

**EPS-11: POLITICAL IDEAS AND IDEOLOGIES
TUTOR MARKED ASSIGNMENT**

**Course Code: EPS –11
Assignment Code: Asst /TMA /2016-17
Total Marks: 100**

Answer all questions. Try to answer in your own words.

A) DCQ: Answer the following in about 500 words each. 2x20

1. Write an essay on legitimation.
OR
On the new science of politics.
2. Discuss if political theory is dead.
OR
What is the normative conception of political theory? Elaborate.

B) MCQ: Answer the following in about 250 words each. 4x12

3. Discuss the liberal theory of state.
OR
The distinction between state and other associations.
4. Describe the major characteristics of sovereignty.
OR
Examine the attacks on the theory of sovereignty.
5. Discuss Michael Foucault's analysis of power.
OR
David Bentham's critique of Max Weber.
6. Write a note on how Feminists approach the issue of citizenship.
OR
On the Equality of opportunity.

C) SCQ: Answer the following in about 100 words each. 2x6

7. Representative Democracy in practice
OR
Historical Materialism
8. Western context of secularism
OR
Balkanization argument against affirmative action

ASSIGNMENT SOLUTIONS GUIDE (2016-2017)

E.P.S.-11

Political Ideas and Ideologies

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Answer all questions. Try to answer in your own words.

(A) DCQ : Answer the following in about 500 words each.

Q. 1. Write an essay on legitimization.

Ans. 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 cooperation 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 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.

Authority and Legitimacy: Both Descriptive and Normative: The word legitimacy is often interpreted in a normative or a positive way. In a normative sense, legitimacy gets greater attention as a part of moral philosophy. A status conferred by the people on the government's officials, acts, and institution through their belief that the government's actions are an appropriate use of power by a legally constituted governmental authority following correct decisions on making policies.

According to the German political philosopher Dolf Sternberger, "Legitimacy is the foundation of such governmental power as is exercised both with a consciousness on the government's part that it has a right to govern and with some recognition by the governed of that right." The American political sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset argues, it also "involves the capacity of a political system to engender and maintain the belief that existing political institutions are the most appropriate and proper ones for the society."

Something becomes legitimate when one approves of it. Then people can have relations with men. In a positive sense, legitimacy gets greater attention in political science. For example, an institution is perceived as legitimate, if approval for that institution is general among those people subject to its authority. According to John Locke, the British social contractualist, issues of legitimacy are linked to those of consent, both explicit and tacit. "The argument of the [*Second*] *Treatise* is that the government is not legitimate unless it is carried on with the consent of the governed."

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The American political theorist Robert A. Dahl, has explained the concept of legitimacy by using the metaphor of a reservoir. For example, as long as the reservoir stays at a certain level stability can be maintained, if it falls below the required level it is endangered. Regimes in most states require the assent of a large proportion of the population in order to retain power. In several countries this is not the case: many unpopular regimes have survived because they are supported and considered as legitimate by a small but influential elite.

In the case of laws, legitimacy should be distinguished from legality. Action can be legal without being legitimate (as in the case of an immoral law). Action can also be legitimate without being legal. When sources of legitimacy clash with one another, constitutional crisis erupts. Legitimacy as a concept is often applied to other, non-political, kinds of authority, and also to issues concerning the legitimacy of entire political-economic systems (such as capitalism) as discussed in the Marxist tradition.

Weber and his Belief in Legitimacy: Weber is also well-known for his critical study of the bureaucratisation of society, the rational ways in which formal social organizations apply the ideal type characteristics of a bureaucracy. It was Weber who began the studies of bureaucracy and whose works led to the popularization of this term. Many aspects of modern public administration go back to him, and a classic, hierarchically organized civil service of the Continental type is called "Weberian civil service", although this is only one ideal type of public administration and government described in his *Magnum Opus Economy and Society* (1922), and one that he did not particularly like himself – he only thought it particularly efficient and successful. In this work, Weber outlines a description, which has become famous, of rationalization (of which bureaucratization is a part) as a shift from a value-oriented organization and action (traditional authority and charismatic authority) to a goal-oriented organization and action (legal-rational authority). The result, according to Weber, is a "polar night of icy darkness", in which increasing rationalization of human life traps individuals in an "iron cage" of rule-based, rational control.

Q. 2. What is the normative conception of political theory? Elaborate.

Ans. Political theory allows us a better understanding of social and political life and it tries to analyze political phenomena of various shades and descriptions. From Plato to Marx, political theory is not a description of imaginary world but it is always situated in the actual world. In his book, *Politics and Vision*, Sheldon Wolin says that political theory has sharpened our sense about complex interplay between political experience and thought and it has provided thoughtful political action and widens political vision.

