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POLITICAL SCIENCE - I
FIRST YEAR – SECOND SEMESTER
STUDY MATERIAL

By

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PREFACE

This course material meant for the students of first year B A ,L L B , studying in School of Excellence in Law (SOEL), The Tamil Nadu Dr. Ambedkar Law University it covers the syllabus prescribed for political science one. The political science has a very close link with legal studies. An attempt has been made to give some basic concepts connected with political science.

The first unit covers introduction about the subject and various approaches to the study of political science. Further it explains about the state and its functions. Unit II and Unit III covers the basic concepts like sovereignty, liberty, equality, citizenship rights and duties. Unit IV deals about classical political theory and contemporary political thought further it focuses Marxian thought, Liberalism, feminism, Regionalization and its challenges. Finally, Unit V focuses on the various forms of government. Here it provides details about various forms of government and various types of legislature and the role of political parties.

This made easy book of Political Science covers complete syllabus recommended by our university. Every case has been taken to avoid the difficult terms and expression. It has, therefore, been written in lucid, clear and thoughtful manner for the comprehension of all students. It is hoped that the book will meet the needs of the students of the subject and the aim with which it has been presented.

I wish you all the best for your successful career.

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POLITICAL SCIENCE - I
SUBJECT CODE : HVH

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③ Liberalism is a political philosophy or worldview founded ideas on

equality and liberty

Classic Liberalism - role of Libe
social " " - Imp of equality
(Liberalism - free not slave)

④ Idealism - approach that regards mind, spirit or ideas as most fundamental kinds of reality & at least as governing our experiences of the ordinary objects in the world. Idealism is opposed to materialism naturalism and realism. Gandhi, women empowerment

⑤ Rights are legal, social or moral principles that are claimed and recognized as contributory good.

1. Equality
2. Freedom of speech, expression, union, residence, occupation & profession.
3. Right against exploitation
4. Freedom of Religion
5. Cultural and Educational
6. Constitutional remedies.

⑥ Universal franchise means all adults have the right to vote besides those who are disqualified because of the laws of their country.

⑦ Individualism - a social theory advocating the liberty, rights or interests of individuals.

The term suffrage can also be used generally people who are old and unable to work and vote, and much who are exempted from voting.

⑧ Facism - impose their ideologies on people of liberal world.

- sovereignty
- welfare state
- M of acquiring citizenship
- Equality
- Elements of state
- Modern approach.

- 2m
- Rights
- Universal franchise
- Theories of origin of state
- liberalism
- Idealism
- Individualism
- Independent

Aristotle - Father of PS

One
Free
Man

thought process

UNIT - I

INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL SCIENCE AND APPROACHES TO POLITICAL ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

The lesson would enable the student to know the Definitions and Meaning of Political science. The Definitions would reflect the changing understanding of Politics. It is difficult to give a single precise definition of Political Science. It varies from person to person depending upon the importance he gives to various aspects of political life. The study of Political Science began with the Greeks.

DEFINITIONS OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Various definitions of Political Science given by the ancient, medieval and modern political scientists of this subject are as follows origin. - The term 'politics' is derived from the Greek word 'Polis' which means the city state. According to Greek Philosophers, Politics was a subject which dealt with all the activities and affairs of the city state. Their City States were known as 'Polis'. City state was an all inclusive term, as the ancient Greeks made no distinction between the state and the government on one hand, and State and Society on the other. They never differentiated between personal life and social life. Hence according to them Politics was a total study of man, society, state, morality and so on.

Politics as the study of the state: - Traditionally political science is a science of state. Political thinkers like R G Gettel, J.W. Garner, Bluntschli and many others were of the view that political science was the study of the state.

R.G Gettel defined "Political Science as a study of state in the past, present and future and of political institutions and political theories". J.W Garner States, "Political Science begins and ends with the state"

Politics as the Study of the Government: - Some Political Scientists like Paul Janet, George Catlin, Hans Eulan have accepted the view which states that politics deals with the state and government. Paul Janet writes "Political Science is concerned with the foundations of the state and principles of government." George Catlin states "Politics means either the activities of political life or the study of these activities. And these activities are generally treated as activities of the various organs of government"

Prof Hans Eulan considers in his definition of politics that the study of formal government is a fundamental concern of politics. The Oxford English Dictionary defines Political Science as "the study of the state and systems of government."

Politics as the Study of National Institution: - Bridal expressed the view that "Political Science is, above all, descriptive study which brings together the description of national political institutions, their history, their ideological principles, their working, the forces that direct them, the influence they undergo, the results they obtain and their effect on the life of the country and its relations with neighboring states"

Traditional Approach: - The concept of Political Science as a study of State, Government and National Institution is not considered adequate today. This aspect of above definitions emphasizes the legal structure only. They do not pay attention to what is happening within the state. Political Science must include the study of informal structures, facts and reality of politics. Hence, modern political thinkers defined Political Science differently and taken modern approach.

→ Gettel - P.P.F
→ Look like Historian, with their evolution of authority
Present → Political Institution and are essential in operation
Scope of Inquiry
" In res - study of power → attention of ancient Political scientists

Political Science as a Study of Power- Modern Political thinkers like Lasswell, Robert Dahl have defined politics in terms of power, influence, and authority. According to these thinkers power has acquired prominent position in political thought.

(Harold Lasswell considers, "Politics is the study of shaping and sharing political powers")

Robert A. Dahl defined that, "A Political system is any persistent pattern of human relationship that involves, to a significant extent power, rule or authority."

According to the view of these thinkers entire political activity directed towards capturing and maintaining power (Power is the central idea in Politics - who get, What, When and How)

Political Science as a Study of Conflict Resolution:- This view was suggested by Miller in his Nature of Politics. The purpose of a political activity is either to bring about a change or resist a change. People compete with each other to satisfy their needs. When resources are limited and the people who want to utilize them are many conflicts arise. Politics is a means to resolve this conflict.

According to Peter B. Harris "The Modern emphasis in the study of Politics is laid on disagreements and reconciliation or resolution of these disagreement."

Political Science as a Study of Co-relation of many Forces Encyclopedia of Social Sciences States, "Present day political science revolves around the problem of the attainment, consolidation and distribution of political power whether in an actually existing state or a hypothetical state".

Political Institution and politics cannot function in vacuum. Social and economic forces affect the political process. Hence they also must be taken into account.

(**Analysis and Conclusion** .-The several definitions of the term Political Science reflect the changing understanding of the discipline. From above definitions we may say that there are mainly two approaches of looking at Political Science: 1) Traditional approach 2) Modern approach. The Traditional Approach suggests that Political Science is the study of State, Government and National Institutions. It studies the formal, legal structures and theoretical part.

The Modern Approach emphasizes "What is actually happening in the state". It stressed on reality and actual facts of politics. Thus it studies various forces, processes and informal structures making it dynamic.

However, it can be said that political science is a systematic study of the State, Government, Political Institutions, Power, influence and authority, Political processes and Political forces.)

NATURE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE (Social Science)

Political Science is a social science. Its nature is different than physical sciences like physics and chemistry. Whenever we study the origin, evolution and development of Political Science, we find various aspects of the nature of Political Science. The definitions and meaning of Political Science shows that it is a systematic study of Political theory, Political Institutions, Political forces and processes. When we call Politics as 'Political Science' we have to see how far this subject stands to the tests of science in the strict sense of the term.

1] Is it a Science ?

Very often a question is raised whether the discipline of politics can be regarded as a science? There is no unanimity among political thinkers whether the subject is a science.

Social Science

Natural Science (Systematic Sciences)

What is a Science?

"Science is a systematic body of knowledge, the facts of which have been accurately and impartially collected, arranged and classified through the use of various scientific methods of observation, comparison and experimentation"

Various arguments are forwarded for and against the discipline being a science

ARGUMENTS THAT IT IS NOT A SCIENCE : (DP of HE)

Political Scientists like Maitland, Burke, Gettel do not think that Politics is really a Science Their arguments are as follows

1] **Disagreement in Definition, Terminology and Methods** · There is no general agreement among political thinkers regarding definition, scope, terminology etc There is no exactness or precision in the political science, as a result, they cannot be accepted and applied universally (This does not happen in case of natural sciences like physics and chemistry)

2] **Lack of Precision** · Principles of Political Science are not precise, clear and they lead to many controversies / Where as a formula in physics or chemistry is clear and universally accepted eg. The laws of gravity or the principles of arithmetic i.e Two plus two equals four everywhere However Political Science like pure and natural sciences such as physics and Mathematics does not possess any such universally relevant principles

3] **Human Beings** :- Politics deals with human beings whose minds are unpredictable Political scientists have to deal with man (human beings) who are not under their control Human behavior is unpredictable and not always logical Whereas physics and chemistry deal with matter or inanimate objects (non living objects) Natural scientist work in laboratories and the objects are perfectly under their control Hence their rules and laws are absolute, and universal

4] **Limited Experimentation**:- Experimentation in laboratory or in an isolated environment is not possible in Politics like natural sciences

5] **Lack of Objectivity**:- Political Science lacks objectivity but subjective element is very strong. Political science is subjective and relative because political scientist has to deal with human beings in relation to society, state, government etc

6] **Difficult to Predict Future**:- Political phenomena do not follow proper sequence like exact science At times, the effects are contrary and therefore the results cannot be predicted

In spite of the above arguments, the subject is regarded as a science because ·

Arguments that it is a Science ·

1] Political Science is not a pure science but a social science – politics is a systematized body of knowledge Its facts are collected and organized through proper observation, comparison and experimentation, etc eg Studies on election Science is a systematic and formulated knowledge of a specified subject In that sense political science is certainly a science

2] Political Experiments are not completely ruled out The government itself is a continuous experiment The application of Marxist principles in the USSR was one such experiment

3] Broad conclusions can be drawn in political science eg Independent impartial judiciary, free press is essential for democracy) (can operate on its own)

4] Empirical studies are based on careful observation and classification. Political science puts hypothesis to empirical verification. Theories are not built on speculation. Political Scientists today employ survey methods, graphs, charts etc., to arrive at their research conclusions.

Thus political science is not a pure science, but a social science.

2] Is Politics an Art?

The term Art refers to the practical application of knowledge. Political Science applies the knowledge about political events for creating a good social and political order. Hence it is an art.

Robert Dahl States that Political Science is both – Science and Art. Whenever students of political science test their theories against the data of experience by observation, the political analysis can be regarded as scientific. When this political analysis is applied for the working of political institution it is an art.

3] Politics or Political Science?

What should the subject be called Politics or Political Science? Aristotle called his studies in Political Phenomena as 'Politics'. Prof Laskis work was named as a "Grammar of Politics". However, most of the modern writers prefer the subject to be called as political science, and not as politics. Because political science is a systematic study of political theory, political institutions, political forces and processes. The term politics indicates the current political problems or issues. Many times common people use the term of politics as a dubious, messy, rotten affairs. Politics is a wide spread and universal activity and that is analysis in political science. Study of politics is a part of the study of political science. Politics is an activity and that what it analyses as a political science is only a part of it. The term politics is not precise to give us whole range of knowledge pertaining to state and other political institutions. There is distinction between a politician and political scientist. A politician is a person who actively participates in the political affairs. Whereas a political scientist is an expert in the subject. He studies the subject systematically. Hence it is preferable the subject be called a 'Political Science and not Politics'.

THE SCOPE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

The scope of political science means the subject matter or content of political science. Various political thinkers are not in agreement about the exact scope of politics. The lack of precise definition and terminology have created confusion regarding the subject matter of political science. Despite the ambiguity and controversy in the field various aspects included in the study of political science are as follows.

(A conference of political thinkers held in Sept 1948 at the UNESCO House decided the scope of political science)

- 1] **Political Science is the study of (Political theories:-)** Over the centuries, political scientists have concerned themselves with formulating political theories and political ideas (e.g., Plato explained theory of Ideal State, Theory of justice, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau explained theory of origin of state). These theories enable us to organize their observations and offer a foundation on which future observations and analysis can be based.
- 2] **Political Institutions.-** Study of political science includes the study of various constitutions, various systems of government their merits, demerits etc. eg. Whether it is parliamentary, presidential, dictatorial, democratic, coalition form of government. Such a study helps us to reform our political institutions in order to realize our goals.
- 3] **Political Parties and Pressure Groups** :-It studies the various systems of political parties, their role and importance. Pressure groups and interest groups are becoming more important. Political science studies

their role, methods etc in a given political system This makes the study of political science more realistic Opposition political parties, pressure groups Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) do not directly form the government They indirectly influence governmental policies and decisions Hence the study of governance (act of governing) is incomplete if it is limited to the study of government

4 International Relations - It includes the study of international organization, and policies }States do not live in isolation Domestic Policy and Foreign Policy are interrelated }Hence the study of international relations becomes significant more in the times of globalization

Political Science is the study of the relationship between government and civil society The state is comprised of two entities government and civil society Both entities influence governance in different ways Civil society includes citizens, Non-Governmental Organization (NGOs), pressure groups, opposition political parties Civil society influence governance indirectly, by influencing the government and convincing it to adopt certain policies Whereas the government possesses the power and authority to influence governance directly Hence the relationship between government and civil society is an important determinant of governance in the state Political science studies this relationship in order to better understand the nature of the state and the efficacy of governance

5 It is the study of Power, Authority, Influences, Political activities, Political Processes - Political Science is normative as well as empirical. Normative approach of political science studies norms, ideals, morals, principles, philosophy of political science eg What should be the nature of the state etc Empirical approach of political science observes and analyses political activities and institutions as they are in a scientific way

Morgenthau said scope of Political-Science includes three branches.

a) Political Sociology b) Political Theory c) Political Institutions Modern political Scientists feel that man's social life is an integrated whole Any change in man's social environment have repercussions on man's political life The modern state cannot escape from that impact of the social, psychological, economic and cultural forces According to Leacock Political Science must not content itself with a mere analysis of political institutions as existing at any given time, it must take account of the process of change and evolution, and the alteration of social and intellectual environment

6 Master Science - Aristotle called political science the "Master Science" because politics determines the environment within which every person will organize his life No one can claim that he has nothing to do with politics. No one can escape from the parameters set by politics }The ancient Greeks never made any distinction between man's personal life and political life According to them politics is the total study of Man, Society, State, Morality etc

7 Study of Political System and its Environments: -Varied political systems exist and function in different environment Political science studies them with reference to the response given and feedback secured The policies of one system have an impact on the other systems Also political decisions are not made in vacuums These are influenced by economic structure, social institutions and the whole environment in which the state functions)

APPROACHES TO POLITICAL THEORY

In the study of social sciences the approaches are extremely important because they help us in identifying the problems for our study and deciding on the appropriate data to be used A care must however, be taken to differentiate between an approach and method, another term which is frequently used by the social scientists It must be made clear that the two terms are not synonyms Method can be defined as a particular manner or technique to carry out something It suggests a systematic course of action that helps procure trustworthy body of knowledge about a particular issue or phenomenon and draw conclusions thereon

There are quite a few methods that are applied in the study of social sciences such as Deductive Method, Inductive Method, Comparative Method, Scientific Method and so on. An approach, in contrast, is a broader term that takes hold of the method i.e. how to study or inquire along with bringing into focus the relevant data i.e. what to study for the purpose of understanding the particular phenomenon.

In the words of Vernon Van Dyke "An approach consists of criteria of selection criteria employed in selecting the problems or questions to consider and in selecting the data to bring to bear, it consists of standards governing the inclusion and exclusion of questions and data." Furthermore, distinguishing between a method and an approach Dyke indicates "In brief, approaches consist of criteria for selecting problems and relevant data, whereas methods are procedures for getting and utilizing data." It must also be added that an approach brings along its method too. This cannot be always true about a method because a method is not usually committed to a particular approach. In other words an approach suggests its own method while the vice versa is not true. For instance, behavioural approach is linked to scientific method and normative approach has association with philosophical method.

NORMATIVE APPROACH

Normative approach poses questions based on 'norms' or 'standards' in the study of social sciences with an aim to appraise values. Unlike the empirical approach that is concerned about 'what happened and why' the normative approach emphasises 'what should have happened'. It must, nonetheless, be underlined that these assumptions are not always valid because at times the two approaches might overlap. Occasionally, the normative approach may be based on empirical postulations to elicit how or what a particular situation should be or what the state of affairs in a country should have been. In addition to empirical assumptions, the normative approach also comprises the social value system or moral standards widely endorsed in a particular society on which it sets up its edifice of questions. For instance, if the issue of war is the major theme of inquiry, the normative approach may seek help from the empirical assumptions to explain the causes of war or the prospects of peace along with the basic normative question whether war as a means of resolving international disputes is justified or not.

The normative approach highlights its inclination towards a specific arrangement of things or an order that emanates from a commitment to a moral duty or universal necessity. The undercurrent of the normative approach includes questions about the nature of man. Is the nature of man good, bad or a combination of both? Whether man is a rational being or irrationality overrides his actions? Is gender equality an absolute value or there exist basic gender differences that need consideration? These are some of the fundamental posers that influence the normative approach. Moreover, normative approach takes into account the views of history in the process of inquiry or drawing of conclusions in relation with a social phenomenon. For instance, a study based on the linear view of history usually assumes that the world is marching towards a better and positive future. An entropic view of history, on the other hand, presupposes that the world is constantly in the process of regression. A cyclic view of history assumes that nothing of substantive significance ever changes except persons at the top and the ways through which these persons get to the top.

