Unit - 05

Nature of State

'People Organized for a peaceful life in a certain part of the earth are called the state.'

- Woodrow Wilson

Indian perspective of state

The theme of the state has been highlightened in detail in ancient Indian thought. We can trace the themes of origin of state in the works of Manusmriti, Mahabharata, Shukraniti and Arthashastra.

Form of state in Manusmriti

In Manusmriti, Manu has mentioned in detail the origin and nature of state, sovereignty, scope of the state, essential personal qualities of the king and control of ruler etc. An analysis of the above points Manusmriti is necessary to clarify the nature of the state.

(1) Origin of the state- Manusmriti,, Shukraniti and Shanti Parv of Mahabharat described that the situation of injustice, harassment fear and insecurity surrounded the society in the absence of state. The strong people were autocratic and they used to torture people. The weak were insecure and used to hide from the fear of the mighty. In such a situation, God created the King himself to protect the entire world and to remove the sense of insecurity and curb the strong. Being the creation of God, king is absolutist but he is limited by the restrictions of religion and morality. The king is a combination of divine fragments of the divine elements like Indra, Air, Sun, Yama, Varuna, Moon, Fire, Earth and Kuber. King is stunning because of holding these pieces of divine elements.

Kautilya has rendered that the origin of the state is as the result of a social contract. This contract was made between the people and the ruler. The contract gave some rights to the rulers and some rights to the people of the state against the ruler. The use of power by overthrowing the king and making any other worthy person ruler expresses that Kautilya has considered the public ultimate source of government power, and the consent and acceptance of the people are believed to be the basis of this government power.

- (2) Nature of the state- Ancient Indian thinkers have described the organic form of state which has seven components, which Manu has named as 'Nature'. The seven natures of the state are as follows:
- (i) Swamy- Manu has given the king the name of the lord and considered a loyal King with moral qualities and administrative ability necessary for the state.
- (ii) Minister- According to Manu, the power of the state is not the personal power of the king but it is an institutional power. Therefore, the king can use this power only in institutional form. The name of the institutional form of state power is the Council of Ministers. Therefore, it is necessary for the king to do all the tasks related to the maintenance of the state's responsibilities in accordance with the advice of ministers and appoint qualified persons on the ministerial level.
- (iii) Pur-Pur means the capital of the state. Manu has mentioned that the king should make such a field the capital of the state, which is well protected and also fortified. Manu mentioned many types of fortifications, such as, Dhanwan fort, Mahidurga, Jaladurg, Tree fortress, Manadurg and Giri castle.
- (iv) **State-** Manu has called the territory under the borders of the state and the people residing on it as

the state, and in this form it is also considered an essential part of the state.

- (v) Fund- In the state, the wealth collected in the state has been named fund and Manu has expressed the view that only if the state has enough funds, the king will be able to do various tasks for the protection and welfare of the people.
- (vi) Punishment- Manu considers Penalties or army mandatory for the protection of the state. Security by the army has a double obligation internal and external security. Manu has expected from the King that he will keep all the army units like elephants, chariot army, horse forces, water forces and infantry etc. to protect the state.
- (vii) Friends- Manu has also accepted friend as the necessary part of the state. According to Manu, the state has to fulfill its relations with other states as well. Therefore, for efficient operation of these relations, it is necessary that the king should make such efforts that the number of his friendly states is maximum and the number of enemy states is minimal.

In relation to the relative significance of all these parts of the state, Manu has said that the significance of each nature is more than the nature given after it. Thus, Swami or lord means that the king should be considered the topmost component of the state. The king should be given the highest importance. Proper use of other resources should be made by the king and ministers for governing the state's administrative system smoothly. In determining the relative preference of the state's creations, Manu has mentioned that the type of nature most relevant in a particular situation should be considered the most important at that in the execution of a particular work.

