



ਜਗਤ ਗੁਰੂ ਨਾਨਕ ਦੇਵ
ਪੰਜਾਬ ਸਟੇਟ ਓਪਨ ਯੂਨੀਵਰਸਿਟੀ
ਪਟਿਆਲਾ

The Motto of Our University
(SEWA)

SKILL ENHANCEMENT

EMPLOYABILITY

WISDOM

ACCESSIBILITY

JAGAT GURU NANAK DEV
PUNJAB STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY, PATIALA

(Established by Act No. 19 of 2019 of the Legislature of State of Punjab)

BACHELOR OF ARTS
CORE COURSE (CC): POLITICAL SCIENCE

SEMESTER I

BAB31104T: PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL
SCIENCE

Head Quarter: C/28, The Lower Mall, Patiala-147001

WEBSITE: www.psou.ac.in

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PREFACE

Jagat Guru Nanak Dev Punjab State Open University, Patiala was established in December 2019 by Act 19 of the Legislature of State of Punjab. It is the first and only Open University of the State, entrusted with the responsibility of making higher education accessible to all, especially to those sections of society who do not have the means, time or opportunity to pursue regular education.

In keeping with the nature of an Open University, this University provides a flexible education system to suit every need. The time given to complete a programme is double the duration of a regular mode programme. Well-designed study material has been prepared in consultation with experts in their respective fields.

The University offers programmes which have been designed to provide relevant, skill-based and employability-enhancing education. The study material provided in this booklet is self-instructional, with self-assessment exercises, and recommendations for further readings. The syllabus has been divided in sections, and provided as units for simplification.

The University has a network of 99 Learner Support Centres/Study Centres, to enable students to make use of reading facilities, and for curriculum-based counseling and practicals. We, at the University, welcome you to be a part of this institution of knowledge.

Prof. G.S Batra
Dean Academic Affairs



BACHELOR OF ARTS

CORE COURSE (CC): POLITICAL SCIENCE

SEMESTER – I

(BAB31104T) PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

MAX. MARKS: 100
INTERNAL: 30
EXTERNAL: 70
PASS: 40%
CREDITS: 6

Objective:

This course aims to introduce the students to the basic concepts and themes of the discipline of political science. It will provide an overview about political science and theory and State and its sovereignty.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE CANDIDATES:

Candidates are required to attempt any two questions each from the sections A, and B of the question paper, and any ten short answer questions from Section C. They have to attempt questions only at one place and only once. Second or subsequent attempts, unless the earlier ones have been crossed out, shall not be evaluated.

SECTION – A

1. Political Science: Meaning, Nature and scope.
2. Distinction between Political Science and Political Theory
3. Relationship of Political Science with History, Economics and Sociology.
4. State: Definition, Elements and its distinction from Government, Society and Association.
5. Theories of the Origins of State: Evolutionary and Social Contract.

SECTION – B

1. Nature of State: Liberal, Gandhian and Marxist.
2. Sovereignty: Definition, Attributes and its Types.
3. Organs of Government: Legislature, Executive and Judiciary.
4. Parliamentary and Presidential Forms of Government: Meaning, Merits and Demerits.
5. Federal and Unitary Forms of Government: Meaning, Merits and Demerits.

RECOMMENDED READINGS:

1. A.C. Kapoor: Principles of Political Science, S.Chand & Company, New Delhi, 2009.
2. Andrew Heywood: Political Theory: An Introduction, MacMillan Press, London, 1999.
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4. David Easton, The Political System: An Inquiry into the State of Political Science, Wiley, New York, 1953.
5. Frank Bealey, Richard: Chapman and Michael Sheehan: Elements in Political Science, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1999.
6. J.C. Johri: Principles of Political Science, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, 2009.
7. M.P. Jain: Political Theory (Punjabi & Hindi), Authors Guild Publication, Delhi, 1990
8. O.P. Gauba: An Introduction to Political Theory, Macmillan India Ltd. New Delhi, 2009
9. Robert A. Dahl & Bruce: S. Finebric Kner Modern Political Analysis, Sixth Edition Pearson, Education, 2003.
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BACHELOR OF ARTS

CORE COURSE (CC): POLITICAL SCIENCE

SEMESTER - I

COURSE (BAB31104T): PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

COURSE COORDINATOR- DR. SUKHPAL KAUR

SECTION A

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Unit 5	Theories of Origin of State: Evolutionary and Social Contract
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BACHELOR OF ARTS
SEMESTER I
COURSE: PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

UNIT 1: POLITICAL SCIENCE: MEANING, NATURE AND SCOPE

STRUCTURE:

1.0. Learning objectives

1.1. Key Words

1.2. Introduction

1.3. Meaning and Definitions

1.3.1. Traditional Definitions

1.3.2. Modern Definitions

1.4. Nature of Political Science

1.4.1. Political Science is not a Science

1.4.2. Check your Progress I

1.4.3. Political Science is a Science

1.4.4. Check your Progress II

1.5. Scope of Political Science

1.5.1. Check Your Progress III

1.6. Summary

1.7. Questions for Practice

1.7.1. Long Answer questions

1.7.2. Short Answer Questions

1.8. Suggested Readings

1.0. LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After the Completion of this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the different explanations of political science.
- Justify the claim that political science can be considered as a science.

- Evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of several approaches to political science.

1.1. KEY WORDS

Greek, City-State, State, Government, political organizations, power,

1.2. INTRODUCTION

Political science is combination of two word political and science. The word political deals with activities and behavior of men towards state and government. Science is the systematic study of the structure and behavior of the physical and natural world through observation, evidence and experiment. So, political science is the branch of knowledge that deals with systematic study of the structure and behavior of the state and political institutions through scientific analysis. Political science is an important discipline of social science which is helpful to understand the political phenomena.

1.3. MEANING AND DEFINITIONS

Political science is one of the oldest subjects of study among other social sciences. Many political scientists have been tried to trace the origin of the subject. The origin of political science has been traced back to ancient Greek. The term political science is intimately related to the word politics. It is derived from the Greek, word ‘_Polis’ that means ‘_city states’ (the general form of political organization in ancient Greek). Sophists (the wandering teachers of wisdom) particularly Protagoras and Gorgias in Athens were the first to deal with this mode of thought. Later on Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle continued to conduct the scientific study of various problems concerning the state and government. Aristotle was considers as the founder of political science or father of this discipline called politics –the master sciencell. In his famous book, "Politics", Aristotle has asserted that "Man is by nature a political animal and he, who by nature and not by mere accident is without state, is either above humanity or below itl. It is an accepted reality that nothing is out of the domain of political science in present time. It is a subject with wider scope and its domain is changing, as in ancient times it focused on institutional and legal aspects of politics but in modern time, political as well as non political factors are studying.

1.3. DEFINITIONS

1.3.1. TRADITIONAL DEFINITIONS:

- According to Garner, –Political Science begins and ends with the state.¶
- According to Harold Lasswell, –Who gets what, when and how?¶
- According to Gettell, –Political Science is the historical investigation of what the state has been, an analytical study of what the State is and a political ethical discussion of what the state ought to be.¶

- According to Paul Janet, –Political science is that part of the social science which treats of the foundations of the state and the principles of the government.¶
- According to Seeley, Political Science investigates the phenomenon of government as political economy deals with wealth, Biology with life, Algebra with numbers and Geometry with space and magnitude.¶

1.3.2. MODERN DEFINITIONS:

- According to Kaplan, –The Concept of Power is perhaps the most fundamental in the whole of political science. The political process is the shaping, dissolution and exercise of power.¶
- According to Horald Lasswell, –The study of Politics is the study of influence and the influential.¶
- According to David Easton, –Politics is the authoritative allocation of values.¶
- According to Robert Dahl, –Political Science deals with the Power, Rule or Authority.¶
- According to Almond and Powell, –Political Science studies the whole political system.¶

1.4. NATURE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

From the very beginning, Aristotle was recognized as the father of politics or the first political scientist, this subject has been considered as master science. But it is a point of debate that whether it may be ranked as Science or not. Whereas some political scientists considered this subject as science but others were not ready to recognize it as science.