There are certain areas of social sciences that presuppose the normative approach in their analyses. For instance political philosophies or theories of political idealism cannot be comprehended without getting to know the norms or ethical standards of the philosophers concerned or the ideologues of the theories. It is pertinent to explain that normative statements are usually beyond empirical testing. They cannot be identified, explained or verified by our intellect faculty alone. At the most one can appreciate or deride the underlying norm or point of view of the philosopher or the ideologue. Take for instance the concept of justice. There are various theories, from Plato to Amartya Sen that make attempts to explain what justice is. For some justice is 'treating equals equally and 'unequals' unequally' or 'justice is giving equal freedom and equal opportunity to all provided any departure from equal distribution will prove beneficial to the

least advantaged' These assumptions indicate different sets of value judgments of the philosophers concerned based on their moral principles but they fail the empirical tests of observation or verification. Quite often normative statements on a specific phenomenon not only differ from each other but they sometimes contradict each other. It is not, however, possible to use value terms such as right or wrong in the evaluation of normative assumptions because they stand beyond the purview of empirical or scientific methodologies. They are true or false only in relation to the value systems they are embedded in. The recent advances in social sciences and even in exact sciences indicate that there cannot be an absolute truth in the field of social sciences or scientific principles as well. Quite a few scientific theories are true so long as they are repudiated by new theories. The most acceptable academic stance is that no theory or principle can be treated as the repository of absolute truth because the so-called scientific assumptions are also likely to be proved wrong.

There are certain other assumptions, which are essentially normative but can also be proved valid empirically. Consider a statement like, 'corruption ought to end in order to make the functioning of the government transparent and pro-people.' This kind of statement, despite being a normative assumption, satisfies the empirical testing as well because on the basis of verifiable data about the working of governments across the world it can be proved that a political system having minimum corruption has a government that is adequately transparent and committed to the welfare of the people. The empirical data shows that the opposite is true in case of widespread corruption in a political system. A normative approach underscores the probable course of action that may uphold an innate value, the primacy of which is an end in itself. For instance, if a normative statement establishes the preeminence of values such as truth, good or beautiful or any one of them, it has served its purpose.

The most common criticism against the normative approach is that it is subjective whereas the empirical approach is objective. In view of a scholar, the studies based on normative approach, like political philosophy, reveal the fondness of the philosopher concerned about a value or a few values. A scholar may accept or reject the fondness of the philosopher for that set of values. There cannot, however, be a rational argument in the matter. This is, however, an extreme view. There are other experts who believe that a reasonably rewarding dialogue is possible between the adherents of normative and empirical schools. They point out that concepts such as freedom, equality and justice necessitate a dialogue between normative and empirical approaches.

Another characteristic of the normative approach is that it is prescriptive whereas an empirical approach is descriptive. To put it plainly, the normative approach essentially concentrates on the conditions and standards that are created by human beings and that are likely to change depending on social requirements. An adherent of the normative approach can determine their moral validity and then suggest the right course of action. For instance, theories pertaining to the forms of government are likely to undergo changes with the changes in social conditions. Additionally, the moral value like legitimacy that justifies a particular form of government may possibly remain a constant but the forces lending legitimacy to the form of government might change. In the ancient and medieval times it was divinity, power or heredity that provides legitimacy to the form of government, currently, people's support is the most acceptable criterion for the legitimacy of a government.

It is true that at times normative approach vindicates the socio-political or religious bias of its adherent. For instance the prominent political philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle justified the institution of slavery on account of disparities between the intrinsic capabilities and natures of a slave and a freeman. Similar prejudices also prevailed in the matter of suppression of the position of woman. Their assumptions were obviously not based on empirical studies but emanated from the value system of those times. The advancements in the fields of social and biological sciences have now established that the assumptions of

Plato and Aristotle were unfounded. Another criticism that is usually directed towards normative approach is that it fails to provide a reasonable criterion to determine what is wrong or what is right. It is a valid criticism and supporters of normative approach admit this shortcoming. They, however, point out that the empirical approach is a lopsided one because it disregards values and its adherents are not capable to distinguish between higher and lower values. The normative approach is, therefore, a very valuable approach particularly in social sciences. An argument in favour of normative approach does not necessarily mean refutation of the empirical approach. In fact, there is a need to recognise the validity and significance of various approaches in the study of social sciences.

INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH

As the name suggests, a thorough investigation of political institutions in order to study the discipline of political science is called the institutional approach. The approach is almost as old as the discipline of politics and most political scientists since the times of Aristotle have defined and restricted the scope of the discipline only to the study of state and government. In this respect a particular feature of the approach is that it does not usually make use of other social sciences such as philosophy, history, or law to analyse political phenomena. It, therefore, assigns an independent individuality to the organized inquiry of political science.

Institutional approach allocates the fundamental status to the institution of state in the study of politics and its agency, the government along with its various organs such as legislature, executive, judiciary and bureaucracy are also identified for close scrutiny as important political institutions. There are also many other institutions such as political parties, trade unions, nongovernmental organisations, educational institutions, religious and cultural organisations etc. which may interest a scholar who is employing institutional approach if they directly or indirectly have some bearing on political processes. In this context it is necessary to know what an institution really is. An institution, by and large, can be defined as an established or organised society, an organisation, a corporation or an establishment especially of a public nature or whose working affects a community. An institution may be a foundation, a charitable institution, a sports club or a literary body. In the words of Vernon Van Dyke "An institution is any persistent system of activities and expectations, or any stable pattern of group behaviour."

A typical feature of an institution is its offices, agencies and the personnel associated with it are arranged in hierarchy that means each office, agency or person attached to it is assigned specific powers and functions. It also implies that the people or the community that are likely to be affected by the working of an institution expect that its offices, agencies or personnel should function in accordance with the respective powers and functions assigned to them. If we particularly look for the definition of a political institution then we get to know that a political institution is an organisation that creates, enforces and makes governmental policies pertaining to economy and social system. It also provides for people's representation. The examples of such political institution include government and its various organs, political parties, trade unions and the courts. The term political institution may also denote the recognised structure of rules and principles within which it operates.

Thus, institutional approach in the study of political science implies a detailed study of the government, its structures, and the body of rules within which it is required to operate and also a thorough examination of its various organs. Besides, the study of political parties, their structures, ideologies and functioning that have linkages with political processes forms a significant segment of institutional approach. Similar studies of other political institutions such as trade unions and civil society institutions are also part of the institutional approach. Aristotle who is also considered the father of traditional school of politics was the first who classified the governments as per the numerical strength of the rulers and the qualitative worth of their governance. Accordingly, he identified forms of governments as monarchy, aristocracy and polity.

applying the numerical as well as better governance criteria, also as tyranny, oligarchy and democracy using numerical as well as erosion of legitimacy of governance criteria. Though Aristotle's classification is no more valid, its study is imperative to comprehend the historical background of political theory. The modern classification of governments such as democracy or dictatorship, parliamentary or presidential and unitary or federal is not the sudden growth of our times. These forms of government owe a lot to archetypal kinds of government that had emerged in ancient Greece, Rome and some other ancient societies. The institutional approach includes the study of all forms of governments. Additionally the institutional approach also emphasises on the inquiry of levels of government which means whether the levels of governance pertain to federal, state or local institutions. The approach also prescribes the analysis of the powers and functioning of the organs of government such as legislature, executive and judiciary.

The institutional approach is more or less value-free in the sense that it is mainly concerned with the consideration of facts in relation to political institutions. This is a feature that is usually ascribed to a modern approach. In this respect, despite being a traditional approach, the institutional approach not only radically differs from the normative and historical approaches but appears more like a modern approach. Nevertheless, political scientists refrain from including it in the category of modern approaches because it is exceedingly concerned about description rather than analysis of political phenomena. The experts have also enlisted some other shortcomings of this approach. They are as under:

- i) It is exclusively focused on political institutions. As a result, the individual, the primary actor in political process has been totally discounted in the institutional approach. It led to a situation that the study of voting behaviour and political preferences of an individual was ignored by those political scientists who advocated institutional approach in the study of politics.
- ii) in the area of international politics the adherents of institutional approach restrict their studies only to the investigation of international political institutions such as the United Nations and its allied agencies and completely ignore the subject-matter of international politics such as foreign policy, diplomacy, international law and so on.
- iii) since it is concerned with the study of only established political institutions, it totally ignores the consideration of other phenomena like violence, political movements and agitations, wars, revolution and the scourge of our times, terrorism, which certainly influence politics.
- iv) finally, it also overlooks the position and influence of informal groups that have an effect on the politics of almost all states.

Nevertheless, it must be underlined that institutional approach is very significant because political institutions constitute the core segment of the scope of political science. It is unimaginable to ignore the study of political institutions in any meaningful inquiry of political phenomena. It should also be made clear that no single approach is adequate in itself for the study of any social science. It is true about institutional approach as well. It is only the combination of a few significant approaches that helps in a dispassionate study of political science and institutional is certainly one of the significant approaches.

BEHAVIOURAL APPROACH (Modern Approach) - Emerged in US.

Behaviouralism is one of the most significant modern approaches to the study of political science. A modern approach differs from a traditional one in precisely two ways. First, a modern approach is concerned mainly about establishing a separate identity of political science by emphasizing on the factual character of politics. Two, a modern approach makes an attempt to study politics in entirety, which means it pays little attention to the formal aspects of the discipline and brings into focus such other aspects that influence and also get influenced in the political processes. Behaviouralism is an approach in political science which

seeks to provide an objective, quantified approach to explaining and predicting political behaviour. Its emergence in politics coincides with the rise of the behavioural social sciences that were given shape after the natural sciences. Behaviouralism is mainly concerned to examine the behaviour, actions, and acts of individuals rather than the characteristics of institutions such as legislatures, executives, and judiciaries. Behaviouralism underscores the systematic inquiry of all exclusive expression of political behaviour. Some scholars insist that behaviouralism implies the application of meticulous scientific and statistical methods in order to standardise means of investigation. It is also an exercise in ensuring a value-free study of the discipline of politics. It is usually argued that by the adherents of behavioural approach that political science should be studied in manner similar to the study of natural sciences. In this context, the supporters of behavioural approach insist that the main role of a political scientist is to collect and analyse factual data in an objective manner. The major point of criticism against the traditional approaches has been that they have been deficient in applying scientific methods to the study of politics that has rendered its very claim to be a science at all. Therefore, the behaviouralists recommended the application of exacting methodology and empirical studies to make the discipline of political science a true social science. The behavioural approach has without doubt given a totally ground-breaking purpose to the study of politics by taking it towards an inquiry based on research-supported verifiable data. The behaviouralists have challenged the realist and liberal approaches by labeling them traditional as they fail to substantiate their conclusion with verifiable facts. In order to understand political behaviour of individual the supporters of behavioural approach prescribe the methods like sampling, interviewing, scoring, scaling and statistical analysis.

The behavioural approach came to be exceedingly favoured in the study of political science after the World War II. Nonetheless, it originated with the publication in 1908 of the works of two political scientists, Graham Wallas (*Human Nature in Politics*) and Arthur Bentley (*The Process of Government*). Both these political scientists preferred to underscore the informal political processes and diminished the significance of the study of political institutions in isolation. Wallas, moved by the new findings of modern psychology, strived to introduce similar realism in the study of political science. The major breakthrough provided by modern psychology was that an individual, after all, was not that much a rational being as the traditional political scientists and classical economists had tried to make him out. Consequently, he emphasised that, more often than not, an individual's political action were not given direction by rationality and self-interest. Wallas pointed out that human nature was a complex phenomenon and for an objective understanding of human nature suggested gathering and analysis of factual data of human behaviour. The other political scientist, Bentley was credited for inventing 'group approach' in the study of politics. He also prescribed that there should be a shift from description of political activity to the application of new tools of investigation. Bentley had sought greater inspiration from modern sociology that made him emphasise the role of the informal groups such as pressure groups, elections and political opinion in political processes.

Another significant political scientist who made valuable contribution to behavioural approach was Charles E Merriam, known as the founder of Chicago School. His objection to the traditional approaches to politics was the usual one i.e. they suffer from the absence of thorough scientific inquiry. He was also critical of the works of those historians who did not take into account the role of psychological, sociological and economic aspects of human existence. He vociferously advocated an inter-disciplinary approach to the study of political science, which would endow the discipline with a true scientific character. He favoured the use of quantitative techniques in the study of politics and encouraged political scientists to treat political behaviour as the cardinal issue in the studies. Since he was a resolute admirer of democracy, he strived to employ science to disseminate the message of democracy. He did not see any inconsistency to advance the cause of a specific form of government through an approach to politics. It was William B Munro, another supporter of modern approach who made it plain that it was improper for political science to encourage the spread of any

specific form of government, democracy or otherwise. One more proponent of behavioural approach, G. E. G. Catlin spoke of making politics a value-free social science in his notable work, *Science and Method of Politics*, published in 1927. For Catlin, the essence of politics is to be located in 'power' and in this respect he cautioned that in the analysis of power, no particular value-system should be taken into account. Catlin's idea that politics was essentially the study of power was later turned into a comprehensive study by Harold D. Lasswell in the renowned work *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How* that came out in 1936. It is considered as one of the most meticulous studies of power.

These were the most important attempts to transform politics into a scientific discipline prior to World War II. In the post-war period quite a few American political scientists such as David B. Truman, Robert Dahl, E. E. Schattschneider, Heinz Eulau et al. made outstanding contributions to behaviouralism that elaborated and expanded the extent of behavioural approach beyond the analysis of political behaviour. Therefore, it is pertinent to quote here the contemporary definition of behavioural approach as provided by Geoffrey K. Roberts in *A Dictionary of Political Analysis*, published in 1971: "Political behaviour, as an area of study within political science, is concerned with those aspects of human behaviour that take place within a state or other political community, for political purposes or with political motivation. Its focus is the individual person as voter, leader, revolutionary, party member, opinion leader etc. rather than the group or the political system, but it necessarily takes account of the influences of the group on the individual's behaviour, the constraints of the system on the individual's opportunities for action, and the effects of the political culture on his attitude and political habits."

In view of this definition the political scientists who subscribe to behavioural approach investigate the psychological and sociological bearings on the behaviour of the individual in a political situation. Such an approach makes it imperative to make investigation of certain processes and political aspects such as political socialisation, political ideologies, political culture, political participation, political communication, leadership, decision making and also political violence. It goes without saying that the study of most of these processes demands an inter-disciplinary or multi-disciplinary approach. Thus, in the post-war scenario behavioural approach went beyond the confines of the research of individual centric political behaviour. In the contemporary sense it is identified with an array of points of reference, procedures and methods of 17 analysis. (It was David Easton who set forth eight 'intellectual foundation-stones' of behavioural approach. They are:

1. **Regularities:** It refers to identifiable similarities in political behaviour which help generalisation and explanation of regularities in political theory.
2. **Commitment to Verification.** It necessitates that the soundness of theoretical statements must be subjected to verification tests with reference to relevant political behaviour.
3. **Techniques:** It calls for experimental attitude in matter of electing techniques. In other words political behaviour must be observed, recorded and then analysed.
4. **Quantification.** In order to make a precise expression of conclusions based on collected data it is necessary to quantify the recording of data wherever possible.
5. **Values:** The behavioural approach demands a clear distinction between ethical assessment and empirical explanations. The behaviouralists insist on this separation to make political inquiry as far as possible value-free or value-neutral.
6. **Systemization:** It draws attention to establishing linkages between theory and research because research data without the support of theory is likely to become inconsequential while theory in the absence of verifiable data may become an exercise in futility.

7 **Pure Science** It recommends postponing the attempts to convert politics into a pure science for the purpose of making it an applied science. It is necessary because on account of the study of political behaviour we can use the knowledge of politics to find practical solutions to the pressing problems of a polity.

8 **Integration:** It suggests integration of social sciences with their respective values in order to develop an all-inclusive outlook of human affairs

David Easton made attempts to make behavioural approach "analytic, not substantive, general rather than particular, and explanatory rather than ethical." In other words his intent was to make political theory capable of making evaluation of political behaviour without involving any ethical issue. It is often described as an exercise to distinguish between facts and values. Behaviouralism has been criticized by both conservative and radical political scientists for its so-called attempt to make the discipline value-free. For the conservative the behavioural approach is a serious threat to the possibility of political philosophy. According to Christian Bay, behaviouralism was nothing but a pseudo-political science because it did not represent 'genuine' political research. His major point of criticism was that behavioural approach attached too much importance to empiricism and overlooked normative and ethical examination of political science. The radical critics point out that it is not possible to study political science by separating of facts from values. Nonetheless, it must be stated that behavioural approach did provide a great deal of reliability to political inquiry in comparison with political generalisation. It has made it possible to make available dependable answers to political question by using systematic methods. In the opinion of Vernon Van Dyke "The student who takes a behavioural approach is not likely to ask broad and vague questions like what caused the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. Nor is he likely to focus on ideologies and constitutions or law or upon the organizational structure of institutions." Behavioural approach accordingly is concerned more about micro-level political situations and shuns political generalisations.

SUMMARY

In the study of Social Sciences the approaches are extremely important because they help us in identifying the problems for our study and deciding on the appropriate data to be used. An approach is a broader term that takes hold of the method i.e. how to study or inquire along with bringing into focus the relevant data i.e. what to study for the purpose of understanding the particular phenomenon. There are quite a few approaches that are employed in the study of political science.