(3) Scope of the state - Ancient Indian thinkers have systematically analyzed the duties of the state. Manu has considered protection of the subjects, maintaining the social system in accordance with the

religion and the welfare of the subjects important duties of the state. The main duties of the State described in Manu Smriti are as follows:-

(i) Prajarakshan or Protection of the subjects: It is the main responsibility of the state. According to Manu, protection is the basis of the existence of the state, because God has created the state to provide security to the people only. To fulfill this obligation of protecting the people, the state should establish peace and order in the internal region and protect the people from external attacks. At the same time, the state should protect the people from the criminals and the society, and should use its penal powers to prevent crimes like incest, theft, robbery etc. According to Manu, the king who works for the people, but the neglect of these works keeps the people sad and the king is destroyed.

(ii) Prajapalan or taking care of the subjects: In Manusmriti, Prajapalan is considered an important duty of the state. Manu has considered it the state's important responsibility to establish the system of four Purusharths, namely, religion, wealth, sex and salvation. According to Manu, it is the duty of the state to achieve the untied wealth and land, to protect the survivors, increase the preservation and distribute the growth that

Manu has considered fulfilling many responsibilities by the state as a part of fulfilling the obligation of the people, such as to help in the advancement of agriculture and to arrange the means of irrigation, to help in the advancement of trade and develop traffic routes and keep them safe from robbers, to inspect and observe measure-weights, to control the values and prevent adulteration, to protect orphans and helpless persons and their property, to protect the helpless, barren and sick women and their property, to build schools, deities, dispensaries and commemorations, to respect the authors and provide them financial assistance.

is due.

(iii) Regulation of Economy: According to the Vedic tradition, wealth has been considered an important Purusharth after religion. Accordingly, the people and the king themselves must earn money as per Dharma. It is the duty of the State to ensure the physical and economic progress of the people. The king should do justice to the people and protect their property and other means of prosperity. Manu has advised the king to take tax according to the capability from the people and not to impose unnecessary burden of taxes on them. In addition, Manu expects from the king to protect the interests of the traders, as well as to save the people from the economic crimes committed by traders such as adulteration, taking more value and weighing less.

(iv) Maintenance and regulation of social system- Manu believes that the maintenance and regulation of the social system is the duty of the state. The state must ensure the determined duties by every Varna. Considering religion as the basic premise of the social system, in Manusmruti it is expected that all persons of the society should follow the religion, and also from the ruler it is expected that through its punitive power, he should force all the people of the society to obey him. If the members of different varnas do not do their assigned duties in accordance with his will, chaotic situation will prevail in the society. The protection of all the hermitages is also considered to be the responsibility of the state.

(v) Judicial system: In Manusmruti, the establishment of justice has been recognized as the state's most important duty and it has also been considered as the basis of the existence of the State, for resolving injustice in the society and establishing justice. God has created the King. According to Manu, the number of innocent people in the world is very low. The person is subdued by work, anger, greed etc. and takes away the rights of other people and also neglects his work. According to Manu, the state's power of

punishment keeps the wicked in fear and obliges all the people to follow their duty and empowers them to exercise their rights. Through the obedience of this responsibility, the state communicates the feeling of security in all individuals. A detailed classification of crimes and punishments has been presented in Manusmriti and it has been instructed to the king that he himself does justice.

(vi) Maintenance of Administrative system: To fulfill the obligations of the state, Manu has considered a competent and organized administrative system as mandatory and has advised the king to have proper control over the administrative system, employees and officers, and ensure that employees of the State should continue to follow their responsibilities towards the people and should not suffer from the misuse of powers. In Manu Smriti, it is expected from the king that he should appoint, virtuous, strong charactered and loyal officers and employees on various positions of administration and keep investigating their behavior through detectives and

punish corrupt and public officials.

(vii) Operation of Inter-State Relations: Manu has stressed the prudent conduct of foreign policy for the increase in the interests of the state and the defense. According to Manu, the King protects the state from unnecessary attacks by efficient operation of interstate relations. In relation to the maintenance of nonnation relations, Manu has advised the ruler that he should make such efforts that the number of his friends in the international arena is maximum and the number of enemy states is minimal. But for the conduct of relations with the nations, Manu has suggested the rule of the State to follow the ideology, shrewdness and measures, as its theoretical dimension, and on the operation of effective messenger and intelligence system as a practical side of the nation relations. It is considered necessary.