Normative Conception: The normative conception is also known as philosophical theory and as ethical theory. This conception believes that logic, purpose and ends can interpret the world events. The moral concerns of normative theorists make them devise ideal types and conceive 'utopia'.

The normativists portray their values as absolutes which have been criticized by the empirical theory because values are relative. Empiricists criticize normativists for cultural basis of ethics and norms, abstract and utopian nature of the enterprise and ideological content in research.

In his work, *A Theory of Justice*, John Rawls creates 'original position' to connect normative philosophical understanding with real world concerns about welfare state and distributive justice. Moreover, as a part of the normative project a new theory called critical theory has developed which attempts at combining ideas with practice and also makes effective interventions for changes in society.

The normative conception of political theory is identified with preferences and values. The emphasis is on moral and rational premises. The motivating concern is for what ought to be or what should be. For instance, if we come across the statement that only men of wisdom should become rulers, or, that every citizen ought to assess the capabilities of candidates before casting his or her vote, the normative concern is predominant. Since political life concerns human beings, it is not possible, nor desirable, to study facts, phenomena and processes without taking into account the reality that human beings have choices, preferences and values. The moral aspect alone helps us to test whether facts about political life are right or wrong. What is to be studied, how is it to be studied, and, why we study, what we do, are issues viewed from moral perspectives. The normative approach stresses the belief that relevance of political life lies in the values that motivate and inspire it. Political analysts and author-philosophers have been making value judgements all the time. The normative approach states that it is not possible to make political studies value-neutral. Normative conception looks for making the right choices, make right decisions act in the right manner, and ensure betterment of political life. The normative approach does not ignore or minimize the significance of facts. The assertion is that the study of facts and values is necessary for a viable and clear understanding of political life.

(B) MCQ Answer the following in about 250 words each.

Q. 3. Discuss the liberal theory of state.

Ans. The essential characteristic of the liberal theory of the state is the doctrine of jurisdiction. That is, the idea that there is such a thing as a limited area of power and authority for the state—a delimitation of its proper sphere, beyond which, it is improper for the state to trespass. This doctrine is essentially the sole preserve of liberals. Only liberals seriously think about it. Anarchists reject the state altogether. Socialists are simply not concerned about limits of state power. Modern socialist governments may introduce market based reforms. The motivating factor is that of economic efficiency and not appreciation of the importance of individual liberty and limited government.

The first principle of the liberal theory of the state is that the state is not superior to other institutions. That is not to say that the state is an inferior institution. However, the state will generally be inferior to other institutions in the respective fields of special competence of those other institutions. The state is inferior to the church for the purpose of defining moral values or the conduct of ecclesiastical government. The state is inferior to the Australian Cricket Board and the Australian Medical Association in relation to cricket and practice of medicine. This follows not merely on grounds of efficiency or expediency but also as a moral principle. The state is simply one social institution amongst many. Each has its proper sphere. The state has its proper sphere. It should not appropriate the spheres of other institutions. This might be described as a rule of internal management: a presumption that each institution is the appropriate authority for the management of those matters which pertain to it.

The second principle of the liberal theory of the state is that the state ought to respect the fault principle. This principle is affirmed in Chapter 29 of Magna Carta and may be resolved into a series of further propositions. The state ought not to punish or inflict any detriment upon any man except on the basis of his fault, strict liability being applicable in exceptional circumstances. The state ought not to reward those who are blameworthy for their blameworthiness. The state ought not otherwise promote blameworthy conduct or attach disincentives to virtuous conduct in any way. If these principles were observed within the welfare sector, that sector would be structured very differently. Welfare would be restricted to the genuinely needy. The concept of "no-fault" divorce is also directly contradictory to this principle. The third principle of the liberal theory of the state is the supremacy of law and adherence to established, proper procedures.

The fourth principle of the liberal theory of the state is that the power of the state ought to be fragmented and distributed amongst many centres. This principle is founded on the observation expressed in Lord Acton's aphorism that "Power corrupts: absolute power corrupts absolutely." It is by minimising the concentration of power in any one centre and by setting up many alternative, counterbalancing centres of power, that the standard of "everything open and above board" is more nearly attained and opportunities for corruption are minimized.