Normative approach poses questions based on 'norms' or 'standards' in the study of social sciences with an aim to appraise values. Unlike the empirical approach that is concerned about 'what happened and why' the normative approach emphasises 'what should have happened'.

As the name suggests, a thorough investigation of political institutions in order to study the discipline of political science is called the institutional approach. The approach is almost as old as the discipline of politics and most political scientists since the times of Aristotle have defined and restricted the scope of the discipline only to the study of state and government. In this respect a particular feature of the approach is that it does not usually make use of other social sciences such as philosophy, history, or law to analyse political phenomena. It, therefore, assigns an independent individuality to the organized inquiry of political science.

Behaviouralism is an approach in political science which seeks to provide an objective, quantified approach to explaining and predicting political behaviour. Its emergence in politics coincides with the rise of the behavioural social sciences that were given shape after the natural sciences. Behaviouralism is mainly concerned to examine the behaviour, actions, and acts of individuals rather than the characteristics of institutions such as legislatures, executives, and judiciaries. Behaviouralism underscores the systematic inquiry of all exclusive expression of political behaviour. Some scholars insist that behaviouralism implies the application of meticulous scientific

POST-BEHAVIOURAL APPROACH

Failure of behaviouralism to deal with the practical problems of world, failure to convert political science into a problem solving science, over-emphasis on research methods and tools and dissatisfaction with behaviouralism led to the growth of a new and strong movement in political science called Post-Behaviouralism. David Easton was an ardent advocate of Post-Behavioural movement. Easton is of the opinion that the behaviouralists are doing useless research. He was dissatisfied with the type of research and teaching done by the behaviouralists who were trying to convert the study of politics into a more rigorously scientific discipline based on the methodology of the natural sciences.

Features of Post-Behaviouralism

The characteristics or features of post-behaviouralism which are given below

1 Opposition to value-free social science

The post-behaviouralists are deady opposed to the attempts of the behaviouralists in making political science as a value-free science. Post-Behaviouralists give due consideration for values unlike the Behaviouralists who think of a value free science. Values should not be sacrificed for scientism. David Easton observes: "Research about and constructive development of values were inextinguishable part of the study of politics. Hence, to understanding the limits of our knowledge we need to be aware of the value premises on which it stands and alternatives for which knowledge could be used".

2. A Movement of Protest

The post-behaviouralists assert that the political science must be relevant to society and it must deliberate over such basic issues of society as justice, liberty, equality, democracy etc. Easton asserted that the role of the intellectuals has been must be to protect human values of civilization.

3. Intellectual Movement

The post-behaviouralism is not confined to a particular section of society. It is a sort of Intellectual Movement and its followers can be found amongst all sections of society. Studies should be relevant and meaningful for urgent social problems.

4. Post-Behaviouralists look to the future well-being of the society:

Though the post behaviouralists prefer the behavioural approach to the traditional approach because it is empirical. The strong demands of the post behaviouralists are 'relevance' and 'action'. Knowledge should be put into practice, change should be the aim of political analysis and for future well-being of the society.

Characteristics of post-behaviouralism as given by David Easton:

- 1 Substance must have precedence over technique
- 2 Emphasis should be on social change and not social preservation
- 3 Political science should not lose touch with brute realities of politic
- 4 Political science should not be value-free science
- 5 Political scientists must protect human values of civilization
- 6 Post- Behaviouralists emphasis action in place of contemplative science
- 7 Urgent need to politicise the profession

Thus post behaviouralists introduce a new orientation in political science which will encourage political scientist to improve political life according to human criteria. Eaton says "to know is to bear the responsibility for acting and to act is to engage in reshaping society")

UNIT – II

ORIGIN OF STATE AND ELEMENTS OF STATE

THE STATE

The term 'State' occupies the highest place and central theme in the study of political science. The modern term "state" is derived from the word "status" earlier used by the German tribe 'Teutons'. The Greeks used the word 'Polis' to denote the 'city-state' and Romans used the term 'Civitas' which means state. It was the Italian scholar Machiavelli who used the term 'state' in political science in the modern sense. In political science the term 'state' we mean an association of people who live within a geographical area under an organised government and subject to no outside control.

State is an institution to ensure law and order and maintain harmony of social relations. It creates those conditions, which are necessary for the development of individual personality. It creates laws and rules to regulate human behaviour. It stands for the welfare of society as a whole and protects the rights and life of citizens from internal and external disturbances or war.

The ordinary people usually use the word state in a wrong way. It is wrong to equate the word state with government, nation or society. When they say 'state aid to industries', 'state bus' etc., actually they mean 'government aid to industries', 'government bus' etc. Further, the constituent units of a federation are called "states", for example, various states in India and the federal states in the U.S.A. But as far as our study is concerned the term state is used in different ways.

In the scientific sense of the term "the state means an assemblage of human beings occupying a definite territory, organised under a government supreme within the country and subject to no outside control".

Definitions and Nature of State - Many scholars have defined state in various ways. Even today modern day scholars attempt to define state taking into account its modern functions.

(In 4th century B.C. Aristotle, who is regarded as 'Father of Political Science' had defined state. According to him, state is a union of families and villages having for its end a perfect and self-sufficient life, by which we mean a happy and honorable life.)

According to some scholars, this definition is so comprehensive that it can hardly be improved upon. Aristotle's definition communicates the primary objectives of the state; however, we must study some more definitions of the State.

Holland - State is a politically organized people of a definite territory.

Prof. Woodrow Wilson, State is a people organized for law within a definite territory.

Though these two definitions are short, they are inadequate also. Hence we must look at some more definitions.

Dr. J.W. Garner, 'As a concept of Political Science, the State is a community of persons more or less numerous, permanently occupying a definite portion of territory, independent or nearly so, of external control and possessing an organized government to which the great body of inhabitants render habitual obedience.'

Prof. Harold Laski, The State is a territorial society divided into government and subjects claiming within its allotted physical area, a supremacy over all other institutions.

If we analyse the two definitions, we can identify four elements which are essential to make a State. These are (i) Population (ii) territory (iii) government (iv) Sovereignty

Today we live in the age of globalization and an age of international politics. Hence we must consider the definition given by Philimore which takes into account the perspective of international law. According to him, 'State is a people permanently occupying a fixed territory, bound together by common laws, habits and customs into one body politics exerting through the medium of an organized government, independent sovereignty and control over people and things within its boundaries, capable of making war and peace and of entering into all international relations with the countries of the world.'

This definition extends the scope of state. The earlier scholars focused on four elements. This definition adds the fifth dimension to international relations, war and peace etc.

ELEMENTS OF THE STATE

As noted, State has four constituent elements (i) Population (ii) Territory (iii) Government (iv) Sovereignty. Each of these elements needs to be studied properly.

(i) Population – We cannot imagine a State without population. How much population is an issue that can be debated. For example, India is an overpopulated State whereas Austria is an underpopulated State. This issue has engaged the attention of scholars from time immemorial. Aristotle was talking of optimum population, small enough to be well governed and big enough to be self-sufficient. But there is no denying the fact that without population, there is no State.

(ii) Territory – Like without population, we cannot think of a State without territory. A State can exercise its authority over well-defined territory.

Fixed Territory is necessary for legal purpose. For emotional purpose, people need to have a fixed territory which they call mother-land or father-land.

Territory is so important that normally there are disputes over borders between two states. For example, India and Pakistan have a dispute about Kashmir. India and China have a dispute about Arunachal Pradesh. Fixed, well-defined territory is also necessary for legal purpose. A State has control over land, water, mineral wealth and air space.

However, there are some exceptions to the importance of territory as a constituent element of state. Some nomadic tribes wander from region to region. They have no fixed territory. Similarly, the Jewish people had no territory of their own till 1948. These are exceptions, not the rule.

Non Fixed Territory.
(iii) Government – Government is that agency which steers the ship of the State. Without government, state will be directionless. Here the form of government does not matter. It could be Presidential System, one party rule or even dictatorship, there has to be a government. In other words, government is nothing but the implementing arm of state. Government is that system through which state expresses its will. The government makes law, punishes law breakers, promotes welfare of people.

(iv) Sovereignty – Scholars believe that sovereignty is the soul of state. Before 15th August 1947, India had territory, population and government. But it did not have sovereignty. It shows the importance of sovereignty. It has two aspects: (i) internal and (ii) external. In internal sovereignty, the state has ultimate, unlimited power within its territory. It enjoys final control over all people, associations and other things. Under external sovereignty, it means a state is free from external control. It can enter into international treaties. Some scholars believe that after UNO was formed in 1945 and more specifically after the age of globalization began in 1991, the scope of external sovereignty has shrunk considerably.

ORIGIN OF STATE

State is the central subject of study of political science. So political scientists have shown keen interest in understanding the origin and development of state. Many theories have come up on the origin of the state. But there is no precise answer to the question how and when the state came into being.

3m (The theories advanced so far by the political thinkers on the origin of the state are, The theories of divine origin

- The theory of force
 - The theory of social contract
 - The patriarchal theory
 - The matriarchal theory and
 - The Evolutionary theory or Historical theory
- Divine Theory
Force Theory
Social Contract
Kinship
Evolutionary & historical.

Of these except the Evolutionary theory the other theories are not accepted as correct theories on the origin of the state.) 2m

THE EVOLUTIONARY THEORY OR HISTORICAL THEORY

This is the most scientific theory on the origin of the state. The theory assumes that a state is a historical growth. The state is neither the result of an artificial creation nor it originated at a period of time. To quote Leacock "the state is a growth, an evolution, the result of a gradual process running through all the known history of man and reaching into remote and unknown part") John Morley, Gettel, Garner, Burgess and Leacock are the supporters of this theory.

The Elements of the origin of the state

According to the advocates of the Evolutionary theory, Kinship, Religion, Force, War and Conflict, Economic activities and political consciousness were some of the various factors which contributed to the origin of the state. The part played by each of them may be stated as follows

1. **Kinship:** In the primitive societies people were united on the basis of Kinship. It has been a significant factor in the evolution of the state. It has played an important part in early civic development. R N Gilchrist says that "blood relationship is an inevitable bond in society". The closest bond of kinship is the family composed of father, mother and children. With the expansion of the family arose new families and by the multiplication of the families of the same stock, tribes or clans were formed. These tribes or clans play a very important part in the organisation of the state by their unification.

Henry Maine says "Kinship created a common consciousness, common interest and common purpose". According to Mac Iver it is the Kinship which creates the society and society at length creates the state. Thus we understand that kinship played an important role in the growth and development of the state.

2. **Religion:** Influence of religion over primitive society was very great. National phenomenon like floods and thunderstorms were believed to be the will of God in ancient times. They, therefore, sought remedies for them in the worship of god alone. Since everyone did not know the procedures of worship they authorised a priest to worship god on their behalf. The priest in course of time turned into a ruler, and thus, the state came into existence.

As supplementary to the religion the influence of magic may also be mentioned here. Magicians exerted some influence on the minds of the people, who were ignorant and superstitious.

We have historical evidences in support our view The Jehova worship was the strongest force, which united the tribes of Israel Prophet Mohamed united the scattered and unsettled races and tribes of Arabia Consequently the people of Arabia emerged into a powerful nation Thus religion assisted in the formation and the development of the state by strengthening the unity of the tribe and authority of the chief

3 Force: Force played a dominant role in the growth of the state The formula generally accepted in the primitive communities was "might is right" Huntsmen and herdsmen possessed a crude type of organisation But they were powerful and subjugated the peasants who were compelled to pay tribute to their victor Big groups called tribes, having some common features, organised a joint force The tribe having a better organisation started attacking and conquering its group (Stronger state dominates weaker state)

War and conflict help in the amalgamation of families into clans, of clans into tribes and tribe into larger units that become the state With the weakening of kinship, the applications of forces become necessary for the maintenance of peace and order. The coercive force exercised by the leader eventually developed into political sovereignty. This resulted in the domination of the strong over the weak. According to Mac Iver conquest and domination paved the way for the emergence of the state

4. Economic Activities Economic factors such as possession of wealth and property contributed much to the origin of the state. The primitive people had three successive economic stages that brought about corresponding changes in the social organisation They were Huntsman stage, the Herdsman stage and the Husbandman or Agricultural stage

In the huntsman stage people were wandering people and had no private property -there was no distinction between the rich and the poor Hunting was only the source of livelihood In the herdsman stage there was some accumulation of property in the hands of some people, so certain laws became necessary In this stage, private property emerged in the elementary form The state acquired territorial character only in the husbandman stage With the growth and development of agriculture , people were forced to settle down in a particular territory Laws became necessary to protect property and to settle disputes regarding property

Gettle says "Differences in occupation and wealth created social classes or casts and the domination of one class by another for the purpose of economic exploitation was an important factor in the rise of Government"

5. Political Consciousness: Political consciousness of the people is the last contributing factor for the development of modern state Political consciousness means an awareness among the people of common purposes and end to be realised through political organization, which including the security of life and property, to protect from external attack, social, economic, moral and intellectual development and the like With the rapid increase in population and the wealth, a political organization like the state was needed for the maintaining law and order and for settling the disputes All these led to the emergence of political power and the conscious adaption of political institutions contributed much to the origin of state

We can conclude by saying that the Historical or Evolutionary theory appears to be more realistic theory than any other theory regarding the origin of the state Mac Iver says, "we cannot say when and where the state begins It is implicit in the universal tendency to leadership and subordination, but it only emerges when authority becomes government and custom is transacted into law"

- The family man, wife, children
- Father - Patri
- Mom - Matriarch

SOVEREIGNTY (5m)

Introduction

(State has four characteristics -namely population, territory, government and sovereignty) The term sovereignty literally means supreme or highest authority or power, within the state. It is the most important of characteristic of the state. It is like the very heart or soul of the state. A nation or a country cannot be called state unless it enjoys sovereign power over its people and within its territory. Essence of the state authority is its sovereign power. It is this element which distinguishes the State from other associations. In every state there must be an authority which is supreme, final, whose will is legally binding over all individuals and associations within the territory. The concept of sovereignty is essentially a juristic concept. It implies supreme and final legal authority, above and beyond which no further legal power exist.)

EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT OF SOVEREIGNTY

The concept is closely associated with the emergence of modern state. However, its idea can be traced back to Aristotle, who spoke of the 'supreme power' of the state.

The first systematic theory of sovereignty goes to Jean Bodin (1530-96). He defined sovereignty as the supreme power over subjects and possessions. According to Bodin, law is the expression of sovereign's will, and binds the subject regardless of their consent. The sovereign power is however, subject to the constraints of natural and Divine law. The sovereign cannot be subject to his own laws, since they express his will.

ASPECTS OF SOVEREIGNTY

(Bodin developed concept of internal sovereignty (as supreme power of the sovereign over citizens and subjects). Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), the Dutch writer, developed the concept of external sovereignty. He propounded the theory of equality of the sovereign states in their relations and independence of external control or dominations. Concept of sovereignty was also influenced by the writings of Niccolo Machiavelli.)

Subsequently Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) of England argued that the sovereignty of the state had no legal limits in principle, and no need for justifying any power outside itself. The state could not only administer traditional laws but could create new laws. He denied the claims of the Church to share political power. He advocated that there has to be a single centre of authority, Hobbes, thus developed the concept of legal sovereignty.

'Concept of sovereignty was further developed by Bentham, Austin, Rousseau, Hegel and Bosanquet. The jurists viewed the state as legally supreme with final and absolute authority.

Limiting the Sovereign power. As stated above, while a group of writers advocated absolute power for the sovereign, another group of thinkers led by John Locke, Montesquieu, Spinoza and Kant, raised the question of the limits of the sovereign power.

They developed doctrine of separation of power, limited and constitutional government and theory of natural rights.

SOVEREIGNTY DEFINED

(Blackstone defined sovereignty as "the supreme irresistible, absolute, controllable authority in which the supreme legal power resides".)

Jellinek defines it as "that characteristic of the state in virtue of which it cannot be legally bound except by its own will, or limited by any other power than itself".

Duguit defines sovereignty as "the commanding power of the state, it is the will of the nation organised in the state, it is the right to give unconditional orders to all individuals in the territory of the state "

Burgess characterizes sovereignty as "original, absolute, unlimited power over the individual subject and over all associations of subjects "

Garner defines it as "the supreme will and power", elements which distinguish the state from other human associations

(Political Science Dictionary defines sovereignty as "the supreme power of a state exercised within its boundaries, free from external interferences")

The Penguin Dictionary of Politics defines sovereignty as "the right to own and control some area of the world"

All these definitions emphasise absolute and exclusive nature of sovereignty in its internal and external aspects. In simple words sovereignty means supreme authority of the state within its territory and complete freedom from external control, or interference

In conclusion we may quote the words of Justice Sutherland of the Supreme Court of United States of America "Rulers come and go, governments and forms of government change, but sovereignty survives. A political society cannot endure without a supreme will somewhere. Sovereignty is never held in suspense". In strict sense sovereignty is a legal attribute of a state which entitles it to make decisions with respect to matter within its jurisdiction, free of external restraint or coercion

CHARACTERISTICS OF SOVEREIGNTY APUIE I

On the basis of above definitions, we can briefly state the characteristics of sovereignty as follows

(i) Absoluteness

The sovereignty of the state as studied from the legal point of view is absolute. It is the most important and essential characteristics of the state. The will and authority of the sovereign power of the state cannot be challenged or overridden by any agency within the state. Externally no power can influence or dictate terms to the state. However, as pointed elsewhere in these notes, this concept is purely of juridical nature. In reality sovereignty of the state is limited by several factors, such as customs, public opinion, power of electorate etc. Externally even the most powerful state cannot ignore the world public opinion

(ii) Permanence

The sovereignty is like the very heart and soul of the State. Destruction of sovereignty means end of the state, it does not cease with the change of government or death of a president. Even after a successful revolution the sovereignty shifts to the new bearer of power

(iii) All comprehensive and Universality

Sovereignty of the State is all comprehensive and universal, in the sense that the sovereign power of the state extends over all its individual citizens and all groups, human associations within its territorial limits. No individual, except, of course, the foreign diplomats and ambassadors, is free from its all-embracing authority. None can claim exemption from the authority of the state

(iv) Inalienability :

Sovereignty, being an indispensable element of the state, it cannot be alienated from the state. Alienation of the sovereignty would amount to the state's suicide. When there is change of power the sovereignty shifts to new bearer

(v) Exclusiveness .