(viii) Arrangement of agriculture and trade: The significance of trade and agriculture is shown in

the Mahabharata for the state. It is the duty of the state to be aware of the progress of trade and agriculture in the protected state. State fund and army depend on agriculture and business prosperity. The state that ends in business terms is not afraid. The state in which there is a crisis on business, deserves condemnation. It is the duty of the State to construct reservoirs etc. for agricultural activities.

(ix) Maintenance of the relations with the other nations: According to Shukra, a state has to maintain relations with other states as well. Therefore, it is expected from the state that it should operate onthe-nation relations in such a way that the welfare and security of the national interest and the people can be ensured more and more. It is expected from the King to operate inter-state relations efficiently and save the state from unnecessary wars. For this reason, Shukra has considered the king to follow certain policies and measures.

(x) Educational functions of the State: Shukra has also included the enhancement of education in the responsibilities of the state and said that the scholarships should be given to the eligible students and after the completion of the education, the educated people should be appointed as per their entitlement. The people proficient in education and are should be honored by the state, and continuous efforts for the advancement education and arts should be made by the state. Provide for the maintenance of the virtuous, ascetics, scholars, astrologers, mantra teachers, doctors etc. and arrange monthly or annual allowances for them.

It is clear from the above explanation that Ancient Indian thinkers has accepted the nature of a public welfare state while mentioning the detailed duties of the state.

Liberal Perspective of the State

"Liberalism is a compound of two separate elements as a political theory. One of these is democracy and second individualism". -W.M. McGuyern

In the history of political thought, liberal ideology has existed for the past four centuries. It is a flexible and dynamic ideology that has modified and changed itself according to the need of time. But it has always kept its central idea that the individual is a person and the state and other institutions are mere means.

Based on the historical development of liberalism, two levels can be seen. First Classical Liberalism and Second Modern Liberalism. These two categories of liberalism and the liberal thought related to them can be explained as follows –

(1) Classical Liberalism - Classical Liberalism is also called negative liberalism because it emphasizes the negative role of the state in order to protect the individual's independence. In England, the form of liberalism at the early stage was called the Classical Liberalism. It was limited to the demand for constitutional protection of individual rights. Later, questions related to economic and political organizations and political programs also came under it. At this stage liberalism emerged as a demand for religious freedom, tolerance, constitutionalism and political rights. The revolution of 1688 is considered the first biggest liberal revolution in history. It consolidated the liberal achievements of that century and gave a definitive constitutional form. In the development of this liberalism, Jeremy Bentham (1748 to 18326) Adamsmith (1723 to 1790) and Herbert Spencer (1820 to 1903) were major contributors. According to Classical Liberism, which is also called Individualism or Negative Liberism, the conceptions regarding state are as follows:

(1) Mechanical form of society and state - According to the liberals, the state and society are artificial and created by man. They have been created by the people for their convenience as per their wish, so they can amend and change it as per the requirement.

There is no separate existence of the society and the state from the individual. The life of a person is the life

of the society and the state and in the welfare of a person, the welfare of the society and the state lies in itself. Normal or collective welfare can be the same in which every person is a partner.

- (2) Individual as an End, while state and society as means—The liberals consider the individual to be an end, and the society and the state means. According to them, the ethical and spiritual welfare and its development is the most important thing. Therefore, no system, tradition or law of any community, society or state can be such that the person is sacrificed in the name of it because these are all for the individual and the individual is not for them. Therefore, all of these have significance as long as they are helpful in fulfilling the interests of the individual and if they do not fulfill this purpose, they can be destroyed or even changed.
- (3) Recognition to the natural form of the individual's rights According to liberalism, the rights of the individual are natural. The society and the state are not entitled to violate them. Society and state are not the creators of the rights, rather they have been created to protect the rights of the individual. These natural rights of the individual give him the guarantee of independence. According to the Lock, "Life, property and freedom are the main natural rights of a person, which are not given by the state or society. So neither the state nor the society can make any reduction in them nor can they eliminate them."
- (4) Recognition to the ideal of liberty Liberalism does not support the independence of a person in absolute terms. Its belief is that the man is born free. So independence is his proven authority. Therefore, there should not be any control over such a power which can arbitrarily impede his liberty. Liberalism supports the complete independence of the individual in all areas of life. The great supporter of the individual's liberty, Hobhouse has discussed nine types of independence of a person. (i) Citizen Freedom, (ii) Personal (iii) Economic (iv) Financial (v) Family (vi)

Social (vii) Political (viii) Ethnic and National and (ix) International Freedom.