During the last two decades there has been an intellectual revolution in American political thought as it was observed altogether by Almond, Powell and G. Bingham that new political concepts and theories have been invented. These new political theories have exercised tremendous influence in political science. These modern political theorists have studied political science by Sociological, anthropological and psychological method and criticized the traditional theory of political science on grounds of parochialism and formalism.

1.4.1 POLITICAL SCIENCE IS NOT A SCIENCE

There is a group of political theorists which fails to recognize the scientific nature of political science. These writers refuse to treat political science as a science. August Comte, famous French writer is not ready to call it science on three grounds: - I) There is no consensus of opinion among experts as to its methods, principles and conclusion II) because it lacks continuity of a development; III) because it lacks the elements which

constitute a basis of precision. They adopted the legal and institutional Approach to study the state, government and other institutions rather than their working and performance. Thinkers who believe that political science cannot be proved as science.

1. Fixed principles are not possible:

In political science various thinkers believe that fixed principles cannot be possible to formulate. When we are talking about science, some principles are fixed like Law of gravity that is fixed law of science, another glaring example that proves the absoluteness of laws of science is that things expand in heat and shrink in cold but in political science; there is no such principle which is unanimously accepted by all. In political science thinkers have no uniformity. Like, there is great diversity of opinion about the number of chambers in a legislative body. J. S. Mill is the supporter of bicameralism systems whereas Laski, Abbie Sieyes and others are in favor of Unilateralism.

2. Variation in Definition, terminology and methodology:

Single definition cannot be made to describe the subject. There are different views and contradictions towards subject. All thinkers have variant thoughts regarding the terminology and vocabulary. Some thinkers believe that it is study of state and government and other institutions but other thinkers consider it as a study of role, behavior and system. Critics stated that there is uniformity in thought, so, we cannot consider it as science. There is no consensus of opinion among experts as to its methods, principles and conclusions like democracy is the best form of government but it is not unanimously accepted by all the scholars. Some scholars like Henry Main, Spanglar etc condemned democracy. Thus, we fail to find that uniformity, absoluteness and universality in the principles of political science which can be found in other sciences.

3. Experiments are not possible:

According to Lord Bryce –Experiments can be tried in physics over and over again till a conclusive result is reached but that which can experiment in politics can never be repeated, because the conditions can never be exactly produced as one cannot step twice into the same current of river. Political science deal with human beings whose nature is dynamic and lacks continuity in their behavior. So, we cannot reach at that stage where fixed principles can be made on the basis of certain and repeat experiments.

4. Political science is a dynamic subject:

The subject matter of science is not as dynamic as of political science is. It is ever changing because it deals with the human being. Human beings have variations in their behavior, thinking, actions and attitudes. So, their attitude and orientations toward political system are changing which brings drastic changes in political system.

5. Scientific methods of observation and experimentation are not possibly applicable:

Scientific methods of observation and experimentation are inapplicable in political science. These methods play decisive role in natural and physical sciences like physics, chemistry etc. After studying these subjects universal accepted principles can be formed on the basis of experiments like when we mix one portion of oxygen into two portions of hydrogen, the result is the formation of water. This type of chemical formation takes place everywhere and in every circumstance. But such types of experiments are not possible in political science.

6. Predictions are not possible:

In sciences, scientists can predict on the basis of certain principles. In political science, predictions are not possible to make. Because it deals with the human beings who have various sentiments and emotions and we cannot delimit their behavior, emotions and aspirations. The nature of human being is full of variations, so, it's not possible to make the fixed prediction

7. Political science does not strictly observe the Cause effect relationship as other sciences do:

Political science does not strictly observe the relation of cause and effect. It is not necessary that same conditions and same circumstances will bring same results in same countries at the same time or different times. It is very difficult to find out which particular cause has helped in the happenings of the particular political incident. We don't have the consensus of opinion among experts as to its real cause and it is not easy to find out the right cause responsible for the revolutions that broke out some years ago in different parts of the world. As well as it is hard to find the failure and success of different types of governments.

8. Exactness and absoluteness cannot be found in political science:

Some political scientists do not agree to accept political science a pure science. They argued that it is absolute and universal equation of arithmetic that two and two make four but political science does not have such absolute and universal principles.

1.4.2 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I

1. Why fixed principals are not possible in political science?

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2. Predictions are not possible in political science? Explain

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1.4.3. POLITICAL SCIENCE IS A SCIENCE

Aristotle, Bodin, Hobbes, Montesquieu, Cornwall Lewis, Sidgwick, Lord Bryce, Bluntschli, and Jellinck etc are not satisfied with the arguments given against the scientism of political science. While German scholars have gone to the extent of adopting analytical method in order to give political science the character of a science. Before proving political science is science, we should understand what science is? According to Dr. Garner, –relating to a particular subject acquired by a systematic, observation, experience or study which has been coordinated systematized and classified. From this point of view, we can say political science is a science because it is a systematized knowledge and its results are drawn after observations and experimentation. Let's discuss the arguments:

1. Fixed principles can be formulated:

It is true that political science does not have the absolute and universal law of natural science yet such conclusions are possible in political science as often proved true. For example, there is no denying the fact that democratic government is the best form of government and it is more permanent than most other forms of government and helps more in promoting the welfare of common people. The other example of permanent principle we can quote here. Aristotle, the father of political science, after studied 158 constitutions, arrived at the conclusion that –Inequality is the mother of revolution. Similarly, as Lord Acton observes that –Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. These principles are much significant in all situations. So, we can say that fixed principles are possible in political science.

2. Experiments are possible:

Some thinkers argued that experiments can be carried in political science. We can consider History as a Laboratory of Political Science. When government makes new law, it becomes a new experiment. For ex. the Government of India adopted India's New Economic Policy as new and successful experiment which was announced on July 24, 1991 known as the LPG or Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization model to overcome the economic crisis. Liberalization- It refers to the process of making policies less constraining of economic activity and also reduction of tariff or removal of non-tariff barriers. This makes it clear that fixed and permanent laws can be made.

3. Predictions are possible:

In natural sciences, on the basis of certain permanent principles, predictions are possible. Like Karl Marx predicts the future of capitalism. Various other thinkers warn against the drastic changes in political systems on the basis of their researches. We study the present in the light of the past and trying to predict the future. Sometimes, it may be wrong or sometimes it comes true due to the dynamic behaviour of individuals because researchers have no control over their emotions.

Because of their changing nature permanent prediction are as not possible as in sciences.

4. Uniformity in certain principles can be established:

It is true that political scientists differ on their methods, principles and conclusions yet sometimes they agree too. For example all political thinkers unanimously accept the fact that imperialism, Colonialism, Casteism, Inequality, Untouchability, illiteracy and poverty are evils of society and they must be rooted out. Political science deals with human being and his institutions. Human beings are dynamic by nature so are their Institutions. That's why some times views of thinkers vary.

5. Scientific methods of observation and experimentation are possibly applicable:

Scientific methods are applicable in political science. Undoubtedly, it is true that political science has not been able to attain the same degree of exactness and perfection that other natural and physical sciences have, but it can be claimed as science because it has the systematized knowledge of a particular subject. It claims as science as it possesses the possibility of adopting the scientific methods of observation and experimentation.

6. Results of research can generalize:

It is possible to generalize the results of researches in political science. For example, father of modern political science Machiavelli said that –man can forgive the murderer of his father but he never forgets the loss of his patrimony.¶ this result can be generalized because various properties related issues disturbs and breaks the relationships and erupt violence.