It means the state and the state alone possesses sovereign power over its citizen and associations within its territory. In other words there cannot be more than one centre of power within the territorial boundaries of the state. To have more than one centre of power means to divide sovereignty, which juridically would mean denial of the absoluteness of the sovereignty.

(vi) Indivisibility .

If the sovereignty is exclusive it logically follows that it cannot be shared or divided. Sovereignty being the highest will within the state it cannot be divided without destroying or creating more than one state. Some writers speak of 'dual' sovereignty. However, they confuse sovereignty with its emanation. Power which emanates from sovereignty can be divided, but not the sovereignty itself. In a federal state the power flowing from the constitution is divided between the Union and constituent units.

The characteristics of legal sovereignty may thus be summed up as under

- (i) It is always definite, determinate, organised, precise and known to laws.
- (ii) It may reside either in the person of a monarch, as in an absolute monarchy, or it may be vested in a body of persons as in democracy, e.g. Parliament in Britain.
- (iii) It alone has the power to declare in legal terms the will of the state.
- (iv) All legal rights emanate from the legal sovereign and it can withdraw or annul them at its will.
- (v) The authority of the legal sovereign is absolute, unlimited and supreme. It is not subject to any control from outside the state.

CLASSIFICATION OF SOVEREIGNTY

The term sovereignty has been used in its different senses. This leads to various kinds of sovereignty. We may briefly discuss them as under

(1) Titular and real sovereign :

Titular means nominal or ceremonial, such as the British Monarch or, President of India. While the real sovereign is the one who exercises real power such as the absolute monarchs in the former days. Under Parliamentary system the king or the Queen, or even elected President is nominal sovereign in whom the executive powers of the state are vested, while the Parliament is a real sovereign. A king would also be a real sovereign if he directly exercises all powers.

(2) Legal and Political sovereignty .

Distinction is also made between legal and political sovereignty. A legal sovereign is one which has supreme power to enact law. In a modern state the Parliament or the Central legislative body like the American Congress are the legal sovereigns within their states. A legal sovereign can theoretically override even the divine law or long-standing social customs.

Main features of a legal sovereign are

- (a) It is definite, determinate, organised and known to laws.
- (b) It alone has power to enact highest laws.
- (c) Disobedience to legal sovereign will lead to punishment.

- (d) All rights emanate from the legal sovereign
- (e) Authority of the legal sovereign is unlimited

We have already said that the British Parliament and the American Congress exercise such legal sovereignty

(3) Political Sovereign

Stands behind the legal sovereign In democracy political sovereignty belongs to the voters There are differences of opinion about the location of political sovereignty Some political scientists feel that not only the voters, but other forces which are behind the legal sovereign, make up for political sovereignty However, the fact remains that political sovereignty is difficult to locate There is, however, no doubt that public opinion, the wishes of the voters etc influence the decision of the legal sovereign In a direct democracy, the people could be considered as political sovereign

(4) Popular Sovereignty

The concept of popular sovereignty is very old For example, Roman scholar, Cicero said "the authority of the Common Wealth is derived from the corporate power of the people" "In the medieval period, political thinkers spoke of the voice of the people. Machiavelli said "voice, of the people is voice of God." The Social Contractualists also argue that authority of state is based on the consent of the people In this sense people are the popular sovereign James Bryce said "the sovereignty of the people is the basis of democracy"

(5) De Jure and De Facto Sovereign

A distinction is also made between de jure (legal) and de facto (actual) sovereign De jure sovereign is one who is legally recognised, and is competent to issue command of state Thus the authority of the de jure sovereign rests on law Sometime due to historical circumstances the de jure sovereign is unable to exercise his power This may happen as a result of revolutions, or conquest by foreign power For example, after the Battle of Plassey (1757) the Nawab of Bengal remained de jure sovereign while the East India Company became de facto sovereign, as it exercised complete control over the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa Some scholars are of the opinion that since sovereignty is a legal concept, only de jure sovereign is the real sovereign De jure sovereignty is also necessary for political stability.

CONCLUSION

- (1) Sovereignty is the heart and soul of a state/Internally it stands for the supreme authority of the state within its territory and externally free from any foreign or external pressure or interference.
- (2) Austin advocate monistic or absolutist concept of Sovereignty Scholars such as Gierke, Maitland, Durkheim, Barker etc questioned the absolutist concept of sovereignty. This school of thought came to be known as Pluralism
- (3) However, in the ultimate analysis, scholars agree that for a state to be able to perform its functions effectively it must have unrestricted sovereign power, in the absence of which we will revert to the Hobbsean State of Nature Indeed modern period has witnessed two parallel trends -expansion of individual freedom and greater state action in defence of that freedom and welfare obligations of the state)

AUSTIN'S THEORY OF SOVEREIGNTY OR MONISTIC THEORY OF SOVEREIGNTY

John Austin, the famous English Jurist, who gave one of the most authentic definition of sovereignty, in his book Lectures on Jurisprudence published in 1832. His theory of Sovereignty has left an indelible imprint on the subject of sovereignty and even today the concept of sovereignty cannot be studied without reference to Austin Austin provided the most elaborate analysis of the legal theory of sovereignty His theory is also

known as Monistic Theory. In spite of several criticisms the basic principles of his theory still serve as the basis for modern jurisprudence.

Austin's theory is as follows. Austin's theory of sovereignty is purely legal or juristic. In simple language it means that

- (1) In every independent political community there exists a sovereign power. In other words sovereignty is an essential attribute of an independent political society.
- (2) The sovereign is a determinate person or body of persons. It cannot be an indefinite body or a vague concept.
- (3) The power of the sovereign is legally unlimited, there is no legal limit to his power or authority.
- (4) The obedience rendered to the sovereign is habitual and not casual. Austin's thesis is that obedience to the sovereign must be continuous, regular, undisputed and uninterrupted. But this obedience need not be from every member of the society. It is enough if obedience comes from the bulk or majority of the population.
- (5) The power of the sovereign is indivisible. There must be as many states as there are sovereigns. The power of the sovereign cannot be divided or shared. Division of the sovereignty is unthinkable.
- (6) The command of the sovereign is the law. Whatever is not commanded by the sovereign, cannot be considered, as law. Obedience to the command of the sovereign is obligatory. Disobedience will invite penalty.

Criticism of Austin's Theory of Sovereignty

Austin's theory was criticised by many scholars such as Sir Henry Maine, Clark, Sidgwick, Laski etc. Criticism of Austin's theory is as under

- (1) Sovereignty does not reside in a determinate human superior. Sir Henry Maine pointed out that sovereignty does not reside in a determinate superior. He pointed out that sovereignty and the power of sovereign can never be absolute. e.g. Maharaja Ranjit Singh, he said that he could have commanded anything yet never in his life he issued a command which could be properly called as law. The rules which regulated the life of his people were derived from customs, usages and conventions. He himself was subject to customary laws of the community.

Not only in the Asian society but even in the Western society no sovereign could disregard the social customs and traditions. In the medieval period the Church exercised complete control over the authority of the sovereign. Accordingly, Sir Maine concludes that sovereignty has never been or can never be absolute.

- (2) Maine also pointed out that Austin's theory is inconsistent with the concept of popular sovereignty. It is not true in a democratic society. In democracy sovereignty resides in the people. In this sense, sovereignty cannot be determinate. Austin also does not take into account, what is today called as political sovereignty.
- (3) According to Laski, law is not simply a command of a sovereign. It must be based on the moral sense of the society. There cannot be a law opposed to social, moral values and customs.
- (4) Sovereign power can never be absolute and unlimited. Even the most powerful dictators and autocratic rulers could not ignore the public opinion, or prevailing customs and tradition. Theoretically, we may say that the power of the sovereign is absolute but in reality, in every society there are forces which can challenge the authority of the state.

- (5) Austin lays too much emphasis on force. He believes that obedience can be exacted by the threat of force. But force and coercion are unproductive in the long run. In fact repeated use of force can become counter-productive. Force is something which destroys its own roots. It is not force but the willing consent which should be the basis of authority.
- (6) In a modern democratic state the location of the sovereign is practically impossible. In a Parliamentary system sovereignty is located in Parliament. But behind the Parliament is the political sovereign i.e. the common voters. And behind this political sovereign is the mass of people, who make-up for the popular sovereign. Thus in a democratic society it is practically impossible to discover the sovereign in the Austinian sense.
- (7) Austin also failed to distinguish between legal, political and popular sovereignty. In a Parliamentary system while Parliament is the legal sovereign, the electors are the political sovereign, and the masses, popular sovereign.
- (8) Austin also failed to recognize the role of other associations within the modern state. Laski has pointed out that in a modern state, there can be powerful associations and groups, which exert great pressure on its members.
- (9) In the international system no state is externally free from foreign dominations or influences. Even powerful states cannot disregard the feelings of the smaller states, on the other hand the smaller states are constantly under economic or political pressure of the larger states.
- (10) The greatest defect of Austin's theory is that it is undemocratic. According to him the sovereign is the determinate superior while the people are subordinate dependent on him. Such a theory will logically lead to despotism.

CONCLUSION

Austin's theory is further criticised on the ground that it assigns absolute and unlimited power to the sovereign. The pluralists do not agree with this argument, they maintain that the state is an association like many other associations in a society. Therefore, the pluralists accused Austin's doctrine of a single and unifying sovereignty. They argue that sovereignty in modern state is diffused and shared by many associations and institutions. Externally also sovereign states cannot ignore the limitations put by the international law, Austin's theory is therefore regarded as legal fiction (Laski is of the opinion that the idea of an independent sovereign state is fatal to the well being of humanity). Today, (the States of the World constitute an international society) There are several common international problems which cannot be solved without international co-operation. For example, international terrorism cannot be tackled without the co-operation of different states. Similarly, agencies of the United Nations work in close cooperation. Besides, there are Multi-National Corporations (MNC) and trans-national organisations, having their activities across national and continental boundaries. Today, in addition to regional co-operation, there is a process of globalisation of the world economy. The world economy is now closely integrated. Therefore, in such a situation Austin's theory does not hold ground.

UNIT – III

MEANING, NATURE AND SCOPE OF CITIZENSHIP AND LIBERTY, EQUALITY AND JUSTICE

METHODS OF ACQUIRING CITIZENSHIP *5m*

Citizenship may be acquired according to two methods

- (i) by birth, or
- (ii) by naturalization.

Birth:

There are two practices which are observed regarding the acquisition of citizenship by birth Jus Sanguinis and Jus Soli.

Jus Sanguinis. *(Parents)*

According to Jus Sanguinis, a child acquires the citizenship of parents irrespective of the place of birth, e.g., child born of Indian parents is an Indian citizen whether it is born on Indian soil or abroad. The practice of Jus Sanguinis was very popular in ancient times. Even now, it is observed by most of the states in the world. This practice is natural as well as logical. It is exclusively observed in Germany, Italy, Sweden, Norway etc.

Jus Soli. *(Soil - birth place)*

According to this practice, citizenship is determined by the place of birth and not by parentage. This practice is now not popular. It was, of course, popular in the middle ages when citizenship was associated with land. At present, however, this practice is exclusively observed in Argentina.

In England, U.S.A. and France, both the above practices are employed simultaneously. Observance of both the practices sometimes gives rise to duplication of citizenship. A child born of English parents in America, for example, becomes the citizen of America according to the practice of Jus Soli. The same child becomes a citizen of England also according to the practice of Jus Sanguinis. The problem is solved by giving an option to the child to accept the citizenship of either state it likes when it comes of age.

Naturalization:

Citizenship can also be acquired through naturalization. According to this method, an alien can become a citizen after fulfilling certain conditions. Though these conditions vary from state to state, yet some of the general principles which are observed may be summed up as follows

1 Residence.

A certain period of residence in the state is essential before an alien can be granted citizenship. This period varies from state to state. In England and U.S.A. this period is 5 years. In France, it is 10 years.

2 Oath of Allegiance.

An alien must take an oath of allegiance before he can become a citizen of another state.

3. Purchase of Real Estate:

An alien, who buys real estate in a foreign land, can get the rights of citizenship if he so desires

4. Service (Civil or Military).

An alien may be given rights of citizenship if he renders meritorious service in another state

5. Marriage:

Women acquire the citizenship of their alien husbands e.g., an English lady will acquire the citizenship of India if she marries an Indian. The condition of marriage in Japan, however, is quite different. Japanese women do not lose their citizenship even if they marry alien husbands. The alien husband, on the other hand, acquires the citizenship of Japan if he marries a Japanese lady)

Loss of Citizenship:

Citizenship may be lost under the following conditions

1. Renunciation:

One may renounce the citizenship of one's original state and may become the citizen of a foreign state by naturalization

2. Marriage:

Women lose the citizenship of their original state if they marry aliens. In England, there is a move to retain English citizenship for women marrying foreigners

3. Acceptance of Service, Decoration or Title from a Foreign State.

Some states deprive their citizens of citizenship, if they accept service, honor or title in a foreign state

4. Long Absence:

In some state, like France and Germany, citizens who absent themselves from their states for more than ten years may lose their citizenship

5. Treason or Felony:

A person, who is charged with treasonable activities, may be deprived of his citizenship

LIBERTY is a political concept that refers to the freedom from undue or oppressive restraints on a person's actions, thought or beliefs imposed by the state

Introduction

The concept of liberty emerged in the 19th century and became important in democracy. It is a very widely used term but is difficult to precisely define it

Meaning

The word "liberty" is derived from the Latin word "liber" meaning "free". Liberty is necessary for quality human life. It is a necessary condition of rationality, of action, of achievement. To be free is to be able to translate one's ideals into reality, to actualize one's potentialities as a person. Lucas regards freedom as being chiefly freedom, from ill health, from fear, from want, from arbitrary arrest, from public opinion

~~Two aspects of Liberty~~

In negative sense it means merely the absence of restraint or absence of interference or impediment. It is a situation in which A is free from B to do the desired things of his/her own choice. Positively it refers to the positive opportunity for self-development. According to Isaiah Berlin, negative liberty is absence of interference by others and positive liberty means persons capacity to implement his will.

Characteristic Features of Liberty:

- 1) Liberty and freedom are synonymous
- 2) Liberty does not mean absence of restraints, It means acceptance of reasonable restrictions.]
- 3) Unrestrained liberty means law of jungle,
- 4) Liberty is opposed to political subjection. It advocates independence for every nationality
- 5) It means freedom to do something positively
- 6) Activities of the state and individual liberty are not opposed to each other. In fact they are complementary
- 7) The law of the state protects freedom of the weak
- 8) Liberty incorporates the idea of individual and social welfare. There must be a balance between the two
- 9) It is an essential condition for all-round developments of human personality
- 10) Liberty is associated with responsibility
- 11) It is a dynamic concept. It is meaning changes with changing times, places and conditions
- 12) It is the responsibility of the state to create required conditions for enjoyment of liberty

Types of Liberty:

Notion of liberty can be classified in many types

Natural Liberty (*lack of restraint, nature free*)

It means total and complete freedom. It means lack of any restraint. This notion of liberty refers to the fact that man is by nature free. Natural Liberty is strongly advocated by Rousseau who said that, "Man is born free but everywhere he is in chains". However, this concept of liberty is ~~illusory~~ ~~it~~ is a myth.

Personal Liberty: (*free to experiment, harm principle*)

This notion suggests that every human being desires to exercise his faculties and to determine the general conditions of his life. This provides justification of personal liberty which is championed by Mill who said that the individual should be free to experiment with his life, as long as his actions do not affect others.

National Liberty: (*external liberty*)

It means national independence. National liberty stands for achievement of complete independence and subsequent sovereignty of the nation from the dominance of foreign nation. Freedom from the bondage of other states is essential for the realization of liberty in its fullest sense. It means it is the foundation of all other liberties.

Civil Liberty (created by the state) *trinities + various degrees*

This liberty exists in a civil society

→ freedom

It means liberty in social life. In the words of Gettel, "it includes liberty to free action and immunity from interference. It comprises rights and privileges that the state creates and enforces" It includes freedom of the person, physical freedom from injury or threat to the life, health, and movement of the body, intellectual freedom for the expression of thought and belief, equality before the law, security of private property, freedom of opinion and expression, and freedom of conscience. As per Laski civil liberty is the sum total of the rights, recognised in various degrees in different states. It is a safeguard against physical and moral coercion exerted by either an individual or the state. It includes, the right to life, personal safety and freedom, religious freedom, the right to reputation, the right to work, education, family rights, the right of association, the right to the general advantages of social life, the right to property.