- (5) Recognition to the ideal of equality The liberals support the freedom of the individual alongwith the equality of the individuals. According to them, people are born with similar natural rights. Therefore, they should be considered equal. Though not all people can be equal in political, mental and spiritual form, but in the eyes of the state's law and governance, all persons should be considered equal and on the basis of caste, religion, gender or language etc., they should not be discriminated.
- (6) Minimum functions of state During this phase Liberalism considered Personal Liberty as an antonyn of the scope of state's functions. Therefore it was felt necessary to guarante the maximum liberty of individual that the scope of state's function should be minimum. Accordingly, it was proposed that state should confined itself to protect from the external aggression, to maintain enternal peace and order and operate the texation system to execute the abovesaid to functions. This is called the principle of Laissez Faire which supports free market economy based on unrestricted market and free trade.

The above description explains that classical Liberalism considers state as an artificial institution, who establishes peace and order in society through its supreme authority. During this process the liberty of individual is some what restricted but in reciprocation individual is saved from violent conflict and anarchy. In other words, state is a necessary evil.

(2) Modern liberalism - In the first half of the nineteenth century, there was an ever-changing transformation in ancient liberalism and contemplation related to it. It emphasized its positive side rather than the negative role of the state. Hence it is also called 'positive liberalism'. In this transformation, the fundamental ideals of the "person's independence" remained unchanged, but the means of attaining it were

changed. As a result of the success of classical liberalism, the individual got the desired political and economic independence. Therefore, he was not limited to the demand of the state's non-egoistic nature, but demanded such a political and economic organization that could give full freedom to the Individual. At the beginning the rights demanded by liberalism for elites and the middle class, were received. But the farmers and the working class were still deprived of them. Economic freedom for them was possible only when the state took any concrete action in this regard. In modern liberalism, the welfare of the person, especially of the weak and poor, was considered to be the condition of his freedom. Contrary to classical liberalism, modern liberalism believes that the state should play a positive role in order to make the relationships of individuals regular and balanced. Later this modern liberalism developed into the concept of 'welfare state'. Modern liberalists include John Stuart Mill (1806-1873), T.H. Green (1836-1882), L. T. Hobhouse (1864-1929) H.J. Laski (1893-1950) and R.M. MacIver (1882-1970).

Modern Liberism, which is also called Positive Liberism has seen state as a Beyond-Class institution which partially accomodates the antagonistic class interest. Now the personal Liberty and states authority are not antonym to each other. Through its positive activities, state creates such socio-economic conditions, in which all individuals are able to use there liberties and rights. T.H. Green has called this as 'restraining the restrictions.' Accordingly state does not remain merely a power structure, which has to establish public order only, but it becomes an institutions which realizes Liberty through public welfare. In this order state not only executes negetive functions but also the positive functions such as making avaible free and compulsary public education, public health, labour welfare etc. In chapter-6 the concept of welfare state is discussed in detail.

Criticism of Liberalism

Things going on against the liberals can be understood as follows -

- (1) State is not a necessary evil- the liberals consider state a necessary evil, but the notion is misleading. The state has been created to meet the requirements of human life. Therefore, it is to increase its ideal human welfare. Without a state, a decent and cultured society cannot be imagined.
- (2) State does not destroy liberty the notion of Liberals that the expansion in the work area of the state will mean to destroy the individual's independence is also inappropriate. Whereas the reality is that laws created by the state protect the individual's independence, they do not have to be abusive.
- (3) Open competition is harmful to the weaker sections Some liberals believe in open competition and support the survival of the fittest These conditions will be detrimental to the weaker sections of society. Also, the open competition in the financial sector is not socially profitable.
- (4) Philosophy of capitalist class Liberalism is the philosophy of the capitalist class. It wants to keep the capitalist system in existence. It also gives the State the right to interfere in economic matters to save the capitalist economy.
- (5) Wrong theory of social change-Liberalization is the belief that it is possible to bring social change through gradual development. While the reality is that change is brought about only through class struggle and revolution in the class-divided society. Liberalism believes that it is possible to establish economic equality through economic reforms, whereas economic equality is not possible without ending personal property.