7. Exactness and absoluteness is possible in political science:

Exactness and absoluteness is possible in political science. We cannot deny the scientific character of political science for there is an accumulation of facts, cause and effect, formulation of general laws can be linked together. As Prof. Gilchrist says that, –While we may agree that the exactness of natural sciences is impossible to attain in the social sciences, nevertheless social problems can be treated with the same scientific methods as chemistry and physics. These results indeed may not be so accurate or so easily tested but we shall see, the various subjects, we deal with; present a systematized mass of material which is capable of being treated by ordinary scientific methods. We shall see that general laws can be deduced from given material and these laws are useful in actual problems of government.¶

8. Political science observes the Cause effect relationship as other sciences do:

The objection raised against the scientism of political science is that like other physical and natural sciences it does not strictly observe the theory of cause and effect. It is reality that the subject does not strictly observe the theory of cause and effect but it goes without saying that every political incident has its own cause and effect. For example, we generally find that poverty, corruption and violation of human rights lead to the outbreak of revolution.

We can sum up the debate after the evaluation of both facets it can be said that political science cannot be considered as pure science because exactness and absoluteness cannot be attained. According to Gettel and Bluntschli, political science bears the character of arts. Like other arts it deals with the various aspects of life and tells us how and what way we should lead our life. It also tells us how we can become good citizens and what are our rights and duties. It is one of the social sciences dealing with the dynamic subject matter of study. But we can call it a science also because it has the systemized knowledge and it possesses the possibility of adopting the scientific methods of observation and experimentation. So, it can be said that political science is subject that deals with the human beings and carries the scientific character as well as the features of arts. It is not a pure science but a life science which deals with the society.

1.4.4. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II

1. How experiment can be done in political science?

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2. Is exactness and absoluteness is possible in political science?

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1.5. SCOPE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Scope of political cannot be fixed because it is lively subject which is related to the dynamic nature of human being. Many changes occur in Society continuously, so, the subjects of political science which relates to society will be change definitely. Ever since people started to live together, many problems arose related to organization and its control and then the political thinkers started discussions about the scope, limitation and execution of power, relationship between ruler and ruled and the kind of system which would be best for the human beings. These problems always become a matter of discussion among the political scientists from ancient Greeks to present times. If the ancient political thinker concentrated on the problem of ideal state, medieval thinkers concerned themselves with evolving a framework for the establishment of God's kingdom on earth, recently thinkers have focused on other problems like power, authority, and legitimacy etc. Many more new concepts, terms and theories have been entered in the vocabulary of political science. So, in recent times, it has become so vast that it covers the area from the study of state and government to the study political

system. Because nothing can be alienated from political science like Aristotle said that almost everything happens in a political context.

1. Study of State:

State always becomes a central point of discussion in political science. As Garner said, –Political Science begins and ends with the State. From ancient time to present time, political scientists have been focused on the past, present and future of the state. What the state had been? What the state is? And what the state ought to be? Origin and development of the state, nature of the state, types of the state like Democratic state, liberal state, totalitarian state etc. and importance of state etc. are the main areas of study in political science. The institution of state is useful for the society and without the state there will be anarchical society. This is the reason why we study the state.

2. Study of Government:

Government is the most important element of state. We can consider government is the face of the state because the government is the sole institution which can exercise the sovereignty of the state and execute the laws and policies for the welfare of citizens of state. Even state cannot be imagined without the government. So, in political science, we are discussing the types of government, working of government, functions of government etc. Political scientists never deny the importance of government.

3. Study of Comparative Government:

Aristotle an ancient Greek political thinker is considered as the father of comparative politics because he got the credit to study the 158 constitutions comparatively to find out the best type of government of people. And he gave the theory of ‘Polity’ (best possible state) on the basis of his comparative analysis. As well as, the other traditional political thinker also talked about the Comparative analysis of government to study the working and types of governments of different countries to reach the truth. Modern political scientist focused on the study of comparative politics rather than comparative government.

4. Study of Associations and Institutions:

The scope of the political science includes the study of various associations and institutions which help the individual to grow. According to the pluralists, state is also an association among the other subordinate associations. To understand the working of political system, it is necessary to study the origin and growth of these associations and institutions. These are playing a great role to fulfill the needs of individual as well as assist the state to run the system efficiently. As according to Garner, — in organized way the fundamental problems of political science includes, first, an investigation of the origin and nature of the State, second, an inquiry into nature, history and forms of political institutions and third deduction therefore, so far as possible. In simple words, in political science, we are studying the origin,

development, working and the inter-relationship of state and other associations and institutions.

5. Study of Human Behavior:

Human being is central to the study of political science. It can be said that political science is not more than a study of human behavior. Individuals' behavior and attitude towards the performance of political system bring the changes. In electoral politics, politicians continuously focused on the voters and constantly trying to impress them. Political scientists prefer to study human behavior to understand the political phenomena. Participation of individuals in politics gives the shape to political culture. It makes the culture participant or parochial.

6. Study of Political Organizations:

At the national and international level, there are various political and other organizations are working for the betterment of individuals and to maintain peace. Organizations like UNO (United Nations Organizations), UNESCO, WTO (World Trade Organization), ILO (International Labour Organization), WHO (World Health Organization) etc play an important role to maintain the peace and solve the different economic, political, social and cultural problems. Working and activities of these organizations are included in the scope of political science.

7. Study of Power:

There is no political system where Power has no role. Directly political science is a study of power. A well-known political scientist Hans Morgenthau in his famous book politics _Among nations: struggle for power and peace (1948)' analyzed that politics and international relations are merely a struggle for power among nations to protect their national interest. In politics, different individuals and political parties constantly struggles with each other to stay in power. So, in political science, study of power and related activities are always a central point of study.

8. Study of political System:

In modern view, political scientists preferred to study of political system under the behavioral and system approach which widened the scope of political science. According to the political scientists, scope of government has narrowed than political system. Political science in present time is an empirical study of political system.

9. Study of the Structures and Infra-structures:

Many structures and infra-structure plays an important role in political system. Legislature, Executive and Judiciary are the main structures in political system and study of these structures is important to understand the system of the country. Besides, there are various other infra-structures like governmental institutions, courts of law, regulatory bodies etc. Public security services such as the police force, defense, etc. which are helpful to maintain peace and law and order as well supportive to the system.

10. Study of Rights and Duties:

Rights are those conditions without which man cannot live as human being. Rights and duties are necessary for the overall development of individuals. We can easily judge the condition of the nation by looking at the status of the rights of its citizens. In modern times, every country provides rights to its citizens. To enjoy those rights citizens have to fulfill their duties also because rights and duties are reciprocal. Only those governments are liked by the citizens who secure and protect their rights. So, in political science, study of rights and duties are always on the priority of the students of political science.

11. Study of Political Parties:

Political parties play a crucial role in the politics. Political parties are organized groups of people with at least roughly similar political aims and objectives that seek to influence public policy by getting its candidates elected to public office. Political parties solicit and articulate public policy priorities and civic needs and problems as identified by the members and supporters. Political parties are working like a channel between government and citizens. In political science, we are studying the nature, types and role of these parties in political system.

12. Study of Leadership:

All individuals are not equal, some are commoners and some are born to lead. Leaders are those persons who have the caliber to lead the citizens. They not only lead the society but play an important role to lead the nation. In general, political parties guide the country. Different responsibilities are connected with political leadership. On the other side, leadership has various types like youth leadership, religious leadership etc. In political science, we are studying the importance and different aspects of leadership.

13. Study of Elite Class:

Every society has divided into two classes of people. One is the ruler's class and the other is the ruled class. The ruler's class has some unique qualities which make them different from the ruled class. They are people born to rule and have leadership qualities which make them special. In every country and in every system power is always exercised by the few. Vilfredo Pareto an Italian theorist talked about the circulation of elites that elites are replaced by the next elites and the process continues. In the election time, people just vote to choose one elite whom they want to be ruled.

14. Study of Masses:

Masses are the backbone of any political system. Masses mean the ruled class. We are studying the role and participation of masses in political system. Behavior of masses towards political system is also central to the study because it makes the system successful or fail. The role of ruled class in political system and their relationship with masses is also being studied.

15. Study of Conflict:

Society is full with conflicts. Conflicts between individuals, between rulers and ruled class, between upper and lower classes etc gives the shape to politics of any country. In political science, we are studying the similarities and differences. Conflicts consider the base of the politics. Political scientists argued that politics cannot be without conflicts. There are many conflicts among the ruled class like they blaming each other to stay in power and to gain the power. As well as, conflicts between the ruler class and the ruled class regarding their interests.