Political Liberty

It refers to the individuals role, participation and share in the administration of the state. It connotes the opportunity of taking part in the process of government, and of having a say in the future development of the community. As Barker says, political liberty is "a liberty not of curbing; constituting it by a general act of choice or election, in which we all freely share on the basis of universal suffrage, controlling it by a general and continuous process of discussion, in which we all freely share according to our capacities". Political liberty reinforces the duty of political obedience. Political liberty is often equated with the right to vote, the liberties of holding views about political matters and of ventilating those views in public, the right of addressing those with whom the decision rests and the liberty of seeking and holding office. Political liberty is based on the ideal of participation.

Political liberty is a guarantee to the whole community that it will not be governed by any outside power or by any individual or section of its own members. Further it is a guarantee to a sufficiently large group or interest that its claim will be heard and its wishes would make themselves felt. According to Laski political liberty can be realized if a citizen is educated enough to express what he wants and if he is well informed by honest and straightforward supply of news. According to Sartori, Political freedom is protection against arbitrary and absolute power. It desires "a situation which permits the governed effectively to oppose abuse of power by the governors".

Economic Liberty

It means reasonable opportunity for everyone to earn his daily bread.

It implies economic freedom wherein a labourer is assured of a just reward. This freedom creates harmonious industrial system in which every man will produce only that which he is capable of producing and the community will have need for what he produces. Economic liberty also implies the absence of economic inequalities which can become economic constraints.

It is understood as a security that the economically weak will not be at the mercy of economically strong. It tends to resist the concentration of economic control.

According to Laski, economic liberty means, "security and the opportunity to find reasonable significance in the earning of one's daily bread". It implies that the citizen must be free from the constant fear of unemployment and insufficiency which, perhaps more than any other inadequacy takes away the whole strength of personality. The citizen, "must be safeguarded against the wants of tomorrow". The citizen must be able to make his personality flow through his effort as a producer of services, and "find in that effort the capacity of enrichment". He further says that economic liberty implies democracy in industry.

Restrictions and Safeguards of Liberty

Absolute liberty is dangerous. It supports the dictum that, "might is right". Such unrestricted freedom is ultimately denial of equality along with freedom of others. Certain safeguards are devised to check liberty. Some of them are, prevention of others, general public utility, equity, national unity, security and sovereignty of the country, peace and order in the society, etc.

Liberty also involves certain safeguards. Just law is the vital condition of liberty. Law can destroy, law can uphold conditions of liberty. Democratic polity is prerequisite of liberty. In democracy widespread enjoyment of liberty is dependent on the respect for minority rights and on the widespread habit of tolerance in a community. An independent judiciary and a healthy development of local self-governing institutions further help liberty. Constitutional government, a charter of fundamental rights, a tradition of constructive public opinion and eternal vigilance are other sure safeguards of liberty.

Importance of Liberty:

It is a very important political value.

- 1) It is one of the pillars of democracy. A democratic government is meaningful only if people enjoy liberty. Love for liberty teaches individuals to oppose injustice. It puts a check on the activities of the government.
- 2) Liberty is the most precious aspect of human life. Only liberty can bring about all-round development of human personality.

EQUALITY

Introduction Equality. (The American Declaration of Independence, 1776 proclaims that, "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights.") The French Declaration of 1789 also proclaimed, "men are born and live free and equal in their rights." Both the documents underline the fact that Equality is a protest ideal, a symbol of man's revolt against chance, fortuitous disparity, unjust power, crystallized privilege.

Equality is difficult and controversial notion in politics. It is a fact that humans are not equal. They have differences in their mental, moral qualities or their attitudes and abilities. The demand for equality does not neglect the differences among humans. It is a protest against unjust, undeserved, and unjustified inequalities, for hierarchies of worth and ability never satisfactorily corresponds to effective hierarchies of power. Demand for equality provides necessary motion to break the inertia of human society, which constantly tends to perpetuate the existing vertical structures. Such structures perpetuate themselves with nurturing the belief that each man should live according to his station? And by means of routine, custom, and traditional, social mechanisms. The ideal of equality works against such force of gravity inherent in politico-socio organisms.

Meaning of Equality

Thus the very differences in the nature of men require mechanisms for the expression of their wills that give to each its due hearing. In brief, equality refers to the equal enjoyment of rights by all citizens and absence of any discrimination based on status, race or sex. The principle that all men are equal only means that they ought to be treated in the same manner in certain vital respects. It means impartiality of treatment. According to Harold J. Laski equality means the absence of special privilege, availability of adequate opportunities open to all. It is fundamentally a leveling process. Marx argued for equality as an end to class domination and economic exploitation of man by man. These definitions show two aspects of equality.

1) Negative aspect – It means absence of special privileges

2) Positive aspect – It means that adequate opportunities should be made available to all

Dimensions of Equality

A. Legal Dimension of Equality

Legal dimension of Equality is essential ingredient of liberal democracy. Legal equality implies that every individual is equal before the law and is entitled to and can claim equal protection of the laws. In modern democratic states, law neither allows special privileges to any particular class nor confers unequal rights on, or claim unequal obligations from, different categories of citizens.

Equality before the law does not guarantee equal treatment by the law but equal access to the law, and consideration only of those factors laid down by law as relevant.

Legal equality does not mean that any two persons must always be treated exactly alike. It claims that the grounds for deciding between two persons should be only those laid down by law, and not any legally extraneous ones, whether unreasonable grounds of moral sentiments or Natural law, or unreasonable ones of private caprice. Application of legal dimension is contextual. Division of labour and distributive justice provides ground for legitimate unequal treatment to certain classes or categories of individuals or groups.

Equality before the law basically denotes equal enjoyment of certain fundamental rights and duties.

Political Dimension of Equality

Political equality implies equal access to political power. This form of equality is closely associated with liberal democratic form of government. The concrete expression of political equality is the conferment, on all adult citizens, of the right to vote and its corollaries, the right to contest for public office and equal eligibility for administrative and judicial posts provided the necessary technical qualifications are fulfilled. In short, political equality denotes the equality of political rights of citizens.

This notion of equality is heavily discarded by many. According to elitist theory, ordinary citizens, even when they have votes, have no real access to political power. In democratic political system power is contested by political parties which are themselves controlled by a clique or self-appointed leaders. According to Laski, "political equality, is never real unless it is accompanied by virtual economic equality, political power, otherwise is bound to be the handmaid of economic power." Marx ridiculed the notion of equality in a society based on capitalism.

Socio-Economical Dimensions of Equality

It is generally agreed that legal and political dimensions alone are not adequate to interpret equality because it ignores the basic fundamental aspect of equality, i.e., its socio-economic dimensions. If the legal and political equalities are of the formal type, economic and social equalities are substantive and of the material type. First is apparent and second is real equality.

Literally it implies the attempt to expunge all differences in wealth, allotting to every man and woman an equal share in worldly goods. But practically it is difficult to follow this meaning. Properly interpreted, economic equality means the provision of adequate opportunities for all in the material sense of equalising the starting-points, that is, creating by means of a relatively equal distribution of wealth the material conditions for equal access to opportunities. In Marxian sense it demands State ownership of all wealth.

The principle of social equality remains a characteristically democratic preoccupation.

Characteristic Features of Equality

- 1) Absolute equality i.e., complete identity of treatment and reward is not desirable
- 2) Men are by nature unequal in their capacity
- 3) It is basically a leveling process
- 4) It is essential for social justice
- 5) It means equal opportunities to all
- 6) It means absence of special privileges to any one
- 7) Essential things must be provided to all

Types of Equality

Equality can be classified into four types

Ontological Equality:

This form of equality has its base in religious and moral tradition. It is expressed in the religious belief that all persons are equal before God. Natural theorists stressed an essential equality of human beings qua human beings. In modern scientific world this notion is quite ineffective to argue in favour of equality. But Marxism takes similar position when it asserted that all human beings are knowledgeable, conscious and practical agents. All human beings have to labour productively to produce their means of existence and reproduce their own species.

Equality of Opportunity

It means that access to important social institutions should be open to all on universalistic grounds. Especially by achievement and talent. The debate about equality of opportunity was especially important in the development of modern educational institutions where promotion and attainment were in theory based upon intelligence, skill and talent regardless of parental and class background, in terms of universal criteria of achievement, not on ascribed standards of age, sex or wealth.

Equality of Condition

Equality of opportunity is closely linked to equality of condition. Equality of opportunity rewards those who have ability and who are prepared to exercise their skills in the interest of personal achievement in a competitive situation. In order for equality of opportunity to have any significant content, it is essential to guarantee equality of condition, that is, all competitors should start at the same time.

Equality of Outcome

It stresses on equality of result regardless of starting point and natural ability. It seeks to transform inequalities at the beginning into social equalities as a conclusion. Social programmes of positive discrimination in favour of disadvantaged or disprivileged groups are meant to compensate for significant inequalities of condition in order to bring about a meaningful equality of opportunity to secure an equality of result.

Evaluation of the notion of Equality,

Importance of Equality –

- 1) A peaceful society can be developed only on the solid foundation of equality. The history is full of wars, clashes and revolutions because there was absence of equality.
- 2) Equality is a necessary precondition for enjoyment of liberty. Without equality liberty becomes a privilege of some people.
- 3) Equality promotes justice.

Equality is highly contested concept. It is one of the leading ideals of the body politic, it is the most controversial of the great social ideals. It is the essence of social justice. Along with other ideals it is the basic core of today's egalitarianism. Despite various differences it serves to remind us of our common humanity. In social sciences we use the concept of equality in number of ways. e.g. Equality before the law, equality of opportunity, equality of outcome, gender equality, racial equality, social equality etc. There is no single acceptable, common notion of the term equality.

Apart from common meaning of the term the value of equality itself is attacked by many thinkers and school of thoughts. In ancient Greece Aristotle justified inequality when he justified slavery. He contented that slavery was natural and reasonable institution because there was a fundamental difference and inequalities among men. In his words, some are marked out for subjection, others for rule. Cicero contradicts these arguments of Aristotle, According to him, men differ indeed in learning, but they are equal in the faculty of learning, nature has given to all men reasons.

Main obstacles in the implementation of equality

- 1) Social-Age old customs, traditions and superstitions create inequality of social status.
- 2) Political – Political power is enjoyed by people belonging to certain castes and certain families. This means absence of equal opportunities.
- 3) Economic – There is concentration of economic wealth in the hands of few.

Following are some common arguments against equality

The different components of equality are often, mutually incompatible. For example, equality of opportunity and condition tend to produce inequality of results. The notion of equality of opportunity is characteristic of liberalism and some versions of liberalism are content to accept a situation where inequality of outcome is predominant.

A political programme to secure equality generally would be feasible, since to secure radical equality of condition or equality of outcome would require massive social and political regulation by the state resulting in a totalitarian and authoritarian regime. The price of significant equality is political despotism which would subordinate individual talent and achievement.

The achievement of equality may be incompatible with other values which are also desirable than personal liberty, or at least that liberty and equality are somewhat mutually exclusive.

JUSTICE

Meaning -The word justice has been derived from the Latin term *justitia*, which means the idea of joining or fitting, the idea of bond or tie. The joining of fitting implied in the idea of justice is that between man and man in an organized system of human relations.

According to Barker justice is not only about binding man and man but also is the reconciler and the synthesis of political values. It is their union in an adjusted and integrated whole.

Rawls, "Justice is a set of principles for defining the appropriate distribution of benefits and burdens of social co-operation after identifying the relevant considerations which determine this balance."

Nature of Justice

It is one of the most provocative concepts that contain the essence of values like liberty, equality, rights, fraternity, dignity etc. In common parlance it is employed as just behavior or treatment, the quality of being fair and reasonable. The essence of justice is in achieving proper balance. In legal sense it means fair trial, a just sentence. In political theory, justice has concerned both the terms of membership of a social group and the distribution of burdens and benefits within that group. In first sense it is called as social justice while in second sense it is known as distributive justice.

Plato attempts to assimilate virtue of justice with the pursuit of the common good. According to him every member of society should perform their social functions without interrupting work of others. He designed an ideal state with fixed statuses and locations of its members and thus balances in their personal roles and social functions. Aristotle was of the opinion that justice denotes an equality of proportion between person and things assigned to them, i.e., those differences in treatment should be proportional to the degrees to which individuals differ in relevant respects.

The liberal view of justice emphasized on legal and political dimensions. The rule of law i.e. equality before law and equal protection of laws with provision for civil and political rights to participate in the political process are the determining characteristics of modern liberal democratic school of thought.

Barker has shown that justice represents synthesis of the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity. Human relations are guided by faculty of reason present in humans. It is this virtue of reason that convinces humans that all humans are equal in dignity and potentially capable of acquiring excellence according to their capacities and making suitable contributions to the social good. They all need and deserve equal freedom for personal development in their own right so as to prove their worth to society. Unrestricted freedom to some is denial of liberty to others. Value of liberty demands proper balance by equality. At the same time forced or imposed equality is detrimental to the development of creative and productive tendencies of individuals. Undue emphasis on equality is against the liberty of the people. Fraternity among humans provides a common bond that keeps human relations harmonious and helps to solve and content antagonistic tendencies between liberty and equality. Thus finally justice implies that liberty should be qualified by the principle of equality and equality is further qualified by the principle of fraternity.

It is a dynamic idea because our realization of it is a continuous process. Our progress towards its realization depends upon the development of our social consciousness, so that what was regarded as just some centuries ago is not so today.

Bases of Justice

According to Barker there are four premises on which people generally consider a legal system just or unjust. They are namely religion, nature, economics and in Barker's own opinion ethics. St Thomas Aquinas supported religion, Blackstone supported natural law, Duguit, Prodhon, Marx regarded economics and Plat, Aristotle, Hegel, Kant, Green and Barker hold that the true source of justice is to be found in ethics.

9.3.4 Dimensions of Justice

Legal Dimensions of Justice

Law refers to the general body of rules recognized and enforced by the state and upheld by the courts. The essence of justice in any given society implies legal codes enacted by the state and supplemented by customary rules which are observed by the people. Law defines the rights and duties of individuals and associations in a community. The legal dimension of justice denotes adherence to declared rules.

Political Dimension of Justice

Political justice refers to the transformation of political institutions, political process and political rights according to current conceptions of justice. It means the establishment of democratic institutions in the political life of the community so that these institutions represent and take care of the interests of the people, not of any privileged class. It also implies a full guarantee of the liberty of thought and expression, especially the right to criticize the government and its policies, right to form associations and interest groups. It postulates a universal availability of the mechanism for resolving the conflicting claim of different interests in society.

Social Dimension of Justice

Social justice implies elimination of all kinds of discrimination and privileges on the grounds of birth, race, caste, creed or sex. Social roles should be determined on the basis of capacity and not status. There should be social mobility between the various types of occupations and trades.

Economic Dimension of Justice

Socialists, anarchists and the Marxists advocated that justice must be sought in the economic structure of a given society. Proudhon advocated an economic system based on the principle of mutual cooperation, Duguit stressed on social solidarity, Marxists sought to end proletariat suffering which are due to their exploitation by bourgeois, by overthrowing the existing state apparatus through a socialist revolution and establishing classless society.

FEMINISM

The origins of the term feminism are not clear. There are several opinions, but the generally accepted version is that it was first used by the Utopian Socialist Charles Fourier in the 19th century, to refer to the question of equal rights for women. In the West, women emerged in the early 19th century as a distinct interest group, partly because by that time it was clear that the promise of equality made by the bourgeois democratic revolutions of the 17th and 18th centuries excluded women, and partly because the Industrial Revolution had led to the increasingly visible presence of women in public employment. The Women question emerged at about this time, articulating the questions arising from the exclusion of women from the fruits of Enlightenment thought.

In other parts of the world, the emergence of this question in the public arena was in the context of anti-imperialist movements and struggles against feudal oppression. Thus, feminist interventions in post-colonial societies had to engage with both the old oppression of tradition as well as the new oppression of colonialism.

Feminist theory and politics is marked by intense internal debates, and it is generally recognized by now that it would be more accurate to talk about "feminisms" in the plural, rather than one single feminism. Nevertheless, what all feminist positions share is a recognition that women are placed in an inferior position in society and that this hierarchy is based on gender. Further, although this hierarchy is justified on grounds of natural differences between men and women, feminists told that it is in fact based on socio-cultural and economic power structures which have little to do with the biological difference between the sexes.

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TYPES OF FEMINISM

Over a century of feminist thought and politics in different parts of the world has produced a rich body of work. The conventional analysis of feminist thought has tended to group it into three streams - liberal, socialist and radical feminism. Liberal feminism is understood to work within the framework of the liberal state, theorizing equality, freedom and justice in the context of liberal philosophy, pointing out that these concepts are inadequate until the gender dimension is taken into account. Socialist feminism links women's oppression to class society, and their critique draws from the Marxist categories of analysis, while simultaneously being critical of gender-blindness in Marxist theory. Radical feminism theories patriarchy as a system of male dominance independent of and prior to all other systems of domination - that is, in the radical feminist understanding, all other forms of exploitation and oppression are in a sense shaped by oppression based on sex, since that is historically the oldest form of oppression. However, this outline does not capture the complexities of the debates within feminism, although it is a useful entry point into feminist theory, as long as these distinctions are not understood to be watertight compartments.