Contribution of Liberalism

The Contribution of liberalism can be seen in the following areas of life -

- (1) Social and religious Field Liberalism emphasized religious freedom and tolerance in the social and religious areas, whereby ended the political power of the Pope of Rome. The undesirable alliance of church and state ended and a person became religiously independent.
- (2) Economic Field- Liberalism in the financial sector stressed the free trade policy based on the political nonproliferation, which in turn resulted in the establishment of business relations in distant countries and the creation of the world market.
- (3) Political Field- Liberalism in the field of politics supported the democratic government system based on independence and equality. With the end of monarchical systems, democratic institutions were established in many parts of the world on the basis of public franchise. Due to the support of the principle of national self-decision, many nations of Europe and many countries of Asia and Africa gained independence and formed national governments in them.

Marxist Perspective of the state

"Marx is the first socialist writer whose work can be called a scientific. He has not only depicted his desired society, but also describes the situations through which this goal can be achieved."

-C.E.M. Joad

The whole thought of Karl Marx and Engels and their followers such as Lenin, Rosa Luxenberg, Mao-Tse-Tung, Gramsci is known as Marxism. Marx is a socialist thinker who propounded the socialist ideology on the basis of scientific principles and emphasised the inevitability of revolution to estabilished socialist society. Marxism is also known as scientific socialism.

Numerous thinkers can be counted among the forerunners of Marx's imaginative or utopian socialists, including Sir Tamasoor, Saint Simmons, Trojans Fourier, Robert Owen, Noyle Bawf, Louis Blanc, Jan. Sisamendi, Dr. Halu and William Thampson. These

thinkers were a bit critical of the inequality of funds existing in the capitalist system, independent competition and state intervention policy in the economic sector. These thinkers used to emphasize the fair distribution of wealth, but they did not tell why this disparity arises and what its relation with the methods of production is. He neither presented any interpretation of the process of change of society nor gave any practical suggestions to improve the existing system. For this reason, socialists Pre Marx socialists are called 'utopian socialists'.

Wayper has said in this regard that "he imagined flowers of beautiful rose, but did not prepare any land for rose plants." Marx studied the modern society in a very critical way. He not only unveiled the defects of capitalism, but also presented a detailed action plan to establish an endless classless society finishing off capitalism. He provided a scientific surface by removing socialism from a fictional background. According to Len Lancaster, Marxism has two main grounds for having scientific socialism. First, it is based on reality, not on imagination, secondly, it does not explain the old system in scientific way, but also adopts scientific approach to get a new system. Taylor's opinion is that, "The interpretation of the forces that make social changes in Marxism, gives them scientific know-how." Apart from this, the interpretation of these transforming powers is based on 'human psychology'.

Marx has denied the state-related concepts of his predecessor thinkers, idealists and individualists. Marx has described the state as a class institution. His view is that the state is an artificial institution which has been created by the absorbent class to protect its interests and it is the means of suppression and oppression of the exploited class in the hands of the exploitative class. Marx's views on state can be understood as follows.

(1) Origin of state- According to Marx, in primitive communist society, state and private property did not exist. As a result of the gradual development of

the society, personal property emerged and the entire society was divided into two classes, haves and have nots. Marx calls this era and states that the state came into existence in this period. In this society, the wealthy master class was highly influential, but the number of the members of this class was much less as compared to the propertyless and dissatisfied slaves. The master class was afraid of the rebellion of slave class, so it resorted to power to suppress the slaves and arranged for law, police force, jail and court etc. With the help of these institutions, the master class established its harsh domination over the slave class. Thus, the state is an institution created from class struggle.