16. Study of Comparative Politics:

Modern political scientist focused on the study of comparative politics rather than comparative government. In comparative politics, variety of new ideas, concepts and terms are studied. In comparative politics, we are studying about the political culture, political socialization, political development, working of political systems etc. The importance of comparative politics is increasing and various chairs and universities are established to study the politics comparatively.

17. Study of International Relations:

International relations are the relations between different nations which are maintained to bring stability in political affairs and economic gains. No country can be survived alone because each country cannot be self sufficient. To fulfill the needs of their citizens, all countries depend upon each other. In political science students preferably study the international relations to be familiar with the international terms and policies adopted by different countries. Study these relations are necessary to understand the international phenomena.

18. Study of Diplomacy:

Diplomacy has great influence on the political affairs. The study of diplomacy is essential to understand the international relations. According to the dictionary of oxford, diplomacy is the activity of managing relations between different countries. It is a skill in dealing with people without upsetting or offending them. As per Britannica, **Diplomacy**, the established method of influencing the decisions and behavior of foreign governments and peoples through dialogue, negotiation, and other measures short of war or violence. Modern diplomatic practices are a product of the post-Renaissance European state system. Historically, diplomacy meant the conduct of official (usually bilateral) relations between sovereign states.

19. Study of Organizations:

Organizations have great influence over politics. The role of international organizations are helpful to set the international agenda, mediating political bargaining, providing a place for political initiatives and acting as catalysts for the coalition- formation. They facilitate cooperation and coordination among member nations. In present times, role of organisations is growing rapidly.

20. Study of Political Ideologies:

Political ideologies are set of ideas and these are like guiding map. In political science political ideology is the way to justify the actions taken by political leaders. Political leaders are always trying to defend themselves on the name of ideology. Liberalism, Marxism, Fascism, Feminism, etc are some political ideologies. Like, Marxism defends the violence and snatches the property of rich to establish the economic equality. According to Liberalism, state is not supposed to interfere in the life of individuals and prefer privatization. In these days mostly States withdrawing from basic fields like health, education and social security on the name of this ideology.

21. Study of Political Theory:

Thinkers of different subjects formulate and development theories. Theories are the base of the any subject because these are the systematic study of subject. So, to study the theories is very much important for students of political science to understand the basics of subject. They must begin their study with the deep understanding of these theories. These theories provide the clarity to the subject. So, it is a significant to study these theories and concepts.

22. Study of Non-Political Factors:

In recent times, political science is not confined to only politics related activities, but non political factors like caste, class, religion; gender unemployment, poverty etc are also playing a crucial role to determine the policies and programs of government. In all the countries, these non-political factors affect the politics. Multicultural, communal, language and gender based differences always dominate the politics. Even Communal violence and racial difference pose serious problems like terrorism. Unemployed youth is easily ready to join these groups on petty amount. No country dares to ignore these issues and the governments of different are continuously trying to handle these issues with co-operation between each other. Various international organizations are playing an important role to tackle these problems. Besides, in India, we all are witness that how these non-political factors affect the Indian political system. Even it is a bitter truth that politics of India is largely motivated by social problems. All the political parties demand votes on the name of caste, class, gender and religion etc.

23. Study of Laws and legislations:

Laws and legislations are that norms and rules which are made by governments to maintain the rule of law and to run the system smoothly. Without the knowledge of these laws and legislations, no one can understand the policies and programs of any government. We cannot claim our rights without knowing the laws. Shrewd politician get the chance to exploit them if citizens will unaware about laws and legislations.

24. Empirical Study:

Empirical study is the way of gaining knowledge directly or indirectly through the observation and experience. In traditional political science, political scientist preferred to normative method while they study the concept and theories but in modern view of political science after World War II, the empirical method has been adopted by political scientists to understand the reality behind the problems.

25. Study of political dynamics:

In political Science, we are studying political dynamics. Over the last four decades, the world has witnessed the transition of political regimes from different forms of autocracy to various new types of political regimes. The current situation provides the ground for disparate, and sometimes outright contradictory, diagnoses about the present state of democracy around the globe and its future development.

1.5.1 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS III

1. What is meant by Political Ideologies?

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2. Write a note on empirical Study?

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1.6. SUMMARY:

We can conclude that the scope of political science is so vast. From traditional view state and government is the central subjects of study. But in modern view, number of new subjects is also covered in it. Now, nothing is out of the subject. It is a study of political institutions, activities, actions, participation etc and study of non-political issues and factors too.

1.7. QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE

1.7.1. LONG ANSWER QUESTIONS

- 1. Discuss the meaning and nature of political science.
- 2. Define political science. Give arguments in favor of scientism of subject.
- 3. Critically evaluates the nature of political science.

4. What is political Science? Discuss its scope.
5. Critically evaluate the scope of political science.

1.7.2. SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Write two definitions of political science
2. What do you mean by scientific nature of political science?
3. What are non- political factors?
4. Write a note on political elites.

1.8. SUGGESTED READINGS

- Andrew Heywood, *Political Theory – An Introduction*, Palgrave MacMillan, New York, 2004
- R.C. Aggarwal, *Political Theory (Principles of Political Science)*, S. Chand & Company Pvt.Ltd, New Delhi,2016
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**BACHELOR OF ARTS
SEMESTER I**

COURSE: PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

**UNIT 2: DISTINCTION BETWEEN POLITICAL SCIENCE AND POLITICAL
THEORY**

STRUCTURE:

2.0 Learning Objectives

2.1.Key words

2.2. Political Science: An Introduction

2.2.1 Definitions

2.3.Political Theory: An Introduction

2.3.1 Definitions

2.4.Distinction between Political Science and Political Theory

2.5.Significance of Political Theory

2.6.Debate on the Decline and Revival of Political Theory

2.6.1. Check Your Progress

2.7.Summary

2.8. Questions for Practice

2.8.1. Long Answer Questions

2.8.2. Short Answer Questions

2.9. Suggested Readings

2.0 LEARNING OBJECTIVES:

After the completion of this unit, you will be able:-

- To understand the meaning of political science.
- To comprehend the meaning of political theory.
- To evaluate the relationship between political science and political theory
- To make distinction between political science and political theory

2.1. KEY WORDS: Discipline, Values, Normative, Speculative, Empirical

2.2. POLITICAL SCIENCE- INTRODUCTION:

Political Science is an old discipline, deals with the state, government, and political actions and activities of individuals. Aristotle the father of the Discipline, called politics (earlier the word 'Politics' had been used instead of political science) –The Master Science. He meant that almost everything happens in the political context, that the decisions of the polis (the Greek City State and root of the words polite and politics) governed most other things.

The term Political science have been defined by various thinkers like some scholars restricted it to the study of state and government only and some scholars explores new dimensions in it. In modern times, political science can't be confined to only political aspects of society but all the issues whether they are economic, social, and cultural or any other are covered in it.