LIBERALISM

Liberalism is too dynamic and flexible a concept to be contained in a precise definition. Right from its inception, it has been continuously changing, adding something and discarding the other. As Alblaster writes, 'liberalism should be seen not as a fixed or absolute term, as a collection of unchanging moral and political values but as a specific historical movement of ideas in the modern era that began with Renaissance and Reformation. It has undergone many changes and requires a historical rather than a static type of analysis. Similarly, Laski writes, it (Liberalism) is not easy to describe, much less to define, for it is hardly less a habit of mind than a body of doctrine. To quote Haker, Liberalism has become so common a term in the vocabulary of politics that it is a brave man who will try to give it a precise definition. It is a view of the individual, of the state, and of the relations between them. Almost the same view is expressed by Grimes, liberalism is not a static creed or dogma, for dogmatism provides its own restraints. It is rather a tentative attitude towards social problems which stresses the role of reason and human ingenuity. Liberalism looks ahead with a flexible approach, seeking to make the future better for more people, as conservatism looks back, aiming mainly to preserve the attainment of the past. Although the liberal ideas are about 300 years old, the word liberalism did not come into use till the beginning of the nineteenth century. According to Richard Wellheim, liberalism is the belief in the value of liberty of the individual. According to Sartori, very simply, liberalism is the theory and practice of individual liberty, juridical, defense and the constitutional state. Bullock and Shock emphasize the belief in freedom and conscience as the twin foundations of liberalism. Grime writes, it represents a system of ideas that aim at the realization of the pluralist society, favouring diversity of politics, economics, religion and other cultural life. It seeks in its simplest sense to advance the freedom of man - it seeks to increase individuality of man by increasing his area of choice and decision.

Similarly, Laski writes, liberalism implies a passion for liberty, and that the passion may be compelling. It requires a power to be tolerant, even sceptical about opinions and tendencies you hold to be dangerous which is one of the rarest human qualities. Hallowell defines liberalism as the embodiment of demand for freedom in every sphere of life - intellectual, social, religious, political and economic. Schapiro talks of liberalism as an attitude of life - sceptical, experimental, rational and free.

According to Koerner (liberalism begins and ends with the ideals of individual freedom, individual human rights and individual human happiness) These remain central to the creed whatever may be the economic and political arrangements of liberal democracy society.

Andrew Hacker in his book Political Theory has distinguished four types of liberalism namely, utopian liberalism, free market liberalism, democratic liberalism, and reformist liberalism. On the whole, according to him, liberalism stands for

- 1) free life as the prime pursuit of politics,
- ii) states task is to eschew coercion and to encourage the conditions for this free life

Similarly, Barbara Goodwin in her book Using Political Ideas, lists the following ingredients of liberalism

- i) man is free, rational, self-improving and autonomous,
- ii) government is based on consent and contract,
- iii) constitutionalism and the rule of law,
- iv) freedom as choice which includes the right to choose government from among different representatives,
- v) equality of opportunity,
- vi) social justice based upon merit, and
- vii) tolerance

In short, liberalism has a narrow and a broad perspective. At a narrow level, it is seen from political and economic points of view, whereas at the broader level, it is like a mental attitude that attempts in the light of its presuppositions to analyse and integrate the varied intellectual, moral, religious, social, economic and political relationships of human beings. At the social level, it stands for secularism, freedom in relation to religion and morality. It lays stress on the value of free individual conscious of his capacity for self-expression and unfettered development of his personality. At the economic level, it implies the ideal of free trade coupled with internal freedom of production. At the political level, it stands for political liberty and the right to property, constitutional limited government, protection of the rights of the individual and anti-authoritarianism.

John Locke.
Adam Smith
John Stuart Mill

Political - right indiv
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Liberty → political concept that refers to freedom from undue or oppressive restraints on a person's actions, thoughts or beliefs imposed by the State.

Libertarianism Freedom of speech, press, religion (Harm principle).

Liberalism is a group of political, social, and economic theories that centres on the values of individual liberty, equality, economic freedom, limited democratic govt and rule of law.

- 1) Equal treatment before the law, regardless of social status, race, sex
- 2) Economic freedom is closely associated with liberalism and involves support for free markets and private property rights
- 3) A demo govt. fundamental for liberalism.
- 4) Rule of law proposition - not be arbitrarily applied favor to all.

UNIT – IV

CLASSICAL POLITICAL THEORY AND CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL THOUGHT

POLITICAL THEORY GROWTH AND EVOLUTION

Political theory has, in the West, passed through different stages. There was a time when, during the ancient Greek and the medieval period, political theory would concern itself with identifying the ethical goals of the state, i.e., the objectives which the state would cherish to achieve. Both Plato and Aristotle would insist on the functions of the state to establish justice or give the individual, a good life. The medieval political theory associated as it was with religion, demanded of the state to prepare and train the individual to seek a place with god. The early modern age political theory sought to discuss theories of the origin of the state, followed by philosophers with whom the organisation and functions of the state were major concerns of the state. The mid-twentieth century political theory dealt largely with the institutions of the state, making the concept of power to be the basic theme of the state.

The growth and evolution of political theory can be elaborated in three major streams. These are

- (i) classical political theory,
- (ii) modern political theory, and
- (iii) contemporary political theory

The classification of political theory into classical, modern and contemporary is, indeed, thematic. What divides the classical or the traditional from the modern is the element of *science* in the latter and its absence in the former. Philosophy dominates the classical tradition of political theory whereas science and its methodology dominate the modernist. As an exception, there may be an Aristotle and a Thomas in the ancient and the medieval periods of the West who might have emphasised the science element while discovering the laws of public life, and there may be a Strauss in our times who might see the utility of philosophy in the study of politics. Likewise, modern political theory and contemporary political theory are somewhat different, at least in their essence. Modern political theory is empirical and scientific, whereas contemporary political theory is philosophical and historical. Contemporary political theory attempts to synthesise the essence of both the classical and modern political theory.

Classical Political Theory

Classical political theory emerged in the ancient Greek culture, in the writings of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, and continued until the beginning of the nineteenth century. The classical paradigm, according to Sheldon Wolin, relating to political theory, consisted of the following

- (i) Classical political theory aimed at acquiring reliable knowledge about matters concerning the people, a philosophical pursuit to establish a rational basis for belief, a politically inspired pursuit to establish a rational basis for action.
- (ii) It sought to identify the political with the public, the common – the Greek *polis*, the Roman *res publica*, and the medieval age usage of *commonweal* – all denoted a sharing of what was common among the people as partners.

- (iii) Its basic unit of analysis was always the political whole, the body-politic, the inter-related structure denoting activity, relationship, and belief *activity* relating to ruling, warfare, education, religious practices, *relationships* involving those between social classes, between the rulers and the ruled, between the superiors and the inferiors, *belief*, such as justice, equality, natural law and the like
- (iv) Relating itself to the political whole, the classical political theory laid emphasis on order, balance, equilibrium, stability and harmony That is why, it, in the process, dwelt on terms such as conflicts, anarchy, instability and revolution
- (v) Classical political theory laid stress on comparative studies for supplying a more comprehensive explanation of political phenomena and a wider range of alternatives That was the reason that classical political theory developed a classification of political forms (e.g., monarchy, aristocracy, democracy, and their variants) and a set of concepts such as law, citizenship, justice and participation so as to explain differences and similarities between them
- (vi) Classical political theory had been, largely, ethical in perspective Its response was rooted in a moral outlook Plato advocated the ideal state, Aristotle, a state that can achieve the best possible, St Augustine, the city of god Classical political theory undertook to appraise the various constitutional forms, to determine the form most suitable for a particular set of circumstances, and to decide, if any, absolutely the best form possible
- (vii) Classical political theory, by projecting the best form of polity as the ideal, revealed the boldness and radicalism of classical theorising, though some dismissed such an attempt as merely utopian and visionary

Modern Political Theory

Modern political theory encompasses in itself a host of diverse trends such as the institutional structural, scientific, positivistic, empirical, behavioural, post-behavioural and the Marxist These trends dominated the greater part of the twentieth century Classical political theory was, by and large, philosophical, normative, idealistic, and to an extent, historical, modern political theory, on the other hand, can be classified into two opposing divisions the liberal including the individualistic, the elitist and the pluralist on one hand, and the Marxist, including the dialectical-materialist on the other Modern political theory, beginning with the liberal stance from the 15th-16th centuries and later expressing itself in the institutional-positivist, empirical-behavioural and post-behavioural trends, dubbed the whole classical tradition as dull Their advocates, from Merriam and Key to Dahl, Casswell and Easton, sought to lay stress on the 'present' rather than on the 'past', the 'living' rather than the 'dull', the 'immediate' rather than the 'remote', the 'objective' rather than the 'subjective', the 'analytic' rather than the 'philosophic', the 'explanatory' rather than the 'descriptive', the 'process-oriented' rather than the 'purpose-oriented', the 'scientific' rather than the 'theoretical' Modern political theory with its western liberal-democratic shade attempted to build a science of politics, objective, empirical, observational, measurable, operational and value-free Its features can be summed up as under

- (i) Facts and data constitute the bases of study These are accumulated, explained and then used for testing hypothesis
- (ii) Human behaviour can be studied, and regularities of human behaviour can be expressed in generalisations
- (iii) Subjectivity gives way to objectivity, philosophical interpretation to analytical explanation, purpose to procedure, descriptive to observational, normative to scientific

- (iv) Facts and values are separated, values are so arranged that the facts become relevant
- (v) Methodology has to be self-conscious, explicit and quantitative
- (vi) Inter-disciplinary synthesis is to be achieved
- (vii) "What it is" is regarded as more important than either "what it was" or "what it ought to be or could be"
- (viii) Values are to support facts, substance to form, and theory to research, and status quo to social change

At the other end of modern political theory stands the Marxist political theory, also called the 'dialectical-materialist' or the 'scientific-socialist' theory. It describes the general laws of motion in the development of all phenomena. Its importance lies in change through the struggle between opposites, between relations of production and productive forces with a view to have a better mode of production, development from the lower stage to the higher one, from, say, capitalistic to socialistic and from socialistic to communistic. It is a theory which provides a systematic and scientific framework of analysing and explaining social and political change. It is a method of interpreting the past, understanding the present, and projecting the future.

Contemporary Political Theory

Highlighting the characteristic features of contemporary political theory, David Held refers to the following

- (i) Contemporary political theory has been viewed as the history of political thought, involving an attempt to examine the significance of text in their historical context
- (ii) It has sought to revitalise the discipline as a form of conceptual analysis, and in the process, finding political theory as a systematic reflection upon, and classification of, the meanings of the key forms and concepts such as sovereignty, democracy, justice and the like
- (iii) It has been developed as the systematic elaboration of the underlying structure of our moral and political activities, the disclosure, examination and reconstruction of the foundations of political value
- (vi) It has been championed as a critique of all forms of foundationalism, either the post-modernists or the liberal defenders. It, accordingly, presents itself as a stimulant to dialogue and to conversation among human beings
- (vi) It has been elaborated as a form of systematic model building influenced by theoretical economics, rational choice theory and game theory, it aims to construct formal models of political processes
- (vii) It has developed as the theoretical enterprise of the discipline of Political Science. As such it attempts to construct theory on the basis of observation and modest empirical generalisations

Contemporary political theory is mainly concerned with the explanation, investigation and ultimately, with the comprehension of what relates to politics: concepts, principles and institutions. Brian Barry (*Political Argument*, 1965) says that political theory attempts to "study the relation between principles and institutions". John Rawls (*A Theory of Justice*, 1971) thinks that political theory can seek truth alongside the scientific-empirical methods. Robert Nozick (*Anarchy, State and Utopia*, 1974) believes that contemporary political theory can solve many political problems by combining the classical ends with empirical means. The consensus, for example, (John Plamenatz, *Democracy and Illusion*, 1973) is that empirical analysis and reflections of a logical and moral character can co-exist in political theory.

David Held sums up by saying that contemporary political theory is “first, the *philosophical* concerned, above all, with the *conceptual* and *normative*; second, the *empirical-analytic* concerned, above all, with the problems of *understanding* and *explanation*, third, the *strategic* concerned, above all with an assessment of the feasibility of *moving from where we are to where we might like to be*. To these, one must add, the historical, the examination of the changing meaning of political discourse – its key concepts, theories, and concerns – over time ”

REPUBLICANISM

In political theory and philosophy, the term ‘republicanism’ is generally used in two different, but closely related, senses. In the first sense, republicanism refers to a loose tradition or family of writers in the history of western political thought, including especially Machiavelli and his fifteenth-century Italian predecessors, the English republicans Milton, Harrington, Sidney, and others, Montesquieu and Blackstone, the eighteenth-century English commonwealth men, and many Americans of the founding era such as Jefferson and Madison. The writers in this tradition emphasize many common ideas and concerns, such as the importance of civic virtue and political participation, the dangers of corruption, the benefits of a mixed constitution and the rule of law, etc., and it is characteristic of their rhetorical style to draw heavily on classical examples— from Cicero and the Latin historians especially—in presenting their arguments. (In light of the last point, this is sometimes referred to as the ‘classical republican’ or ‘neo-roman’ tradition in political thought.)

Beyond this brief sketch of the classical republican tradition, there exists considerable historiographical controversy—with respect to who the tradition’s members are, and their relative significance, with respect to how we should interpret its underlying philosophical commitments, and with respect to its role (especially vis-à-vis liberalism) in the historical development of modern political thought. This brings us to the second sense of the term ‘republicanism’. In contemporary political theory and philosophy, it most often refers to a specific (and still contested) interpretation of the classical republican tradition, associated especially with the work of Quentin Skinner, together with a research program dedicated to developing insights from this tradition into an attractive contemporary political doctrine, associated especially with the work of Philip Pettit. According to republicans in this second sense (sometimes called ‘civic republicans’ or ‘neo-republicans’), the paramount republican value is political liberty, understood as non-domination or independence from arbitrary power. This entry will primarily discuss republicanism in this second sense. In their interpretation of the classical republicanism tradition, civic republicans are often in debate with civic humanists, with whom they are often confused (see the entry on civic humanism). Developed as a contemporary political doctrine, civic republicanism is broadly speaking progressive and liberal, but not without important distinct features. Some of its policy implications diverge from mainstream liberalism in particular ways, and for this reason civic republicans are sometimes also confused with communitarians (see the entry on communitarianism). For the strengths or weakness of civic republicanism to be fairly assessed, both confusions should be assiduously avoided.

POLITICAL ECONOMY

Political economy was the original term used for studying production and trade, and their relations with law, custom, and government, as well as with the distribution of national income and wealth. Political economy originated in moral philosophy. It was developed in the 18th century as the study of the economies of states, or polities, hence the term political economy.

In the late 19th century, the term economics came to replace political economy, coinciding with the publication of an influential textbook by Alfred Marshall in 1890. Earlier, William Stanley Jevons, a proponent of mathematical methods applied to the subject, advocated economics for brevity and with the hope of the term becoming “the recognised name of a science.”

Today, political economy, where it is not used as a synonym for economics, may refer to very different things, including Marxian analysis, applied public-choice approaches emanating from the Chicago school and the Virginia school, or simply the advice given by economists to the government or public on general economic policy or on specific proposals

A rapidly growing mainstream literature from the 1970s has expanded beyond the model of economic policy in which planners maximize utility of a representative individual toward examining how political forces affect the choice of economic policies, especially as to distributional conflicts and political institutions. It is available as an area of study in certain colleges and universities.

Etymology

Originally, political economy meant the study of the conditions under which production or consumption within limited parameters was organized in nation-states. In that way, political economy expanded the emphasis of economics, which comes from the Greek *oikos* (meaning "home") and *nomos* (meaning "law" or "order"), this political economy was meant to express the laws of production of wealth at the state level, just as economics was the ordering of the home. The phrase *économie politique* (translated in English as political economy) first appeared in France in with the well-known book by Antoine de Montchrétien, *Traité de l'économie politique*.

MARXISM

Marxism is a political method of societal analysis that focuses on class relations and societal conflict, that uses a materialist interpretation of historical development, and a dialectical view of social transformation. Marxist methodology uses economic and sociopolitical inquiry and applies that to the critique and analysis of the development of capitalism and the role of class struggle in systemic economic change. In the mid-to-late 19th century, the intellectual tenets of Marxism were inspired by two German philosophers: Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Marxist analyses and methodologies have influenced multiple political ideologies and social movements. Marxism encompasses an economic theory, a sociological theory, a philosophical method, and a revolutionary view of social change.

There is no single definitive Marxist theory, Marxist analysis has been applied to diverse subjects and has been misconceived and modified during the course of its development, resulting in numerous and sometimes contradictory theories that fall under the rubric of Marxism or Marxian analysis.

Marxism builds on a materialist understanding of societal development, taking as its starting point the necessary economic activities required to satisfy the material needs of human society. The form of economic organization or mode of production is understood to give rise to, or at least directly influences, most other social phenomena – including social relations, political and legal systems, morality and ideology. Thus, the economic system and social relations are called a base and super structure.