- (2) Nature of state- According to Marx, the state is a class institution. It is created by the absorbent class to protect its interests. So the sovereignty of the state is indeed the sovereignty of the exploitative class. The law and justice system of the state is the growth of the interests of the exploiters. Thus Marx opposes the belief that the state is an ethical institution in nature.
- (3) The objective of the state- According to Marx, the purpose of the state is to protect and increase the interest of the class which has authority over its power. In the past, minority exploiters had power over the state's authority and the state did only the work of protecting the interests of this class. But in the future a socialist state would be established and the majority of the working class (exploited class) would have the right the state and then the purpose of the state would be to protect the interests of the working class.
- (4) State system, in accordance with the stages of the society According to Marx, the state system found in any era of history is relative to its social status. There are specific types of physical and financial conditions found in any type of society, and in the context of that society, there is specific interest of the exploitative class (lord, priest or capitalist) in that society. In view of these specific interests, the absorbent class of that society decides the form of government

system, the basic principles of the Constitution, the system of justice and punishments and the system of rights. In future, socialist system will not be an exception to this rule.

- (5) The rise of a classless society According to Marx, the state is not a permanent institution. Because of the physical circumstances which have resulted in the state and because of which its existence has remained, the end of the state is sure to end. In the socialist state, the state will gradually become emaciated. The institution of the first private property will end. It will be classless society. So there will be no class struggle. Due to the absence of classes, the classical institution 'State' will also not be required and the state will disappear. This stage will be the 'communist' state of society. Thus, socialist society will be a transitional society which will gradually become a communist society. It will be a stateless and classless state of the society.
- (6) Marx's theory of Withering away of the state- Marx is of the opinion that in the socialist society, those materialistic conditions will be born, which will not necessarily require the state and will be destroyed withering gradually. Instead of socialist society, communist society will be established. According to Marx, the reasons for the state's being withered in the socialist society will be as follows: -
- (i) According to Marx, the rise of the state has occured in the form of protector of private property but in the socialist society, the institution of private property will be extinguished. Therefore, the fundamental of the state's existence will be destroyed and then the state's extinction process will start.
- (ii) According to Marx, the state is a class institution. This is the means of oppression of the exploited class in the hands of the exploitative class. But in the socialist society, the exploitative class (capitalist) will end and only one class (the working

class) will remain in society, hence the end of class struggle will also occur. In this situation the state will not be required and then the process of end of state will start.

- (iii) Marx is of the view that socialist society will have such fair and exploitationless circumstances that the person will not need to commit a crime. Therefore, there will be such circumstances that there will be no need for a state to maintain peace in the society.
- (iv) According to Marx, due to the above reasons, in the socialist society, the state will gradually become impaired and in the end it will end. Thus, the establishment of communist society, which would be a stateless and classless society will be made.

Criticism of Marx's state theory - Marx's state theory is criticized on the following grounds.

- (i) State-Not a class institution- Marx is a supporter of the classical theory of state's origin and states that the origin of the state was as a result of class struggle and it is an organization that protects the interests of the vulnerable class. But this is not true. State is an organization meant for individual service and welfare. State rose in order to protect the interests of a person, not to protect the interest of any particular class.
- (ii) State -a welfare organization- Marx has recognized the state as the institution of exploitation, oppression and exploitation of the exploited class in the hands of the exploitative class. There are not only financial classes in society but also many religious, cultural, racial and linguistic classes. The function of the State is to protect and enhance the common interests of all these sections.

(iii) Misconceptions about capitalist state-

At present, the development of capitalist state has proved the perception of Marx false. Marx described capitalist state as the means of cruel exploitation of workers, but in the current era the state of capitalism

has accepted the responsibility of the welfare of the workers. Marx's view was that the collapse of state of capitalism is sure, but in modern times the capitalist state is more powerful and effective than before.

- (iv) Faulty concept of socialist society- Marx has supported the supremacy of the proletariat in the socialist state, but in practice it appears as the autocratic rule of communist origin. Marx had conceived a qualitative change in the character of a person in the socialist society, which has not been proven true.
- (v) Establishment of a stateless society impossible Marx's notion of the establishment of stateless society is merely an imagination which cannot be realized. 98 years have passed since the revolution of Russia, but the state has not disappeared yet, and after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, communism was buried there.

Important Points

Indian concept of state

Nature of state

In ancient Indian thought the organic form of state is described in which state has seven components known as 'Prakriti'. They seven components are-Swamy, Minister, Pur, Nation, Fund, Dand and Allies.