2.2.1 DEFINITIONS:

Garner defines Political science as, –Political science begins and ends with the state. ||

According to **Paul Janet**, –Political science is that part of social science which treats of the foundations of the state and the principles of the government. ||

According to **David Easton**, –Politics is the authoritative Allocation of Values. ||

According to **Butler**, –Politics is entirely concerned with people, with the ways in which they react to decisions. It cannot be studied except in the light of actual behavior. ||

According to **Fredrick Watkins**, –Proper scope of political science is not the study of the state or of any other specific institutional complex, but the investigation of all associations in so far as they can be shown to exemplify the problem of power. ||

Peter H. Markel defines political science as, –the essence of politics lies in the fundamental freedom of man in society to master his own fate by political means. ||

2.3. POLITICAL THEORY: INTRODUCTION

Political science as a discipline, divided into several subfields like Comparative Politics, political system, political theory, political thought, international relations etc. to intensely study the different aspects of politics. Political theory is also one subfield among others. The English word 'theory' originates from a Greek word 'theoria' which suggests a well focused mental look taken at something in a state of contemplation with an intent to grasp it. In this sense, it covers an understanding of being (Ontology means set of concepts and categories in a subject area or domain that shows their properties and

the relations between them.) as well as a causal explanation that may be in the nature of a theological, philosophical, empirical or logical thought. A theory is a form of systematic reflection with six features (a) Conceptual Sensitivity (b) Rational Structure (C) Aspiration for a humanly achievable truth and objectivity (d) Generality (e) an explicit mandate to unearth assumptions presupposition and (f) Strong non-speculative intent- the need not to bypass results of micro-enquiries into the particular. According to Arnold Brecht, –Political theory is always used to designate attempts to explain a phenomenon especially when that is done in general and abstract terms.¶

The term political theory interchangeable with other terms like political thought, political philosophy, political ideas, political analysis, political enquiry, political ideology etc. is a branch of political science which attempts to arrive at generalizations, inference, or conclusions to be drawn from the data gathered by specialists. It can be regarded as the most comprehensive branch of this discipline. Theories are not facts. They are suggestions as to how the facts should be organized. Theories are important because it provided the structure that give meaning to pattern of facts. According to Kant, –Gathering facts without an organized principle lead only to large collection of meaningless facts.¶ Political theory is primarily a systematic thought about the objectives and nature of state, government, political activities, established political institutions and changes in such institutions go through over time, and the ideal form of political system.

If we look around us what we see would be movements, developments and change. But if we look deeper we would also see certain values and principles that have inspired people and guided policies. Ideals like democracy, freedom or equality for instance. These documents did not just emerge overnight; they are built upon the ideas and principles debated almost since the time of Kautilya, Aristotle to Jean Jacques Rousseau, Karl Marx, Gandhi and Ambedkar. Political theory deals with the ideas and principles that shape constitutions; governments' and social life in a systematic manner. It clarifies the meaning of concepts such as freedom, equality and justice democracy, secularism and so on. It proves the significance of principles such as rule of law, separation of powers, judicial review etc. This is done by examining the arguments advanced by different thinkers in defense of these concepts. Though Rousseau, Gandhi, Marx or other did not become politicians, their ideas influenced generations of politicians everywhere.

Political theory as a subfield of political science includes the analytical study of ideas and doctrines that have been central to the political thought. Political theory involves the study of philosophical thought about politics from ancient Greece to the present. Political theory is concerned with the fundamental questions of public life. It addresses such issues as the nature of political authority, the relationship of the state with the individual, and citizens' obligations and responsibilities to one another. Political

theory seeks to interpret abstract concepts such as liberty, justice, human rights, and power, and in so doing it draws upon classics in the field—by, for example, Plato, Aristotle, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, David Hume, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and John Stuart Mill. Many scholars use these classics to help them fully understand present day issues such as terrorism, civil rights and liberties, and domestic and foreign policy etc.

It implies that theory covers both ‘values’ and ‘facts’ that determines its normative or speculative and causal or empirical character. It is a field where the investigations and findings of a writer or a researcher are tied together, cross referenced, weighed, contemplated and churned so as to lay down certain conclusions in regard to the proper relationship between man and authority. A researcher may belong to any branch of knowledge like political science, economics, history, psychology, sociology even of anthropology that his conclusion must touch the fundamental issue of relationship of man with authority under which he has to survive, or his association with community in which he desires to seek power or his struggle for, what Hobbes calls ‘some future apparent good’. The function of the political theorist is to consider facts in all their varied ramifications and at least suggest conclusions, remedies and public policies.

Political theory is divided into distinct streams such as classical, modern, empirical etc. While the classical political theory was dominated by philosophy and dealt with the description, explanation, prescription and evaluation of political phenomenon; Empirical political theory claimed to be a science and has been primarily concerned with the description and explanation of the political reality. Of late, Contemporary political theory has tried to blend the theoretical and practical aspects. Various scholars tried to define the term political theory in their own way.

2.3.1. DEFINITIONS

C. W. Coker defines the political theory in these words, –When political government and its forms and activities are studied not simply as facts to be described and compared or judged in reference to their immediate and temporary effects, but as facts to be understood and appraised in relation to the constant needs, desires and opinion of men—then we have political theory.¶

According to **David Held**, Political theory is a network of concepts and generalizations about political life involving ideas, assumptions and statements about the nature, purpose and key features of government, state and society, and about the political capabilities of human beings.¶

Andrew Hacker defines political theory as –A combination of a disinterested search for the principles of good state and good society on the one hand, and a disinterested search for knowledge of political and social reality on the other.¶

According to **Andrew Heywood**, –Political theory involves the analytical study of ideas and Doctrines that have been central to political thought.¶

John Plamenatz wrote that, –By political theory, I do not mean explanations of how governments functions, I mean systematic thinking about the purpose of government.¶

David Easton believes that, –Political Theory consists of four major propositions: factual, moral, applied and theoretical.

Sabine argues that, –one of the characteristic of political theory is that it occurs as a part of an incident in politics itself and that it is the task of the political thinkers to conceptualize it abstractly and make it relevant for universal application.¶

On the basis of above given definitions we can said that political theory is concerned with the study of the phenomenon of the state both in philosophy as we as empirical terms. It is not only includes explanations, description and prescription regarding the state and political institutions but also evaluation of their moral philosophical purpose.

2.4.DISTINCTION BETWEEN POLITICAL SCIENCE AND POLITICAL THEORY

After identifying the meaning of both political science and political theory, let’s discuss the difference between both.

1. Political Theory is a subfield of political science:

As a discipline, political science is much more comprehensive and includes different fields of politics such as political thought, political theory, political philosophy, political ideology, comparative politics, public administration, international relations and international law etc. with the rise of political science as a separate discipline, political theory was made one of its sub fields. Political theory is not an independent discipline and as a branch of political science, it is particularly a systematic study of concepts and doctrines of subject.

2. Scope of political science is wider than that of political theory:

Political science is concerned with describing and explaining the realities of political behavior, generalizations about man and political institutions with the empirical evidences and the role of power in society. Various other sub fields of the subject explore the different facets of society, politics and national and international relations etc. Political theory on the other hand, is not only concerned about the behavioral study

of political phenomena from empirical point of view but also prescribing the goals which states, governments, societies and citizens ought to pursue. Political theory also aims to generalize about the right conduct in the political life and about the legitimate use of power.

3. Political theory is concerned with the ethical or normative questions of political science:

Political theory is dealing with the normative questions of political science means what should be the nature of the state? What type of government will be best etc.? It is mainly focused on ‘_what ought to be’. But political science is a facts based empirical study and political theory deals with the normative and ethical part of this subject. Political theory is primarily concerned with the ‘_ought to be’ aspects of government, its objectives and nature, nature of state and citizens, the relationship between the state and the citizens and the scope of such a relationship. we can said that political science is concerned with the working and performance of institutions and organization whether their working is according to ethics or not but the political theory is concerned not with the what is possible to do but what ought to be. Political theory suggests the way and mean how the system and working can be improved for the betterment according to ethics and norms.

4. Political theory deals with the theoretical aspect of political science:

Political theories deal with the theoretical aspect of political science. To be sure, theories can grow too complex and abstract and depart from the real world, but without knowing theoretical perspective, we do not even know what questions to ask. Political theory in this sense is mainly a systematic thought about the objectives and nature of state and government, political activities, established political institutions and changes such institutions go through overtime and the ideal form of a politics. Some scholars use political theory in model formation for understanding real politics. While some others treat political theory as theoretical political science and believe that philosophical or epistemological analysis of any aspect of politics should be treated as political theory.

5. Subject matter of political science is analyzed by political theory:

Political science is a dynamic subject and it also interrelated with the other subjects of social sciences like economics, sociology, history, geography etc. So, its subject matter is comprehensive which have been analyzed by the political philosophers and political theorists. Political science and political theory play complementary role in respective spheres. In this sense, John Dunn claims that the purpose of political theory is to diagnose practical predicaments and to show us how best to confront them. Doing this,

he adds, requires us to develop the following three distinct skills: I. Ascertaining how we got to where we are and understating why things are this way. II. Deliberating about the kind of world we want to have. III. Judging how far, and through what actions and at what risk we can realistically hope to move this world as it now stands towards the way we might excusably wish it to be. So, Political science provides the matter to the political theory to analyze.