Q. 4. Describe the major characteristics of sovereignty.

Ans. The analysis of various definitions of sovereignty indicates the following characteristics of sovereignty:

1. Absoluteness
2. Permanence
3. Universality
4. Inalienability
5. Exclusiveness
6. Indivisibility.

1. Absoluteness: Absoluteness of sovereignty means that there is no legal power within the state or outside the state superior to it. The authority of the sovereign is not subject to any internal and external limitations. Internally it is supreme over all the individuals and groups within its jurisdiction. Externally, it is free to pursue any policy without any interference from any outside authority. It is a different matter that the authority of the sovereign is subject to certain internal as well as external limits, but these limits are self-imposed. Internally the authority is limited by constitution and externally by international law.

2. Permanence: The sovereignty, like the state, is permanent. It does not to an end with the death of a ruler or the change of a particular system of Government. It lasts as long as the state exists. The sovereignty does not come to an end with the death of a particular bearer or the reorganization of the state. It is shifted to the new bearer after replacement.

3. Universality: This characteristic of sovereignty implies that all the persons and associations falling within the jurisdiction of the sovereign are subject to its authority and do not fall beyond its control. No person or association can claim exemption from its authority as a matter of legal right. However, concession is extended to foreign diplomatic envoys as a matter of international courtesy. This concession extended by the state does not in any way legally restrict the sovereign authority of the state.

4. Inalienability: Sovereignty is inalienable and no state can relinquish it without jeopardizing its existence. The sovereignty is the very essence of the personality of the state. A state may transfer a part of its territory to another state, but it does not in any way mean alienation of sovereignty. It merely surrenders its sovereign rights over that part of the territory without destroying its sovereignty.

5. Exclusiveness: The sovereign power is the exclusive prerogative of the state and is not shared by it with any other authority or group. In a state there can be only one sovereign who can legally compel obedience from all persons and associations within its territorial jurisdiction. To conceive of more than one sovereign within a state is to deny the unity of the state.

6. Indivisibility: The sovereignty is indivisible and there cannot be more than one sovereign in a state. According to **Calhoun**, "Sovereignty is an entire thing, to divide it is to destroy it. It is the supreme power in a state, and we might just as well as speak of half a square or half a triangle as of half a sovereignty". **Prof. Gettell** also says that "the concept of divided sovereignty is a contradiction in terms. But there is nothing in the nature of political sovereignty to prevent powers from being distributed among different agents for different purposes".

Q. 5. David Bentham's critique of Max Weber.

Ans. Max Weber was a German lawyer, politician, historian, political economist, and sociologist, who profoundly influenced social theory and the remit of sociology itself. Weber's major works dealt with the rationalization and so called "disenchantment" which he associated with the rise of capitalism and modernity. Weber was, along with his associate Georg Simmel, a central figure in the establishment of methodological antipositivism; presenting sociology as a non-empirical field which must study social action through resolutely subjective means. He is typically cited, with Emile Durkheim and Karl Marx, as one of the three principal architects of modern social science, and has variously been described as the most important classic thinker in the social sciences.

Weber's most famous work is his essay in economic sociology, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, which also began his work in the sociology of religion. In this text, Weber argued that religion was one of the non-

exclusive reasons for the different ways the cultures of the Occident and the Orient have developed, and stressed that particular characteristics of ascetic Protestantism influenced the development of capitalism, bureaucracy and the rational-legal state in the West. The essay examines the effects Protestantism had upon the beginnings of capitalism, arguing that capitalism is not purely materialist in Karl Marx's sense, but rather originates in religious ideals and ideas which cannot be solely explained by ownership relations, technology and advances in learning alone.

In another major work, *Politics as a Vocation*, Weber defined the state as an entity which claims a "monopoly on the legitimate use of violence", a definition that became pivotal to the study of modern Western political science. His analysis of bureaucracy in his *Economy and Society* is still central to the modern study of organizations. Weber was the first to recognize several diverse aspects of social authority, which he respectively categorized according to their charismatic, traditional, and legal forms. His analysis of bureaucracy thus noted that modern state institutions are based on a form of rational-legal authority. Weber's thought regarding the rationalizing tendencies of modern Western society (sometimes described as the "Weber Thesis") would come to facilitate critical theory, particularly in the work of thinkers such as Jürgen Habermas.