Functions of state

The main functions of the state described by Ancient Indian thinkers are as follows- (i) Protection of the subjects (ii) Taking care of the subjects (iii) Regulation of Economy (iv) Maintenance amd regulation of social system (v) Establishment of justice (vi) Organising administrative system (vii) Operating inter-state relations (viii) Management of agriculture and trade (ix) Education

Liberal Perspective of state

In the history of political thought, liberal ideology has existed for the past four centuries. It is a flexible and dynamic ideology that has modified and changed itself according to the need of time. But it has always kept its central idea that the individual is a person and the state and other institutions are mere means.

Types of Liberalism and major Liberal Thinkers

Based on the historical development of liberalism, two levels can be seen. First Classical Liberalism and Second Modern Liberalism. In the development of Classical liberalism, Jeremy Bentham (1748 to 18326) Adamsmith (1723 to 1790) and Herbert Spencer (1820 to 1903) were major contributors. Modern liberalists include John Stuart Mill (1806-1873), T.H. Green (1836-1882), L. T. Hobhouse (1864-1929) H.J. Laski (1893-1950) and R.M. MacIver (1882-1970).

Principles of Liberalism

(1) Mechanical form of society and state (2) Individual as an End, while state and society as means (3) Recognition to the natural form of the individual's rights (4) Recognition to the ideal of liberty (5) Recognition to the ideal of equality (6) Minimum functions of state

Marxist theory of state

Marx is of the opinion that in the socialist society, those materialistic conditions will be born, which will not necessarily require the state and will be destroyed withering gradually. Instead of socialist society, communist society will be established.

Important Question

Objective type questions:

- 1. Kautilya has accepted the origin of the state
 - (A) by God
- (B) by election
- (C) by agreement (D) by war
- 2. The unit of social analysis of the Liberals is-

- (A) individual
- (B) Group
- (C) society
- (D) state
- 3. Who is not a liberal thinker
 - (A) JS Mill
- (B) Lock
- (C) Herbert Spencer
- (D) Marx
- 4. The principle of welfare state is related to-
 - (A) fascism
- (B) liberalism
- (C) socialism
- (D) Marxism
- 5. Marxist socialism is called
 - (A) Ideatism
 - (B) imaginative socialism
 - (C) Scientific socialism
 - (D) None of the above
- 6. Marx considers state-
 - (A) A law making body
 - (B) a public welfare organization
 - (C) a class organization
 - (D) means of revolution
- 7. Who wrote 'Das Capital'?
 - (A) Marx
- (B) Lock
- (C) Plato
- (D) Rousseau
- 8. The second name of 'scientific socialism' is-
 - (A) idealism
 - (B) communism
 - (C) Democratic Socialism
 - (D) Marxism

Very Short answer type questions (word limit 30 words)

1. With which divine elements have Ancient Indian thinkers considered the creation of the king?

- 2. According to Ancient Indian thinkers what is the basis of origin of the state?
- 3. Name any two writers of positive liberalism.
- 4. Name any two writers of negative liberalism.
- 5. Describe two traits of negative liberalism.
- 6. Explain the state theory propounded by Marx.

Short questions (word limit 100 words)

- 1. According to Ancient Indian thinkers, what are the seven organs of the state?
- 2. What do you mean by liberalism?
- 3. What do you mean by traditional liberalism?
- 4. 'State is a necessary evil' Explain.
- 5. 'State is an instrument of exploitation' Explain.
- 6. Explain Marx's theory of withering away of the state.

Essay type questions-

1. Explain the origin and form of the state as described by Ancient Indian thinkers.

- 2. Describe the functions of the state according to Ancient Indian thinkers.
- 3. What do you mean by liberalism? Discuss the major characteristics of liberalism.
- 4. What are the two streams of liberalism? Make clear the difference between the two.
- 5. Illuminate the causes of modern liberal development and its characteristics.
- 6. Examine the key principles of Liberalism.
- 7. 'Liberalism is synonymous neither with non-individualism, nor democracy nor with socialism' Interpret the statement.
- 8. Explain Marx's views related to state.

Answer Objective Question

- 1. (C) 2. (A) 3. (D) 4. B
- 5. (C) 6. (C) 7. (A) 8. (D)