6. Political theory helps politics to control the social life:

Political science enables us to understand the causes of conflict and violence in society and gives us insights for preventing their outburst. In political theory, scientific analysis of political life enables us to understand and solve these problems of our social life. Political science like other sciences guides us to find remedies of political instability and various types of social crisis. Political theory systematically analyzes these problems and provides us vision.

7. Political science is mainly an institutional study but Political theory a conceptual study:

political science deals with the structure, performance, working and legal aspect of state, government, other all institutions and organizations but the political theory focused on the questions related to these institutions and organizations like what the state had been in the past. And what should be in future. After analyzed the facts about the working of institutions and circumstances political theory suggests how the facts should be organized. In political theory, political scientists test theories with the observations of the world and adjust theories to better reflect what they see. The accumulation of knowledge through science is nearly always a slow incremental process. The following sections outline several theoretical frameworks political scientists have used to understand the political world. The political theory on the basis of scientific analysis enunciates the 'ought to be' outlines of the state. In order to express such outlines it can even study the past and present of the state, but the objective of such study is to articulate the outlines of an ideal state.

7. Political theory is necessary to clarify the concepts in political science:

Political theory deals with the conceptual part of political science. Political theory seeks to understand, explain and analyze the political phenomena and prescribe ways and means to rectify the shortcomings. Political Theorist clarifies the meaning of political concepts by looking at how they are understood and used in ordinary language. They also debate and examine the diverse meanings and opinions in a systematic manner. So, we can say that to understand the political phenomena we must study the political theory because it is a deep study of many questions.

8. Political Science has many branches but political theory has not:

Political science has many branches like political thought, political philosophy, comparative politics, international politics etc. but political theory being a part of political science, is not an independent subject. Political theory has no branch of its own rather it itself is a sub field of political science. Political theory is a systematic and structured study of concepts inherent to politics. It is a subject of unitary character and its main function is to enunciate reliable theories after making scientific analysis of the subject-matter of political science.

Political theory is an important part of political science because it exposes us to systematic thinking on different concepts like justice, liberty etc so that we can polish our opinions and argue in an informed manner and for the sake of common interest. Such skills of debating rationally and communicating effectively are likely to be great assets in the global informational order.

2.5. SIGNIFICANCE OF POLITICAL THEORY:

Scientific analysis of political enables us to understand and sort out the problems of social life. Political theory helps us to remove the obstacles and suggest the remedies of political instabilities and social crisis.

Political theory helps us to criticize the evils of society and political theory facilitates to reconstruct the society. When find something wrong in society and polity we always look logical and rational grounds to criticize it and contemplate about the creation of a good society. A galaxy of political philosophers like Plato, Aristotle, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Marx etc have analyzed the prevailing evils of society and gave their proposals and schemes to reconstruct the society.

Political theory and philosophy helps the students of political science to clarify the various concepts. Because the clarification of concepts in each area of study whether science or philosophy is essential for the development of knowledge. So when we use the terms of common parlance in political discourse, it is very important to determine their technical meaning. Moreover the terms like authority, social class, liberty, equality, freedom and justice etc may be applied by different school of thought to indicate different ideas. Political theory tries to determine their precise meaning which should be acceptable to the upholders of different ideologies.

The tradition of political theory encourages a dignified debate between upholders of different points of view. Most of the political theorists from ancient to modern times have been dwelling on some common problems and giving us new insights. And all the functions of political theory have now become very important and urgent in present day

world where most of our pretentious global dimensions and they are being documented as the problems of humanity.

2.6. DEBATE ON THE DECLINE AND REVIVAL OF POLITICAL THEORY:

During the Middle of twentieth century many observers talked about the decline of the political theory. Some declared it as the Dog House. These discourses emerged due to the pessimistic and cynical view that the classical tradition in political theory was filled with value judgments and was devoid of empiricism. The logical positivism which emerged in 1930s criticized the normative theory. According to David Easton a prominent political scientist and behaviouralist, Political theory is concerned with some kind of historical form and had it lost its constructive roles. David Easton in his famous work *Political System: An Enquiry into the State of Political Science (1953)* emphasized that the traditional political theory was based on mere speculations.

There were two schools of thought about the development of political theory in contemporary period. One argues that there is decline of political theory and another argues against it. The debate on the decline of political theory appeared in 1950s and it joined by prominent political scientists like David Easton, Alfred Cobben, Seymour Lipset, Leo Straus, Dante Jermino, Johan Rawls, C.B. Macpherson, Christian Bay, Robert Nozick, Herbert Marcuse, Jurgen Habermas, Alasdair MacLyster and Micheal Walzer. The works of these writers had revived the grand tradition of political philosophy.

Political theory is considered as a study of the history of ideas during third decade of the twentieth century, particularly with the purpose to define the totalitarian communism and defend the liberal democracy. Some thinkers tried to establish a scientific political theory like Charles Marriam and Lasswell Kaplan. Their method of enquiry was description rather than prescription. On the other side, in the traditional sense political theory was revived in the works of some famous political scientists' like Hannah Arendt, Theodore Adorno, Herbert Marcues, Micheal Okeshott, Bertrand de Jouvenal and Eric Voegelin. These are in opposition of the commitment to liberal democracy, faith in science and faith in historical progress and also against political messianism and utopianism in politics. Micheal Okshott emphasized on the philosophical analysis of experience. He understood experience to be a concrete whole on different kinds of 'modes' and he outlined four principle modes of experience such as history, science, practice and poetry. Similarly, Juvenal outlined that politics essentially involves moral choice with the purpose of building and consolidating individuals. Besides, the Frankfurt school also contributed towards the revival of political theory. In a nutshell, it can be said that political theory is still relevant and alive as result of some of the great modern political thinkers.

2.6.1. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What is political theory?

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2. How political theory helps politics to control the social life?

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2.7. SUMMARY:

Now, we can sum up that political theory and political science both have their own scope. Political theory as a sub field of political science, systematically studies the questions of the discipline. Political theory is the study of state, government, power, influence and activity. It is a way of comprehending, describing, and explaining political reality. To some extent, it has the capacity to make predictions about things to come. The goal of the theory is to enhance the understanding. And great knowledge arises out of those insights which only the engaged minds, the quickened insights, are able to create. It can be said that there is a close relationship between political science and political theory and to separate them practically is a difficult work. It is now widely held that political like other social and natural sciences, enables us to strengthen our means but we will have to resort to political theory to determine our ends. Means and ends are interdependent. Hence, Political science and political theory play complimentary roles.

2.8. QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE

2.8.1. LONG ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Define Political Science. What is the difference between political science and political theory?
2. What do you mean by political theory? What is the relationship between political theory and political science?
3. What do you understand by the term Political theory and political science? What is the difference between both?
4. What do think about the political science and how it relates to political theory?
5. How would you distinguish political science from political theory?

2.8.2. SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Write two definitions of political theory.
2. Political theory is concerned with the normative questions of political science? Briefly explain.
3. How political theory helps to the social control?
4. Why political theory also termed as theoretical political science?

2.9. SUGGESTED READINGS

- Andrew Heywood, *Political Theory – An Introduction*, Palgrave MacMillan, New York, 2004
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BACHELOR OF ARTS

SEMESTER I

COURSE: PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

UNIT 3: RELATIONSHIP OF POLITICAL SCIENCE WITH HISTORY, ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY

STRUCTURE

3.0 Learning Objectives

3.1 Key Words

3.2. Introduction

3.3. Political Science and History

3.3.1. Contribution of History to Political Science

3.3.2. Contribution of Political Science to History

3.3.3. Difference between Political Science and History

3.3.4. Check Your Progress I

3.4. Political Science and Economics

3.4.1. Contribution of Economics to Political Science

3.4.2. Contribution of Political to Economics

3.4.3. Difference between Political Science and Economics

3.4.4. Check Your Progress II

3.5 Political Science and Sociology

3.5.1. Contribution of Sociology to Political Science

3.5.2. Contribution of Political Science to Sociology

3.5.3. Difference between Political Science and Sociology

3.5.4. Check your Progress III

3.6. Summary

3.7. Questions for Practice

3.7.1. Long Answer Questions

3.7.2. Short Answer Questions

3.8. Suggested Readings

3.0. LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After the completion of unit, you will be able to:-

- To discuss the meaning and nature of major disciplines of social sciences.
- To understand the mutual relationship of different disciplines of social sciences.
- To find out the main differences between various disciplines of social sciences.