In political sociology, one of Weber's most significant contributions is his *Politics as a Vocation* essay. Therein, Weber unveils the definition of the state that has become so pivotal to Western social thought: that the state is that entity which possesses a monopoly on the legitimate use of physical force, which it may nonetheless elect to delegate as it sees fit. In this essay, Weber wrote that politics is to be understood as any activity in which the state might engage itself in order to influence the relative distribution of force. Politics thus comes to be understood as deriving from power. A politician must not be a man of the "true Christian ethic", understood by Weber as being the ethic of the Sermon on the Mount, that is to say, the injunction to turn the other cheek. An adherent of such an ethic ought rather to be understood to be a saint, for it is only saints, according to Weber, that can appropriately follow it. The political realm is no realm for saints. A politician ought to marry the ethic of ultimate ends and the ethic of responsibility, and must possess both a passion for his vocation and the capacity to distance himself from the subject of his exertions (the governed).

Weber distinguished three pure types of political leadership, domination and authority: charismatic domination (familial and religious), traditional domination (patriarchs, patrimonialism, feudalism), and legal domination (modern law and state, bureaucracy).

In his view, every historical relation between rulers and ruled contained such elements and they can be analysed on the basis of this tripartite distinction. He also notes that the instability of charismatic authority inevitably forces it to "routinize" into a more structured form of authority. Likewise he notes that in a pure type of traditional rule, sufficient resistance to a master can lead to a "traditional revolution". Thus he alludes to an inevitable move towards a rational-legal structure of authority, utilising a bureaucratic structure. Thus this theory can be sometimes viewed as part of the social evolutionism theory. This ties to his broader concept of rationalisation by suggesting the inevitability of a move in this direction.

Weber is also well-known for his critical study of the bureaucratisation of society, the rational ways in which formal social organizations apply the ideal type characteristics of a bureaucracy. It was Weber who began the studies of bureaucracy and whose works led to the popularization of this term. Many aspects of modern public administration go back to him, and a classic, hierarchically organized civil service of the Continental type is called "Weberian civil service", although this is only one ideal type of public administration and government described in his magnum opus *Economy and Society* (1922), and one that he did not particularly like himself - he only thought it particularly efficient and successful. In this work, Weber outlines a description, which has become famous, of rationalization (of which bureaucratization is a part) as a shift from a value-oriented organization and action (traditional authority and charismatic authority) to a goal-oriented organization and action (legal-rational authority). The result, according to Weber, is a "polar night of icy darkness", in which increasing rationalization of human life traps individuals in an "iron cage" of rule-based, rational control. Weber's bureaucracy studies also led him to his analysis-correct, as it would turn out, after Stalin's takeover-that socialism in Russia would lead to over-bureaucratization rather than to the "withering away of the state" (as Karl Marx had predicted would happen in communist society).

Q. 6. Write a note on how Feminists approach the issue of citizenship.

Ans. Citizenship is the state of being a citizen of a particular social, political, or national community. Citizenship status, under social contract theory, carries with it both rights and responsibilities. "Active citizenship" is the philosophy that citizens should work towards the betterment of their community through economic participation, public service, volunteer work, and other such efforts to improve life for all citizens.

The idea of citizenship is generally traced to the ancient Greek and Roman republics. The term is derived from the Latin word *civis* and its Greek equivalent *polites* which means member of the polis or city. Citizenship is generally referred to as the relationship between the individual/collective and the state. T.H. Marshall defines the term as 'full and equal membership in a political community' denotes the unit of membership and the nature of that membership. Citizenship, thus, comprises of a range of issues and elements, like freedom, rights and equality, civic loyalties within the community, and cultural and emotional ties and identities, political allegiance to the state.

Now, citizenship is no longer seen only in narrow legal-formal. It is increasingly being seen as a substantive notion covering a range of issues that manifest the live experiences of people. Many important questions addressing inequalities among nation-states in the world have also become part and parcel of the understanding of citizenship. Further, it is now acceptable to discuss about cultural rights, whereby cultural/religious communities, while participating in the common national political life, have the right to maintain their own cultures.

Marxist thinking has focussed on the failure of bourgeois citizenship to address itself to inequalities in modern capitalist societies. While civil and political rights alleviated some ill effects of capitalism, they did not intend to, and could not therefore, dismantle the structures of inequality which constitute capitalist societies. Amy Bartholomew and others have put forward a case to show that the idea of 'rich individuality' and 'self development' in Marx's notion of 'human emancipation', shows Marx's commitment to rights. For Marx, rights contribute to 'rich individuality' i.e., to the making of the creative individual whose potential is realised most fully within and in harmony with the community.