As the forces of production (most notably technology) improve, existing forms of social organization become inefficient and stifle further progress. These inefficiencies manifest themselves as social contradictions in the form of class struggle. According to Marxist analysis, class conflict within capitalism arises due to intensifying contradictions between highly productive mechanized and socialized production performed by the proletariat, and private ownership and appropriation of the surplus product in the form of surplus value (profit) by a small minority of private owners called the bourgeoisie.

As the contradiction becomes apparent to the proletariat, social unrest between the two antagonistic classes intensifies, culminating in a social revolution. The eventual long-term outcome of this revolution would be the establishment of socialism – a socioeconomic system based on cooperative ownership of the means

of production, distribution based on one's contribution, and production organized directly for use. Karl Marx hypothesized that, as the productive forces and technology continued to advance, socialism would eventually give way to a communist stage of social development. Communism would be a classless, stateless, humane society erected on common ownership and the principle of "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs."

Marxism has developed into different branches and schools of thought. Different schools place a greater emphasis on certain aspects of classical Marxism while de-emphasizing or rejecting other aspects of Marxism, sometimes combining Marxist analysis with non-Marxian concepts. Some variants of Marxism primarily focus on one aspect of Marxism as the determining force in social development – such as the mode of production, class, power-relationships or property ownership – while arguing other aspects are less important or current research makes them irrelevant. Despite sharing similar premises, different schools of Marxism might reach contradictory conclusions from each other. For instance, different Marxian economists have contradictory explanations of economic crisis and different predictions for the outcome of such crises. Furthermore, different variants of Marxism apply Marxist analysis to study different aspects of society (e.g. economic crises or feminism).

These theoretical differences have led various socialist and communist parties and political movements to embrace different political strategies for attaining socialism and advocate different programs and policies from each other. One example of this is the division between revolutionary socialists and reformists that emerged in the German Social Democratic Party (SPD) during the early 20th century. Similarly, although the Bolsheviks of Russia declared Leninism and later Marxism–Leninism to be the only legitimate development of Marxism, the Mensheviks and many other social democrats worldwide considered them totalitarian deviations.

CRITICAL THEORY

Critical Theory has a narrow and a broad meaning in philosophy and in the history of the social sciences. "Critical Theory" in the narrow sense designates several generations of German philosophers and social theorists in the Western European Marxist tradition known as the Frankfurt School. According to these theorists, a "critical" theory may be distinguished from a "traditional" theory according to a specific practical purpose: a theory is critical to the extent that it seeks human "emancipation from slavery", acts as a "liberating influence", and works "to create a world which satisfies the needs and powers" of human beings (Horkheimer 1972, 246). Because such theories aim to explain and transform all the circumstances that enslave human beings, many "critical theories" in the broader sense have been developed. They have emerged in connection with the many social movements that identify varied dimensions of the domination of human beings in modern societies. In both the broad and the narrow senses, however, a critical theory provides the descriptive and normative bases for social inquiry aimed at decreasing domination and increasing freedom in all their forms.

Critical Theory in the narrow sense has had many different aspects and quite distinct historical phases that cross several generations, from the effective start of the Institute for Social Research in the years 1929–1930, which saw the arrival of the Frankfurt School philosophers and an inaugural lecture by Horkheimer, to the present. Its distinctiveness as a philosophical approach that extends to ethics, political philosophy, and the philosophy of history is most apparent when considered in light of the history of the philosophy of the social sciences.

Critical Theorists have long sought to distinguish their aims, methods, theories, and forms of explanation from standard understandings in both the natural and the social sciences. Instead, they have claimed that social inquiry ought to combine rather than separate the poles of philosophy and the social sciences.

explanation and understanding, structure and agency, regularity and normativity. Such an approach, Critical Theorists argue, permits their enterprise to be practical in a distinctively moral (rather than instrumental) sense. They do not merely seek to provide the means to achieve some independent goal, but rather (as in Horkheimer's famous definition mentioned above) seek "human emancipation" in circumstances of domination and oppression. This normative task cannot be accomplished apart from the interplay between philosophy and social science through interdisciplinary empirical social research (Horkheimer 1993).

While Critical Theory is often thought of narrowly as referring to the Frankfurt School that begins with Horkheimer and Adorno and stretches to Marcuse and Habermas, any philosophical approach with similar practical aims could be called a "critical theory," including feminism, critical race theory, and some forms of post-colonial criticism. In the following, Critical Theory when capitalized refers only to the Frankfurt School. All other uses of the term are meant in the broader sense and thus not capitalized. When used in the singular, "a critical theory" is not capitalized, even when the theory is developed by members of the Frankfurt School in the context of their overall project of Critical Theory. It follows from Horkheimer's definition that a critical theory is adequate only if it meets three criteria: it must be explanatory, practical, and normative, all at the same time. That is, it must explain what is wrong with current social reality, identify the actors to change it, and provide both clear norms for criticism and achievable practical goals for social transformation. Any truly critical theory of society, as Horkheimer further defined it in his writings as Director of the Frankfurt School's Institute for Social Research, "has as its object human beings as producers of their own historical form of life" (Horkheimer 1993, 21).

In light of the practical goal of identifying and overcoming all the circumstances that limit human freedom, the explanatory goal could be furthered only through interdisciplinary research that includes psychological, cultural, and social dimensions, as well as institutional forms of domination. Given the emphasis among the first generation of Critical Theory on human beings as the self-creating producers of their own history, a unique practical aim of social inquiry suggests itself: to transform contemporary capitalism into a consensual form of social life. For Horkheimer a capitalist society could be transformed only by becoming more democratic, to make it such that "all conditions of social life that are controllable by human beings depend on real consensus" in a rational society (Horkheimer 1972, 249–250). The normative orientation of Critical Theory, at least in its form of critical social inquiry, is therefore towards the transformation of capitalism into a "real democracy" in which such control could be exercised (Horkheimer 1972, 250).

In such formulations, there are striking similarities between Critical Theory and American pragmatism. The focus on democracy as the location for cooperative, practical and transformative activity continues today in the work of Jurgen Habermas, as does the attempt to determine the nature and limits of "real democracy" in complex, pluralistic, and globalizing societies. As might be expected from such an ambitious philosophical project and form of inquiry, Critical Theory is rife with tensions. In what follows I will develop the arguments within Critical Theory that surround its overall philosophical project. First, I explore its basic philosophical orientation or metaphilosophy. In its efforts to combine empirical social inquiry and normative philosophical argumentation, Critical Theory presents a viable alternative for social and political philosophy today. Second, I will consider its core normative theory—its relation to its transformation of a Kantian ethics of autonomy into a conception of freedom and justice in which democracy and democratic ideals play a central role (Horkheimer 1993, 22, Horkheimer 1972, 203).

As a member of the second generation of Critical Theory, Habermas in particular has developed this dimension of normative political theory into a competitor to Rawlsian constructivism, which attempts to bring our pretheoretical intuitions into reflective equilibrium. In the third section, I will consider its empirical orientation in practical social theory and practical social inquiry that aims at promoting democratic norms.

A fundamental tension emerges between a comprehensive social theory that provides a theoretical basis for social criticism and a more pluralist and practical orientation that does not see any particular theory or methodology as distinctive of Critical Theory as such. In this way, the unresolved tension between the empirical and normative aspects of the project of a critical theory oriented to the realization of human freedom is manifest in each of its main contributions to philosophy informed by social science. Finally, I examine the contribution of Critical Theory to debates about globalization, in which the potential transformation of both democratic ideals and institutions is at stake.

REGIONALIZATION

Regionalization is the tendency to form decentralized regions. Regionalization can be observed in various disciplines: In geography, it has two ways: the process of delineating the Earth, its small areas or other units into regions and a state of such a delineation. In politics, it is the process of dividing a political entity or country into smaller jurisdictions (administrative divisions or subnational units) and transferring power from the central government to the regions; the opposite of unitarisation.)

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY IN CLASSICAL ISLAM

Political philosophy in Islam is the application of Greek political theorizing upon an understanding of Muhammad's revelation as legislative in intent. In lieu of Aristotle's *Politics*, unknown in medieval Islam, Plato's political philosophy assumed the primary role in an explanation of the nature and purpose of the Islamic state. Al-Farabi conceived of the prophet as a latter day philosopher-king, Ibn Bajja and Ibn Tufayl took their cue from Socrates' fate and cautioned the philosopher against the possibility of successfully engaging in a philosophical mission to the vulgar masses, and Ibn Rushd presented philosophy as a duty enjoined by the law upon those able to philosophize.

1. Background
2. al-Farabi
3. Ibn Bajja and Ibn Tufayl

1. Background

Two principal facts have formed political philosophy in Islam: first, the revelation of Muhammad, and second, the absence of Aristotle's *Politics*, whether by intention or historical circumstance, from the canon of texts translated from Greek and Syriac in ninth-century Baghdad (see Greek philosophy: impact on Islamic philosophy §2). Muhammad's revelation is of course foundational for Islam itself. From the vantage point of political theorizing, however, the revelation accounts for the perceived divinity of the state (the caliphate) which Muhammad is taken to have founded. It further accounts for the state's legal basis, with the state established on and grounded in obedience to a set of divine injunctions and sanctions. Muhammad's revelation, then, was perceived by political philosophers in Islam as providing an opportunity to understand and clarify the nature of the perfect state here and now, not in some distant future when human nature might be transformed. For Islamic political philosophers, the divine law (*sharia*) revealed to Muhammad was a necessary and sufficient condition for bringing about human felicity.

The second fact noted above, the absence of Aristotle's *Politics* from the Arabic philosophical corpus, is of capital importance in understanding Islamic political philosophy. As late as the sixth century (twelfth century), this work was apparently unavailable (see Rosenthal's introduction to Averroes' *Commentary on Plato's Republic* (1969: 22)). The absence of the *Politics* meant that Plato and Platonic political philosophy, as found in the *Republic* and the *Laws*, became paradigmatic (see *Platonism in Islamic philosophy*). The implications of this are enormous, for Aristotle's critique of Platonic political philosophy from the standpoint

of his own non-idealist philosophical anthropology was not to become part of the tradition of political philosophy in Islam. Instead, what we find in the Islamic political philosophers are variations on standard Platonic themes, pre-eminently the notion of the prophet as an analogue to the Platonic philosopher-king, the ambiguous role of philosophy in the practical political sphere, and the deep division between an elite and the vulgar masses (see Plato §14). These themes are especially prominent in the founder of political philosophy in Islam, al-Farabi, and it is to him that one must first turn.

2 al-Farabi

For al-Farabi (§4), 'the idea of the philosopher, supreme ruler, prince, legislator, and Imam is but a single idea. No matter which one of these words you take, if you proceed to look at what each of them signifies among the majority of those who speak our language, you will find that they all finally agree by signifying one and the same idea' (Tahsil al-sa'ada 43-4). These remarks, not anomalous in the Farabian corpus, indicate the convergence, indeed identity, of theoretical and practical concerns. These dual concerns, reminiscent of the Platonic notion of the philosopher-king, are together present in the Farabian notion of the prophet. For al-Farabi, the Prophet (Muhammad) is to be understood as a divinely inspired legislator, offering a perfect way of life and a community in which to flourish.

The successors to the Prophet - caliphs and imams - preserve this original beneficence by so ruling that each group of believers is offered a measure of truth commensurate with its particular capacity to comprehend it. This latter stratification of the social and political framework is again reminiscent of Plato and his division of the perfect state into intellectually disparate groups. For al-Farabi, the relevant division is between those who are able to ground their belief philosophically and those who are not, these latter being the 'simple' believers. Religion is an imitation of philosophy in this scheme, the former presenting the truth in a non-theoretical, non-abstract way, in pictorial terms replete with parables and stories. Viewed thus, al-Farabi's political teaching may well be seen as interpreting the historical state founded by Muhammad along the lines of Platonic utopian theorizing. However, such Platonically-inspired intellectual elitism is offered not as a blueprint for political reform in a distant future, but rather as a fair description of Muhammad's constitution and the state he founded. In its own way, Farabian political philosophy is a defence of Islam.

3. Ibn Bajja and Ibn Tufayl

In turning to Ibn Bajja and Ibn Tufayl, one turns not only from East to West, from Baghdad to Andalusia, but one also notes a marked change of emphasis away from that aspect of al-Farabi's political Platonism which identified the prophet with a philosopher-king who rules a state founded on and governed by a divine law. For Ibn Bajja and Ibn Tufayl, philosophy (theoretical insight) and practical politics do not mix. They are quite incommensurable. As Leaman puts it 'Ibn Bajja's problem is how the philosopher in the imperfect state should relate to society' (Leaman 1980: 110). The emphasis here must be upon the notion of 'the imperfect state'. Courtiers both, Ibn Bajja and Ibn Tufayl must have taken a hard look at the political scene around them and drawn the relevant (pessimistic) conclusions.

In his *Tadbir al-mutawahhid* (The Governance of the Solitary), Ibn Bajja addresses himself to the *nawabit* (weeds) in imperfect societies. These *nawabit* are the nonconformists in the societies they inhabit. They do not share the common goals and aspirations. Simply put, they are the philosophers in an imperfect world, and for Ibn Bajja the focus is how best to secure their happiness and safety. Ibn Bajja's 'realism' leads him to fasten upon that strand of the Platonic political philosophical tradition which is the underside of al-Farabi's political Platonism, the non-utopian strand. The problem for the philosopher in the midst of an imperfect society is to achieve happiness while avoiding dirty hands, not befouling himself (and philosophy) with the hopes and desires of the masses. The *nawabit* dwell amongst people, but do not find perfection in

their midst. Thus they must live in isolation, dissociating themselves from 'those whose end is corporeal [and] those whose end is the spirituality that is adulterated with corporeality' (Tadbir al-mutawahhid . 78) The background here is no less Platonic for its being non-utopian and apolitical. For Plato, Athens and her citizenry stand guilty by their execution of Socrates, the philosopher. The lesson to be drawn is clear for Ibn Bajja as he forcefully denies any easy commensurability between philosophy and politics, between theory and practice in imperfect societies.

Ibn Tufayl's allegorical tale, *Hayy ibn Yaqzan* (The Living Son of the Vigilant), is not at odds with the 'realism' of his predecessor Ibn Bajja. Indeed, the story may well be read as a vivid elaboration of the latter's thought about the incommensurability of philosophy and politics in an imperfect world and the resulting isolation which the philosopher must seek if he is ever to achieve felicity. The whole thrust of Ibn Tufayl's allegory is the lesson that Hayy, the protagonist, finally learns painfully, that the philosopher will be unable to communicate successfully the deepest truths (the illuminative mysteries) as discovered by himself to mankind at large. Worse, Hayy comes to realize that not only are his pedagogical efforts nugatory, but they are also counterproductive, for they tend to undercut the very beliefs which the simple (non-philosophical) believers hold. The philosopher-king, the prophet, has no greater a foothold among his contemporaries than did Abraham amongst the idolaters or Socrates amongst the Athenians. The mass of mankind cannot become philosophers, and to attempt such a transformation is both dangerous for the philosopher and bad public policy. Both Ibn Bajja and Ibn Tufayl may be understood as cautioning would-be prophets (philosophers) of the perils inherent in their mission. Correlatively, they can be read as urging a rather conservative (traditional) status quo political agenda, in which stability and order prevail and are grounded in a punctilious observance of the law (*Hayy ibn Yaqzan* . 153-4). If society cannot be remade from the ground up, then perhaps no innovation whatever should be tolerated, lest anarchy and antinomianism prevail.

UNIT - V

EVOLUTION OF GOVERNMENT AND FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

Aristotle's Classification of Government :

According to Aristotle, Constitution is the arrangement of the offices of the state. But it is not just arrangement of offices. It also means who should hold these offices. The nature of the ruling class determines the nature of the constitution. The nature of the constitution determines nature of the state.

The constitution is not just a part of the state. It is the state itself. The constitution is the way of life of its citizens. It is the inner character of the people. Change in the constitution means change in the way of life of the people. (According to Aristotle, citizenship means participation in the functions of the state). These are sovereign functions. There are three kinds of governments. The classification is based on the number of people having power. (The power may be vested in a single person, in a few people or many people. Thus, there are 1 Monarchy 2 Aristocracy and 3 Polity.)

If power is vested on a single person, it is called a Monarchy. If power is vested on few people, it is called an Aristocracy. If power is vested on many people, it is called a Polity. These are normal forms of government.

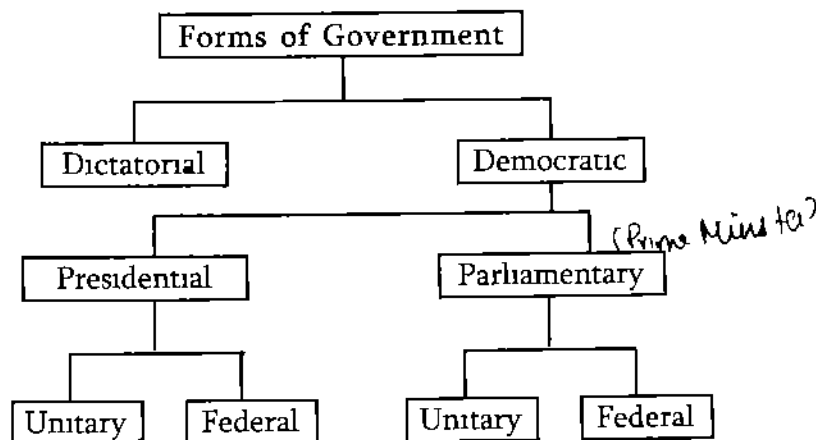
There are perverted forms of these governments also. They are called 1 Tyranny, 2 Oligarchy and 3 Democracy. Monarchy becomes tyranny when the rule is for him. Aristocracy becomes oligarchy when the rule is for a few people. Polity becomes Democracy when it benefits only the poor. Of all the different types of government, Monarchy is the best form of government. Monarchy has the highest virtue. Out of the perverted forms of government, the democracy is the best. Democracy has social equality.