3.1. KEYWORDS: Inter-Relationship, Discipline, Phenomena, Interdependence

3.2. INTRODUCTION:

Social sciences together cover the whole social life of man. Each of them covers one specialised field or aspect of man's social behaviour. Hence, we have various disciplines in social sciences, which may be regarded as the petals of the same flowers of society. The study of political science is only the study of one aspect of man's integrated social life. Political science therefore, cannot be isolated from other social sciences. Sidgwick says that it is always useful for the proper understanding of any subject of inquiry to establish its relationship with other disciplines and to see clearly what elements of its reasoning it has to take from them and what in its turn it may claim to give them. We cannot place precise and rigid boundaries around social sciences because man's social activities cannot be completely compartmentalized. The different social sciences share many areas of inquiry with one another. Each social science supplements and fortifies the rest. All are interdependent and inter-related. Many problems are the common concern of all the social sciences, each approaching them from its own view point. Political Science touches the other social sciences at various points, and therefore for the proper understanding of inter-relationship of Political science with other social sciences has to be examined.

3.3. POLITICAL SCIENCE AND HISTORY

History is an account not only of events, but of conditions and causes also. The relationship between History and Political Science is very close and intimate. It arises from the fact that the state and its institutions are a product of historical evolution. They cannot be fully comprehended without knowledge of their origin and development. To

fully comprehend Political Science in its fundamental relations, it must be studied historically. The converse is also true, i.e., to interpret History in its true significance we must study that politically. As studies, Political Science and History are mutually contributory and supplementary. Emphasizing the aspect of the relationship between Political Science and History, Professor Seeley said, "Politics is vulgar when not liberalised by History, and History fades into mere literature when it loses sight of its relation to Politics." The mutual relationship of the disciplines is very aptly described in the following couplet of Seeley: "History without Political Science has no fruit. Political Science without History has no root." The mutually contributory and supplementary nature of Political Science and History can be discussed as under:

3.3.1. CONTRIBUTION OF HISTORY TO POLITICAL SCIENCE

- (i) **History provides the raw material to Political Science:** History which can be considered as a record keeper of past events, furnishes us the data for comparison and induction. Political Science utilizes the material collected from History to form the basis of the present. History is the basis of Political Science. The state and political institutions have a historical base. Political Science is indebted to history for much of the material whereon it works. History places at the disposal of Political Science numerous facts concerning the origin and development of social and political ideas and institutions. History explains the institutions in their historical setting. It is impossible to make a scientific study of any political institution without any reference to its past history.
- (ii) **History as a laboratory of Political Science.** Students of Political Science are denied the privilege of making experiments in laboratories; they have got the facility for studying the thousands of experiments which are being carried out in the great laboratory of History. A modern student of Political Science may study the history of the English Revolution of 1688, the French Revolution of 1789 and deduces from it the general laws which give rise to a revolution. He may inquire the merits and defects of dictatorship from the fate of the countries which had adopted this particular form of government in the past. Thus, History serves as a laboratory for Political Science, since the historical experiments help a political scientist to draw general conclusion for this subject.
- (iii) **History plays a role of teacher for Political Science.** We must remember that History is not a mere chronology of facts and events. It not merely record events but also analyzes causes and points out certain tendencies. The study of History becomes fruitful only when political significance of events and movements is properly appreciated. The experiments recorded in History serve as a beacon to war against the adoption of certain institutions of laws, which have proved disastrous to the well - being of mankind,

- (iv) **History helps to understand the changes of Political System:** Changes occur in Political System because of many factors. With the help of History, the students of political science can understand and analyze the progress or decay of any particular political system in the world. Crisis of legitimacy occurs in modern states. Democratic regimes are replaced by authoritarian or military dictatorship. Why do all such things happen? History gives an answer to these questions and with the help of such answers, a political scientist can make generalization for building an ideal political structure.

3.3.2. CONTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL SCIENCE TO HISTORY:

Political Science gives to History as much as it receives from it. The following facts will bear out this connection:

- (I) **Historical events have political bearings:** History remains incomplete if the political bearing of events and movements are not appreciated. Prof. Seeley has rightly remarked, "History fades into mere literature when it loses sight of its relation in politics." For instance, the study of the history of British Rule in India remains incomplete if it is not studied in the context of the important political events of that time. The history of the partition of India cannot be truly appreciated without the full analysis and understanding of the British policy of "divide and rule", which was the hallmark of their policies and diplomacy in India.
- (II) **Impact of Political ideologies on History:** Important political events and political ideologies do change the course of History. None can deny the impact of Rousseau's liberal philosophy on the events and course of the French Revolution of 1789. The Russian revolution of 1917 occurred mainly under the influence of Marxian philosophy. Karl Marx's ideology of Socialism and Communism has changed the course of world history. Thus, without analysing and understanding the role played by political ideologies, the study of many historical events will remain incomplete.

3.3.3. DIFFERENCE BETWEEN POLITICAL SCIENCE AND HISTORY

History deals with concrete and matter of fact things. It presents to us not only facts, but the causal connection between the facts. Political science is speculative as well, since it deals with what the State ought to be. Hence, it would be an exaggeration to state as Freeman does, "History is past politics and politics is present history." The following facts bear out the main points of difference between the two:

- (I) **The scope of History is wider than that of Political Science:** History is the record of past events and movements, their causes and inter-relations. It includes a survey of conditions and developments in economic, religious,

intellectual, social and political affairs. But Political Science is concerned with the evolution and functioning of political institutions and the facts which bear directly or indirectly with state and government. Thus, the scope of Political Science is narrower than that of History.

(II) **Political Science is not concerned with all History.** The history of art, science, language, customs, religions, industries, etc., has little relation to politics. The student of politics is not interested in the whole range of history which abounds in a variety of materials. Only a portion of such materials as is politically meaningful and significant is useful to him. From a variety of historical events, he would pick and choose only those that have relevance to his angle of research. The cultural, literary and military achievements would generally be beyond the scope of the investigation of a political researcher.

(III) **Political Science is analytical, while History is descriptive.** There is a difference in the respective methods of studying History and Political Science. The descriptive or narrative method is adopted in the study of History, while the study of Political Science is reflective and analytical. Political Science is mainly reflective and treats of 'Ideas' and 'Theories'. History, on the other hand, is primarily descriptive and deals with facts. History is not concerned with the formation of theories, as the reason for this is that History is narrative rather than reflective. It is not concerned with the philosophical aspect of social thought. But Political Science is concerned with this aspect. It uses historical facts to deduce general laws or theories.

3.3.4. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I

- 1. Who said –Political without history have no root, history without political science have no fruit.¶?
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- 2. History is past politics and political science is present history. Explain
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3.4. POLITICAL SCIENCE AND ECONOMICS:

Political Science and Economics are intimately connected. Till recent years, economics was regarded as a branch of Political Science. Aristotle, in classifying the States, declared that the key fact is whether the State is ruled by the rich or the poor. Modern

economists do not agree with the older point of view. They regard Economics as a separate discipline, which seeks to inquire how man gets his income and how he uses it. The relationship between these two social sciences has always been very close. The name which indicated subordination to Political Science has been discarded. Under the modern name of Economics, the subject has undergone a new orientation and has acquired a new status and importance. Although Economics is now regarded as a separate social science, yet the relationship between Economics and Political Science continues to be most intimate. The two studies are interdependent. The interdependence of the two sciences can be illustrated in a number of ways.

