What is the debate on advanced capitalist state? Explain.**

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-5, Page No. 37, 'Debate and Advanced Capitalist State'.

**Q. 5. Write a note on changing relations among market, state and civil society.**

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-6, Page No. 41, 'Changing Relations among Market, State and Civil Society'.

### SECTION-II

**Q. 6. Examine civil society's relevance in Asia.**

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-7, Page No. 52, Q. No. 2.

**Q. 7. Discuss non-violence as an attribute of protest and resistance.**

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-8, Page No. 58, 'Non-Violence: An Attribute of Protest and Resistance'.

**Q. 8. Write a note on Nuclear Age Peace Foundation (NAPF).**

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-9, Page No. 70, 'Nuclear Age Peace Foundation (NAPF)'.

**Q. 9. Elaborate the role of NGOs in peace process.**

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-10, Page No. 78, 'Advocacy NGOs, The Importance of NGOs'.

**Q. 10. Trace the origins and historical development of human rights.**

**Ans. Ref.:** See Chapter-11, Page No. 88, 'Origins and Historical Development of Human Rights'.

■ ■

# Sample Preview of The Chapter

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# CIVIL SOCIETY, POLITICAL REGIMES AND CONFLICT

## Understanding Civil Society



### INTRODUCTION

Between the 10 decades of 1750 to 1850 the term civil society emerged as the key concept in Western political thought. In that era civil society named differently as a *koinônia*, *politikę*, *civilis*, *sociętcę*, *civile*, *bürgerliche*, *Gesellschaft*, etc. It was used synonymously with that of the state. In the 18th century in the countries like Britain, France and Germany the perception of civil society remained dominant. The civil society works within the laws and without harming other citizen's harmony. This perception remained dominant. Civil society as a concept originated within liberalism with an attempt to undermine absolutism.

According to the Aristotelian Greek term, *politike koinonia*, Aristotle discusses the city (polis) or "political community" (*koinônia politikę*) as opposed to other types of communities and partnerships such as the household and village. The highest form of community is the polis. Aristotle comes to this conclusion because he believes the public life is far more virtuous than the private and because men are "Political animals." According to the famous scholar Riedel (1975), the term is related with the different organisations of the sphere regulated by public law along with the estate politics, dualistic structures of prince and country, city republics, the society of orders within the absolutist state. As per the Aristotelian rule the identification of the political and the civil was maintained until the 18th century. At last we can say that civil society, as a concept, is part of the democratic revolution of the eighteenth century and moreover it is against the absolutism of the state.

### CHAPTER AT A GLANCE

#### ARISTOTLE AND CLASSICAL NOTION OF CIVIL SOCIETY

The famous scholar Aristotle's (384-322 BC) mention in his writings about the term *koinonia* that

relates with the notions of association, community and society, and there was no evidence of separate terms for these terms. Runciman is its prime concern, is not 'Between Society and the State but between the private or familial and the political-cum-social'. He also provides a series of distinctions that indicates the difference between political society and the society of citizens. Aristotle further pointed out that the number of natural associations is formed for some good reasons and that all arises naturally out of a union of male and female for the satisfaction of regular needs.

The state is termed as essential for sake of life and also continues for the sake of good life. The state along with the nature is of the view that 'Man by nature is a political animal', for human beings alone have perceptions of good and evil. On the other hand, 'A person who does not feel the need for a state is either an angel or a beast'. According to the Aristotle, the state has priority over the household and over any individual among us, as the 'Whole must be prior to the part'. The household needs and necessities are fulfilled while the state tries to secure good life.

Aristotle in his own way determines the moral character of a state. He also criticises Plato for conflating the household into a state and points out that household differs from a state in a fundamental manner. The relationship among the master and the slave, the family members, and in the state the relationship between the ruler and the ruled are inferior as pointed by John Locke (1632-1704), the founder of liberalism, subsequently reiterates in his critique of political absolutism and patriarchal authority in the late 17th century.

#### POST-ARISTOTLE EVOLUTION

Aristotle gives the importance to the balancing the oligarchic with democratic elements that the state could be stable and less vulnerable to the conflicts and other



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issues pertaining within the society. The middle class segment is there as means to maintain the societal balance.

This middle class state as per the view of the Aristotle, is the polity and is the most stable state, reiterating Euripides' as the 'save states'. It fulfils two important political ideals: equality and consensus. The various English classical economists such as Polybius (203-120 BC), Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 BC), St. Thomas Aquinas (1224-74), Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527), Adam Smith (1723-90) and is embodied in the American Constitution in the year of 1787.

In the post-Aristotelian era, the Roman Empire, unlike the Greeks, tried to unite all human beings under it. Christianity infuses social unity by appealing to the commonly shared spiritual fellowship. The religion of Christianity that Aristotle emphasizes by separating the polis and the church of Ecclesia, creating in St. Augustine's doctrine a dual citizenship of *civitas Dei* and *civitas terrna*. Augustine's thought about the State, we must avoid one error, that of translating *Civitas* by State. His thought, as I said, is eminently social. He thinks of good and bad as gathered into two societies. Only at the last judgement will the *Civitas terrena* be dissolved into its constituent atoms. But *civitas* is not for Augustine a term convertible with *republica*; and the *Civitas Dei* is to be found long before a visible Church existed, even before the call of Abraham. He speaks of the good and the evil as mystically two cities, stressing the word mystical. More than once he explains *civitas* as equivalent to society.