Feminists criticise the gender neutrality and gender blindness of citizenship Theory. They believe that citizenship has failed to take into account the patriarchal character of modern societies and the manner in which gender determines access to citizenship rights. According to Carole Pateman, while modern liberal citizenship does not entirely exclude women, it incorporates them on the basis of their socially useful/biologically determined. The study of citizenship by Marshall could retain the 'main story' of the unfolding of citizenship as the gradual generalisation/universalisation of rights, only by 'including' women as historical anomalies or as individuals whose position was 'peculiar' and not relevant to the main theme.

Feminist Redefine Citizenship: Feminism has criticised the idea of citizenship theory which does not take into account the patriarchal character of our society. Moreover, the manner in which gender determines access to citizenship rights is also criticized by the them. Carole Pateman believes that modern liberal citizenship though does not entirely excludes women but incorporates them on the basis of their dependent roles as mothers and wives and places them outside the sphere of politics.

(C) SCQ: Answer the following in about 100 words each.

Q. 7. Representative Democracy in practice.

Ans. Representative democracy is a form of government founded on the principle of individuals representing the people, as opposed to either autocracy or direct democracy. The representatives form an independent ruling body (for an election period) charged with the responsibility of acting in the people's interest, but not as their proxy representatives; that is, not necessarily always according to their wishes, but with enough authority to exercise swift and resolute initiative in the face of changing circumstances. It is often contrasted with direct democracy, where representatives are absent or are limited in power as proxy representatives. A representative democracy that emphasizes individual liberty is called a liberal democracy. One that does not is an illiberal democracy. There is no necessity that individual liberties are respected in a representative democracy.

Today, in liberal democracies, representatives are usually elected in multi-party elections that are free and fair. The power of representatives in a liberal democracy is usually curtailed by a constitution (as in a constitutional republic or a constitutional monarchy) or other measures to balance representative power:

An independent judiciary, which may have the power to declare legislative acts unconstitutional (e.g. Constitutional Court, Supreme Court). It may also provide for some deliberative democracy (e.g., Royal Commissions) or direct popular measures (e.g., initiative, referendum, recall elections). However, these are not always binding and usually require some legislative action—legal power usually remains firmly with representatives.

In some cases, a bicameral legislature may have an "upper house" that is not directly elected, such as the Canadian Senate, which was in turn modelled on the British House of Lords.

A political party is a political organization that typically seeks to attain and maintain political power within government, usually by participating in electoral campaigns, educational outreach or protest actions. Parties often

espouse an expressed ideology or vision bolstered by a written platform with specific goals, forming a coalition among disparate interests.

Even if all state power is derived from the people in a parliamentary democracy, it is still important to bear in mind that the people are only able to exercise power when they are organized. In a representative system political parties are needed to act as a mediator or go-between the people and government. Parties have become a constituent part of modern democracy and it's hard to imagine a system without them. Indeed, parties might be thought of as part of a "party democracy." In contrast, the problematic term of "party state" suggests that parties have a monopoly on forming public opinion. But by pointing out other non-party players in the political system it becomes clear that this is not a true reflection of the situation. Other players include, at a community level, the media, civil-action groups, associations and interest groups and, at a state level, public administration and state jurisdiction. Taken together these groups manage to remove a great deal of party influence. Political opinion is created largely through political parties. Political parties that form the government are supposed to lead the nation. Their members hold senior government office. The possibilities open to a party to 'out vote' the minority are (next to the constitutional barriers) also limited in as much as the ruling party's mandate is subject to a time limit. Opposition parties regard their task as being one of criticizing, controlling and offering alternatives to government policy in order to bring about a quick change in administration.

Parties bundle, select and express interests from many directions. Many concepts cannot be represented without first going through a filtering process. The aim of a party is to find compromise between differing groups and sections of society in order that the conflicting arguments do not come to a head.

Q. 8. Balkanization argument against affirmative action.

Ans. The Balkanization argument holds that the positive discrimination or the concept of affirmative action underlines the difference of caste, class and race thereby enhancing social divisions which are already acute in Indian and American socio political systems.

Ramsay McDonald's award introduced representation based on communal difference which culminated in the partition of the country. The extension of reservations at other levels like to scheduled caste and tribes and then to other backward classes (OBCs) has already caused tremendous tension in Indian society. The recent demands based on economic and religious criteria are all bound to create further divisions in Indian society which is harmful for the integrity of the country.

The arguments of Balkanization for American society also have similar content. However, the supporters of the positive discrimination like Prof. Dworkin dispel the fears that affirmative action programmes are liable to produce a balkanized America. Such supporters reject the Balkanization argument and assert that instead of increasing the importance of race in American social and professional life the affirmative action's ultimate goal is to lessen it. This argument applies to Indian and other societies also.

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