There are many problems with Polity or Democracy. If only the rich is given power, they will oppress the poor. If only the poor is given power, they will plunder the rich. Therefore, there should be a formula. Important offices should be given to the rich and the meritorious. The poor should be given only some participation in the government. They should be selected through elections, selections and commissions.

FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

Introduction

Government is one of the essential elements of the State. It is the working agency of the State. The importance of the Government in modern times is highly felt. Attempts have been made from time to time to classify the various forms of Government.



The classification of Governments as explained by C F Strong may be represented through the following table -

S1 No	Source of Classification	A	B
I	Jurisdiction of governmental powers	Democracy ↓	Dictatorship ↓
II	(a) Nature of the State	Unitary State	Federal State
	(b) Nature of the Constitution	Flexible	Rigid
	(c) Nature of the Constituency	(i) State having universal franchise system	(i) States having limited voting system
		(ii) States having (limited single-member constituencies <i>or long system</i>)	(ii) States having multi-members constituencies
III	(a) Nature of Legislature	States having Bicameralism	States having Unicameralism
	(b) Structure of Legislature	States having Elected Members in Upper Chambers	States having no Elected Members in Upper Chambers
IV	Nature of Executive	Parliamentary and Responsible form of Government	Presidential form of Government
V	Nature of Judiciary	States having <u>Rule of Law</u>	States having <u>Administrative Law</u>

The above classification of C F Strong on forms of government is wholly concerned with the formal structure of the state

UNITARY

A unitary form of government is one in which all the powers are concentrated in the hands of the central government. The central government creates local units for administrative convenience and delegates to them such power as it deems necessary. These local units are called local governments.

(England, France, Japan, Sri Lanka are examples of Unitary governments)

Definition

Some leading writers defined unitary government as follows

GARNER "Where the whole power of government is conferred by the constitution upon a single central organ"

A V DICEY "Habitual exercise of supreme legislative authority is by one central power"

C.F. STRONG mentions two important qualities of the Unitary Government. They are

- 1 The supremacy of the central government,
- 2 The absence of the subsidiary sovereign bodies

The distinction between subsidiary law-making bodies and subsidiary sovereign bodies is the distinction between the local authorities in a unitary state and state authorities in a federal state.]

MERITS

- 1 There is unity, uniformity of law, policy and administration
- 2 There is no conflict of authority and responsibility.
- 3 A unitary government will make prompt decisions and take speedy action
4. A unitary government is less expensive
- 5 Amendments to the constitution are easy
- 6 Suitable for small countries

DE-MERITS

- 1 The concentration of powers may pave way for the despotism of the central government
2. The central government will have to tackle so many complex problems that they have no adequate time to devote to local affairs
- 3 The central government will not be acquainted with local problems, local interest and initiative.
- 4 It is not suitable for big countries.]

FEDERAL

The term "Federation" is derived from the Latin word "foedus" meaning treaty or agreement – that is agreement between central government (federal government) and the state governments.

(Prof Dicey defines federalism as a political contrivance intended to reconcile national unity with the maintenance of state rights \

Federalism is the theory or advocacy of federal political order, where final authority is divided between sub-units and a centre. Unlike a unitary state, sovereignty is constitutionally split between at least two territorial levels so that units at each level have formal authority and can act independently of the others in some area. Citizens thus have political obligations to two authorities. The allocation of authority between the sub-units and centre may vary, typically the centre has powers regarding defence and foreign policy, but sub-units may also have international roles. The sub-units may also participate in central decision-making bodies. Much recent philosophical attention is spurred by renewed political interest in federalism, coupled with empirical findings concerning the requisite and legitimate basis for stability and trust among citizens in federations

FEATURES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

- 1 The supremacy of the constitution
- 2 The division of powers between the central government and state governments
- 3 The rigidity of the constitution
- 4 The independent judiciary

1. **The supremacy of the constitution** - There must be a written constitution. A written constitution is one in which provisions are written down in a document for both the federal government and state governments. The constitution is the supreme authority.

2. **The division of powers** - In a federal form of government the powers of the government are divided between a government for whole country and government for parts of the country in such a way that each government is legally independent within its own sphere.

3. **The rigidity of the constitution**:- According to Prof. Dicey, a rigid constitution is one under which certain laws generally known as constitutional or fundamental laws cannot be changed in the same manner as the ordinary laws are changed.

Constitutional laws refer to those provisions of the constitution. Ordinary laws are those laws enacted by the parliament. The constitutional law is placed above the ordinary law.

4. **The independent judiciary**:- In a federal government, conflicts may arise between the federal government and a state government or between state governments. The power to settle the conflicts or to interpret the constitution is given to the judiciary. The judgement given by the court must be obeyed by the centre as well as states.

PARLIAMENTARY

A parliamentary form of government is that in which the executive is responsible to the legislature. It is also called the cabinet government or responsible government.

Example: India, United Kingdom (U.K.)

Essential features - *nominal*

1. The executive has two types of functions. One is the nominal and the other is the real. The nominal head represents the state. The real head represents the government. In Britain, head of the state is the king or queen. The head of government is the Prime Minister.

Legally all the powers are vested with the nominal head. Example: President of India.

In practice, all the powers are exercised by the real head. Example, cabinet under the leadership of the Prime Minister of India.

2. The ruling party should have a clear and stable majority in the legislature. In the event of a "hung parliament" a coalition government can also be formed. For example in India during the prime ministership of Mr. Deve Gowda (1996) Mr. I.K. Gujral (1998) we had hung parliament.

3. Head of a cabinet is the leader of the majority party in the legislature. He is the prime minister.

4. The prime minister and the cabinet ministers are selected from among members of parliament.

5. Each minister is responsible to the legislature for the acts of omission and commission of his own department. Likewise, all ministers are collectively responsible to the legislature for the collective policy of the ministry in power.

MERITS

- 1 The most important merit in a parliamentary form of government is the harmony and co-operation between the legislature and the executive.
- 2 It is flexible and elastic Whenever there is a crisis, smooth change of government is possible without revolution
- 3 Opposition political party offers a constructive criticism of governmental policies
- 4 It is responsive to public opinion

DEMERITS

- 1 It is against the theory of separation of powers (When the executive and legislature functions are combined together, there is every likelihood of prime minister becoming more powerful)
- 2 In the absence of majority, coalition is the only alternative (Coalition government is a weak form of government and may result in political instability)
- 3 If ruling party resigns from the government or defeated in the elections, the opposition party assumes office of governance It will reverse all the decisions of the previous government It means that there is no continuity in policy matters

PRESIDENTIAL (W)

The presidential form of government is that in which the executive is not responsible to the legislature
Example United States of America (U S A)

Essential features

- 1 The president is the real executive (There is no nominal or ceremonial executive All the powers are vested in the hands of the president)
- 2 The powers of the three organs namely, legislature, executive and judiciary are separated and vested in different persons
- 3 Though the three organs of the government are kept apart, they are also connected by the system of checks and balances Each organ of government exercises checks on the other two organs so that a sort of balance is established
- 4 The tenure of the president is fixed The tenure of office cannot be lessened or increased under any circumstances President can be removed by the legislature only by a process of impeachment (

MERITS

1. Stable government is possible
- 2 Under a presidential form of government, experts are appointed as heads of the departments without consideration of their party affiliations The president may appoint persons who belong to the opposition parties
- 3 There is continuous and consistent policy (4 Highly suitable during the period of national crisis) 5 There is no chance for concentration of powers

DEMERITS

- 1 The executive is not responsible to the legislature and can do whatever it pleases
- 2 There is always the possibility of deadlocks between the legislature and the executive
- 3 It is not flexible form of government
- 4 The Presidential executive finds it difficult to follow a vigorous foreign policy, as there is no harmonious relationship between the executive and the legislature. The executive may follow a policy which may not be acceptable to the legislature.

COLLEGIATE

The collegiate or plural executive is one in which the authority is exercised by two or more individuals having co-equal authority. It is a system of government which adopts the merits and discards the defects of both the parliamentary and presidential systems of government.

Example Switzerland The collegiate executive of Switzerland is called the Federal Council. It consists of seven members called councillors. These councillors are elected for a fixed term of four years by the two Houses of the Legislature (Federal Assembly) at a joint sitting. Swiss Government has seven departments and each department is under the control of a councillor. After being elected as the councillor they have to resign their membership in the Federal Assembly. They can be re-elected as many times as possible. The office of the President and the Vice-President of the Federal Council are shared among the councillors on a rotation basis for a one year term. No president can hold office for more than one year.

MERITS

- 1 The collegiate executive of Switzerland is characterized by stability and responsibility
- 2 There is no possibility of concentration of powers in a single individual
- 3 This type of executive avoids tyranny and dictatorship
- 4 The collegiate executive of Switzerland is representative of all opinions and all areas of the country
- 5 This type of executive paves the way for continuity and permits traditions to be formed

DE-MERITS

- 1 Since the collegiate executive consists of seven members belonging to different political parties, there is unnecessary delay in taking decisions
- 2 The members of the federal council belong to various parties. Hence it is difficult to ensure secrecy which is essential for proper functioning of the executive
3. In this system of government speedy action is possible during emergencies
- 4 The executive is organized on plural principle. Hence it is not compatible with unity and independence

DISTINCTION BETWEEN UNICAMERAL AND BICAMERAL

Legislature is the first branch of the government. It is the law making body of the government. It expresses the will of the people. Unless laws are made, the question of enforcing them or interpreting them does not arise.

There are two kinds of legislature -

- 1 Unicameral Legislature
- 2 Bicameral

Unicameral:-

Where the legislature has only one house, it is called unicameral

Example: China (National Peoples Conference) India Legislative Assembly (Tamil Nadu)
(communist country)

Bicameral:-

In Latin camera means house or chamber

Where the legislature has two houses, it is called bicameral

The following countries have bicameral legislature

INDIA Lower House - Lok Sabha Upper House - Rajya Sabha

U S A Lower House - House of Representatives Upper House - Senate U K Lower House - House of Commons Upper House - House of Lords

Bicameral system of legislature is prevalent in a majority of the countries of the world. At the same time, unicameralism is also in existence in certain countries. Political scientists expressed different opinions in support of and against the two systems of legislature. For example, writer like Bryce, Garner, and Lord Acton argued in favour of Bicameralism. On the other hand, political writers like Laski, Benjamin Franklin, and Bentham supported unicameralism.

Sir J.A R Marriott says that the "past history is in favour of the bicameral system. Experience has seen in favour of two chambers and it is not wise to disregard the lessons of history"

Dr Leacock says, "The unicameral system has been tried and found wanting"

~~Distinction~~ Distinction between

Sl.No.	Unicameral	Bicameral
1.	Responsibility is located	Responsibility is divided
2.	Hasty legislation	Checks on hasty legislation
3.	Leads to despotism	Checks the despotism
4.	There is no delay in legislation	Delay in legislation
5.	No occasion for legislative dead-locks	Occasion for legislative dead-locks
6.	No duplication of work	Duplication of work
7.	Few countries are following Unicameral	Many countries are following Bicameral
8.	Work load is heavy	Reduces the work load
9.	Economy of national expenditure	Higher expenditure
10.	No scope for representation to minorities and other interests	Scope for representation to minorities and other interests

common ideas, intentions they form a govt.
Religion

POLITICAL PARTIES

Political parties are easily one of the most visible institutions in a democracy. For most ordinary citizens, democracy is equal to political parties. If you travel to remote parts of our country and speak to the less educated citizens, you could come across people who may not know anything about our Constitution or about the nature of our government. But chances are that they would know something about our political parties. At the same time this visibility does not mean popularity. Most people tend to be very critical of political parties. They tend to

Election Commission has officially banned wall writing by parties during election times. Most political parties argue that was the cheapest way for their campaign. These election times used to create amazing graffiti on the walls. Here are some examples from Tamil Nadu blame parties for all that is wrong with our democracy and our political life. Parties have become identified with social and political divisions.

Therefore, it is natural to ask – do we need political parties at all? About hundred years ago there were few countries of the world that had any political party. Now there are few that do not have parties.

Meaning

A political party is a group of people who come together to contest elections and hold power in the government. They agree on some policies and programmes for the society with a view to promote the collective good. Since there can be different views on what is good for all, parties try to persuade people why their policies are better than others. They seek to implement these policies by winning popular support through elections.

Thus, parties reflect fundamental political divisions in a society. Parties are about a part of the society and thus involve PARTISANSHIP. Thus a party is known by which part it stands for, which policies it supports and whose interests it upholds. A political party has three components: the leaders, the active members and the followers.

Functions

What does a political party do? Basically, political parties fill political offices and exercise political power. Parties do so by performing a series of functions.

1 Parties contest elections: In most democracies, elections are fought mainly among the candidates put up by political parties. Parties select their candidates in different ways. In some countries, such as the USA, members and supporters of a party choose its candidates. Now more and more countries are following this method. In other countries like India, top party leaders choose candidates for contesting elections.

2 Parties put forward different policies and programmes and the voters choose from them. Each of us may have different opinions and views on what policies are suitable for the society. But no government can handle such a large variety of views. In a democracy, a large number of similar opinions have to be grouped together to provide a direction in which policies can be formulated by the governments. This is what the parties do. A party reduces a vast multitude of opinions into a few basic positions which it supports. A government is expected to base its policies on the line taken by the RULING PARTY.

3 Parties play a decisive role in making laws for a country. Formally, laws are debated and passed in the legislature. But since most of the members belong to a party, they go by the direction of the party leadership, irrespective of their personal opinions.

4 Parties form and run governments. As we noted last year, the big policy decisions are taken by political executive that comes from the political parties. Parties recruit leaders, train them and then make them ministers to run the government in the way they want.

5 Those parties that lose in the elections play the role of opposition to the parties in power, by voicing different views and criticising government for its failures or wrong policies. Opposition parties also mobilise opposition to the government.

6 Parties shape public opinion. They raise and highlight issues. Parties have lakhs of members and activists spread all over the country. Many of the pressure groups are the extensions of political parties among different sections of society. Parties sometimes also launch movements for the resolution of problems faced by people. Often opinions in the society crystallise on the lines parties take.

7 Parties provide people access to government machinery and welfare schemes implemented by governments. For an ordinary citizen it is easy to approach a local party leader than a government officer. That is why they feel close to parties even when they do not fully trust them. Parties have to be responsive to people's needs and demands. Otherwise people can reject those parties in the next elections.

Necessity

This list of functions in a sense answers the question asked above: we need political parties because they perform all these functions. But we still need to ask why modern democracies cannot exist without political parties. We can understand the necessity of political parties by imagining a situation without parties. Every candidate in the elections will be independent. So no one will be able to make any promises to the people about any major policy changes. The government may be formed, but its utility will remain ever uncertain. Elected representative will be accountable to their constituency for what they do in the locality. But no one will be responsible for how the country runs.

We can also think about it by looking at the non-party based elections to the panchayat in many states. Although, the parties do not contest formally, it is generally noticed that the village gets split into more than one faction, each of which puts up a 'panel' of its candidates. This is exactly what the party does. That is the reason we find political parties in almost all countries of the world, whether these countries are big or small, old or new, developed or developing.

The rise of political parties is directly linked to the emergence of representative democracies. As we have seen, large scale societies need representative democracy. As societies became large and complex, they also needed some agency to gather different views on various issues and to present these to the government. They needed some way to bring various representatives together so that a responsible government could be formed. They needed a mechanism to support or restrain the government, make policies, justify or oppose them. Political parties fulfill these needs that every representative government. We can say that parties are a necessary condition for a democracy.

B.A B L. (HONS) DEGREE (SEMESTER) EXAMINATIONS**POLITICAL THEORY**

Time . 2 1/2 Hours

Maximum: 70 Marks

Part – A

Answer any Two of the following in about 500 words each

(2 X 2 = 24 marks)

1. Define Political Science, Discuss its, nature, scope and importance.
2. Critically analyse the social contract theory
3. Discuss the merits and demerits of Presidential form of government

Part – B

Answer any Two of the following in about 300 words each

(2 X 7 = 14 marks)

4. Examine the political ideas of Aristotle
5. Define State and its elements
6. Explain the merits and demerits of Monarchy

Part – C

Answer any five of the following

(5 X 4 = 20 marks)

7. Explain Historical Approach
8. Enumerate the Patriarchal theory
9. List out the Rights and Duties of Citizen
10. Explain the Liberalism
11. What is Universal Adult Suffrage
12. Discuss the role of political parties
13. Economic Justice

Part – D

Answer any Six of the following very shortly

(6 X 2 = 12 marks)

14. Aristotle
15. State of nature
16. Citizen
17. Political rights
18. Uni-cameral legislature
19. Marxism
20. Regional Party
21. Greek city-state