Aquinas' celebrated doctrine of natural law no doubt plays a central role in his moral and political teaching. According to Aquinas, everything in the terrestrial world is created by God and endowed with a certain nature that defines what each sort of being is in its essence. A thing's nature is detectable not only in its external appearance, but also and more importantly through the natural inclinations which guide it to behave in conformity with the particular nature it has. As Aquinas argues, God's authorship and active role in prescribing and sustaining the various natures included in creation may rightfully be called a law. Alighieri Dante makes a break with the ancient ideal of a unified Christian Commonwealth and substitutes a carefully balanced and complete dualism in which the State and the Church are independent of each other but they are complementing each other in every sense of imagination.

**EARLY MODERN NOTION OF CIVIL SOCIETY: FERGUSON AND SCOTTISH ENLIGHTENMENT**

According to the Ferguson the concept of civil society as distinct from the state emerges only with the disintegration of feudal societies. The difference amongst the political community and the spiritual one came under unique shape in the eve of religious strife unleashed by the Reformation that gave rise to Protestantism breaking the unity amongst the religion of Christianity. The famous scholar Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) is of the view that ecclesiastical power is not a form of rule, command or coercion but a form of teaching and persuasion.

On the other hand Locke, reiterating Aristotle points out that the political community is not an extended family and political rule is not the matter of paternal wish. Both the scholars the Hobbes and Locke interchange their features of the existing civil society in order to demonstrate the natural and rational grounds for establishing a social contract between the individual and the state.

**The Emergence of the Distinction Between the Political and the Social**

In the post-18th century, after the advent of the Industrial and the French Revolutions, there came the distinction between state and society. Society is no longer means the fundamental union between human beings that the state establishes. Civil society is itself becomes the network of interaction and exchange formed by individuals exercising the right to pursue the satisfaction of their particular needs in their own way. The famous scholar Charles-Louis Secondat Montesquieu (1689-1755) points out that commercialism cures human beings of their prejudices that conceal their true needs. The balance between outright robbery and neglect of one's interest for the sake of others brings about frugality, economy, moderation, work, prudence, tranquillity, order and rule and more importantly, the spirit of proper juridical remedies under the check.

David Hume (1711-76) considers interest rather than the contract as the factor that cements individual to the society. Adam Smith with the Hume, Adam Ferguson (1723-1816) and John Millar (1735-1801), briefly accepts the advantages secured by commerce and mutual support as the bases for forming society. The thinkers of the Scottish Enlightenment introduces the new description of civil society, as the expanding material sphere of trade and manufacture, and worked

as a bridge the traditional conception of the economy and the political notion of civil society, as adhered to by the social contract thinkers. As per the writings of Marsilius of Padua (1275/80-1342) for whom material tranquillity makes possible for the smooth interchange of economic and social benefits constituting the essence of peace in a political community. He believes the importance of those things necessary 'For life and even the good life'.

Adam Ferguson's *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (first published in 1767) is a classic of the Scottish – and European – Enlightenment. Drawing on such diverse sources as classical authors and contemporary travel literature, Ferguson offers a complex model of historical advance which challenges both Hume's and Smith's embrace of modernity and the primitivism of Rousseau. Ferguson combines a subtle analysis of the emergence of modern commercial society with a critique of its abandonment of civic and communal virtues. Central to Ferguson's theory of citizenship are the themes of conflict, play, political participation and military valour. He considers modern division of law as corrupting public spirit, a view that unites him with the old tradition of civic humanism.

The loss of public spirit defuses the citizens' suspicion of power and thus prepares the way for despotic government. To the dilemma that modern civil society requires a sovereign centralized constitutional state, which together with commerce and manufacturing 'breaks the bands of society and threatens civil liberties and capacity for independent associations of citizens thus undercutting the rationale for life in civil society. At last Ferguson proposes strengthening citizens' associations whether injuries, militias or in civil society at large.

#### **CIVIL SOCIETY AND STATE IN OPPOSITION: PAINE**

The Ferguson's formulation is the first phase whereas the second phase begins with Thomas Paine's (1737-1809) polemic against Edmund Burke (1729-97) in the *Rights of Man* (1791-2). Thomas Paine points out to the utmost need to restrict the power of the state in favour of the civil society. Thomas Paine's distinction between government and society is fundamental to the liberal tradition as is his preference for assigning a narrow scope to the former and a wide scope to the latter. The term "civil society" has come to be applied to the vast array of voluntary, spontaneously evolved

institutions intermediate between the individual and the state; in short, "civil society" today means roughly what Paine meant by "society." This is the beginning of a new idea of 'a government being the best which governs the least'. The nationally sovereign state would be a mere elected manager and guarantor of 'universal peace, civilization and commerce'.

A 'cordial union' of civilised society would replace social divisions and political unrest. Paine, pointing to the positive aspects of the American repeatedly emphasizes the need for deliberately resisting excesses of state power, underlined by two related but quite different sets of arguments, resulting in conclusions different from that of Ferguson.

At the first instance the principle of natural right and active consent of the governed guides a legitimate state. Individuals on the other hand, delegate power to the state held as trust, one that could be legitimately withdrawn at any time. As a result, the intestine struggles within the aristocracy resulted in greater and greater rights being granted to the people, pushing all the Greek states in the direction of democracy. These governments have only duties and no rights towards their citizens. Government without a constitution is comparable to power without right:

"A constitution ... is to a government, what the laws made afterwards by that government are to a court of judicature. The court of judicature does not make the laws, neither can it alter them; it only asks in conformity to the laws made: and the government is in like manner governed by the constitution".

#### **CIVIL SOCIETY AS LIFE BREATH OF STATE: TOCQUEVILLE**

According to Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-59) of the view that the complex problems facing society or they could use their superior talents to amass vast fortunes in the private sector. He believes that civil associations as arenas in which individuals can direct their attention to more than their selfish, narrow private and conflicting goals and also realise that they are dependent on one another and they all needed all important cooperation. Tocqueville also acknowledges that central state institutions ensure the survival and coordination among civil associations and the other scholar Hegel is also of the view, that freedom and equality among individuals and groups depend upon preserving types of associations that is related with the local freedoms and provide for the active expression of particular interests. Tocqueville observes "no

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legislator can destroy it without attacking the foundations of society itself". Tocqueville was attempting to make between the "pure" types and one mixed type – the selection of one comparative example that included all three types strengthened his argument more than any two-way comparison might have done.

**STATE AS UNIVERSAL AND CIVIL SOCIETY AS PARTICULAR: HEGEL**

The famous German scholar George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) who had written extensively on the distinction between the civil society and state as the crucial organising principle of the modern world.

With civil society we move from the family or "the ethical idea still in its concept," where consciousness of the whole or totality is focal, to the "determination of particularity," where the satisfaction of subjective needs and desires is given free reign (pars. 181-182). Hegel says that "this system may be prima facie regarded as the external state, the state based on need, the state as the Understanding envisages it". However, civil society is also a realm of mediation of particular wills through social interaction and a means whereby individuals are educated (Bildung) through their efforts and struggles toward a higher universal consciousness.

The famous scholar Keane (1998, p.63) disagrees with this interpretation and points out that between 1750 and 1850 many British, French and German thinkers were concerned with the notion of civil society and the limits of state action.

In the late 18th and 19th century historical development in Germany had certain peculiarities. He came up with the deeply rooted *Obrigkeitsstaat* tradition; and the fragility of a political culture of citizenship which is further explained with the idea of the *Staatsbürger*, the passive subject whose egoism is restrained and liberty, property and spiritual identity guaranteed and defined from above through the state and its laws'.

Hegel stresses that the civil society embodies a 'system of needs' and totality of private individuals. Hegel sees the civil society as crippling and in constant need of state supervision and control. Unlike Paine, Hegel does not consider the civil society (*bürgerliche Gesellschaft*) as a natural condition of freedom but as a 'historically produced sphere of ethical life' that lies in between the simple patriarchal household and the universal state. This dimension of civil society involves the pursuit of need satisfaction. Humans are different from animals in their ability to multiply needs and

differentiate them in various ways, which leads to their refinement and luxury. Political economy discovers the necessary interconnections in the social and universalistic side of need. Work is the mode of acquisition and transformation of the means for satisfying needs as well as a mode of practical education in abilities and understanding. Work also reveals the way in which people are dependent upon one another in their self-seeking and how each individual contributes to the need satisfaction of all others. The creation of civil society is the achievement of the modern world (1976, p.339) and is made possible because it develops the 'system of needs'.

Hegel, reiterating Ferguson, points out that the bourgeois economy generates commodities that make a level of specialisation and mechanisation of human labour essential. Hegel recognises a variety of classes or class fragments civil servants, landowners, peasantry, intellectuals, lawyers, doctors and clergymen but the moving principle of the civil society, is primarily in the *Bürgerstand*. Hegel agrees with Ferguson and Paine that the modern civil society is a complex system of transacting individuals, whose livelihoods, legal status and happiness are interwoven but it is this universal selfishness, and on this point, rejects Ferguson's trust in citizenship and Paine's belief in natural sociability, that turns the civil society into a 'blind and unstable field of economic competition among private non-citizens'.

The famous scholar Keane points out that Hegel's analysis represents the third phase of the concept of civil society. The Young Hegelians and Karl Heinrich Marx (1818-83) in their writings such as: *On the Jewish Question, Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right: Introduction and Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts* criticise this relationship between the state and civil society. On the other hand, Marx uses the term civil society to make a critique of Hegel and German Idealism. In the medieval society, the term civil society came with the new dimension. The individual becomes the most important commodity thus giving an impetus to the rise of civil society.

The famous Antonio Gramsci have a contrasted view on civil society as we compare it with that of Marx. He believes that individual needs but of organisations that has the potential for rational self-regulation and freedom. While in the contrast the Marx stresses the separation between the state and civil society.