3.4.1 CONTRIBUTION OF ECONOMICS TO POLITICAL SCIENCE:

Economics is mainly concerned with the activities of man in regard to production, distribution, exchange and consumption of money or commodities. Alfred Marshall a renowned economist considers that "on the one side the study of wealth and on the other hand the more important side a part of the study of man." Economics proves helpful to Political Science in many ways. In fact both of them have to go hand in hand as inseparables though they are distinct social sciences. We may better regard them as the two sides of the same coin.

- (I) Very closely connected:** The close connection between Political Science and Economics springs out of the fact that the state has an economic aspect and the political order is interlinked with the economic order. The form of government and the sphere of its activities are profoundly influenced by the nature and form of the economic organization of the society. If there is a change in the economic system of the society, the political system suffers a parallel transformation. The change from the pastoral to the agricultural order and that from the agricultural to the industrial were followed by significant transformation in the political organization.
- (II) Institutions of state are influenced by economic ideas.** Political institutions are influenced by economic ideas, activities and conditions. The economic theories of Karl Marx have profoundly affected political ideas and movements in the world. Economic causes underlie most political movements and determine their direction. The entire socialist movement which has exercised influence on the political movements and thinking in the last and the present centuries, is wholly economic in its motivation and nature.
- (III) Economic Force shapes Political structure.** The basic economic organization of society shapes and determines its political structure. It is best illustrated by the difference between the economic organization of the U.S.A. and that of China. In the former country there is private ownership of means of production, while the latter is a socialist society and it is organized on the principle of social

ownership and control of the means of production. Because of the different economic organizations there is a fundamental distinction between the political structures of the two countries. The economic organization of a state deeply influences its political power - allocation. Those who control the economic lever are apt to exert pressure on the functions of government.

- (IV) **Economists Plans for the welfare of the people:** Adam Smith, the English classical economist, referred to two important objects of Political Economy: (a) to provide sufficient revenue for the people and (b) to supply the state with the revenue sufficient for the public administration. Modern state is a welfare state. It aims at promoting all - round development of man and society. These measures require the implementation of socio-economic programs for which resources needed. State seeks the help of economists for raising the required resources.
- (V) **Economic conditions influence the policies of the government:** Major duty of every government is to maintain peace and security. But no state can accomplish this task if the poverty and unemployment are prevalent on a big scale. It is now universally admitted that without the satisfaction of the minimum basic needs - food, clothing and shelter. Crime, immortality, disease, inadequate educational facilities are all to a large extent result of poverty which works in a vicious circle. Such conditions resultant of economic factors is bound to affect materially the policies and activities of the government.
- (VI) **Some political ideologies have economic roots:** Contemporary political theories, such as Socialism, Communism, etc., stem from economic roots. They are primarily concerned with economic problems. These theories are inspired by the supreme objective of eradication of some economic evils. But they require drastic changes in the political set up since their main objective can be accomplished only through the policies of government.
- (VII) **Successful working of democracy depends upon economic condition of state:** Economic prosperity is the pre-requisite for the success of democracy. Political rights are meaningless for a starving man '. Right to vote cannot have any charm for an unemployed and poverty - ridden person. Without ensuring good and sound economic conditions of the people, real democracy can hardly be possible.

3.4.2 CONTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL SCIENCE TO ECONOMICS:

The dependency between Political Science and Economics is mutual. Political Science helps or contributes to Economics as much as it receives from it. The following facts will bring out the contribution of Political Science to Economics:

- (I) **Welfare state and economic functions:** The modern welfare state attaches greater importance to the promotion of all - round welfare of the individual in society. Therefore, the state tries to increase the production of wealth and stabilize the mechanism of exchange and prices. If necessary, the government also arranges for the import of essential commodities, resorts to rationing and control over distribution. The control of currency, banking, foreign exchange and money - market also comes within the purview of modern welfare government. The state details out the policies regarding taxation, marketing, production priorities, exports and imports and nationalization. It undertakes the responsibility of fair distribution of wealth by removing glaring inequalities of income.
- (II) **Political institutions influence the economic condition of society:** Production and distribution of wealth are largely influenced by the structure and policies of the government. For example, the system of production and distribution of wealth in China is different from that of the United States of America. Under the American political system privatisation is encouraged. But under the Chinese political system production and distribution in the private sector is not allowed at a vast scale. Under the Chinese political system only collectivist planning and state enterprises are permitted. The economic textures differ in these two countries because of the different structure and policies of their governments.
- (III) **The main reasons for problems of state are economic in nature:** As a matter of fact, the main problems of every state are economic in nature. The Second World War was characterized as a war of democracy against dictatorship. But the major causes of the war were economic. The rise of Nazism was also due to economic crippling of Germany by the victorious powers after the First World War. The burning questions of today's politics, viz. the relations of the state to industries, its control on economic order, its policies towards labour and capital, etc., are all economic issues intertwined in the political issues.
- (IV) **Economic problems are solved by the State:** In today's world, relations between capital and labour, questions of wages, conditions of work, trade unions, capital, Labour conflicts, trade pacts, tariff currency and exchange problems are mainly economic problems. But they are solved only through state action. Whatever be the solution, it has important bearing on the economic conditions from which the problems spring.
- (V) **Economic system is planned, controlled and regulated by the State:** Economics is a study of human action in relation to production and consumption of wealth. It concentrates on the mode of production, consumption, exchange and distribution of wealth within the community. All

these aspects of the economic system are planned, controlled and regulated by the laws of the state.

3.4.3. DIFFERENCE BETWEEN POLITICAL SCIENCE AND ECONOMICS:

Political Science and Economics are two independent but ancillary social sciences. Man in society is a common factor in the study of both these sciences. It is the welfare of man and society for which each strives. Despite this, there are a few differences between the two.

- (i) **Difference in subject matter:** Popularly speaking, economics is the science of wealth and the study of human action in relation to wealth. It focuses on the mode of production, consumption, exchange and distribution of wealth within the community, but Political Science is the study of the state and government and it focuses on the political process of a country. Mainly economics deals with commodities whereas Political Science is concerned with human beings.
- (ii) **Economics is more advanced and accurate than those of Political Science:** In recent years there has been phenomenal development in economics and as a 'Science' it is more advanced than Political Science. Though, neither Political Science nor Economics can attain exact mathematical accuracy, yet it is the boast of Economics that it is becoming more and more of a science with the help of Mathematics and Statistics. The methodology used in Economics gives more accurate results than the one used in Political Science. Mathematical and statistical methods are used in Economics. The results obtained from such methods are more accurate and reliable. Mathematically, techniques cannot be and correctly used with exact accuracy in Political Science.

3.4.4. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II

1. How economic conditions influence the policies of the government?
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2. How Economic system is planned, controlled and regulated by the State?
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3.5. POLITICAL SCIENCE AND SOCIOLOGY:

The various sciences dealing with man as a social entity are called the social sciences, and the most fundamental of them all is Sociology. Sociology is the general social

science. It deals with the fundamental facts of social life. The relation of Sociology to Political Science is fairly obvious. During the past two decades collaboration between Political Science and sociology has been increasingly emphasised and the sociological foundation of politics stressed. It is brought out clearly in the following words of Professor Franklin H. Giddings, "To teach the theory of the state to men who have not learned the first principles of Sociology is like teaching Astronomy or Thermodynamics to men who have not learned the Newtonian Laws of Motion." Giddings has stressed upon the dependence of Political Science on Sociology and it can be seen from the following description:

3.5.1. CONTRIBUTION OF SOCIOLOGY TO POLITICAL SCIENCE:

- (i) **We can understand the origin and evolution of State with the help of Sociology:** Entire basis of Political Science rests on the established truth that Man is a social animal'. The state came into existence because of social nature of man. In order to understand the state thoroughly, we must know the entire process of the evolution of the state. The state did not come into existence in isolation. Many social forces must have influenced its evolution. Burgess has rightly said, "State is a continuous development of human society out of a grossly imperfect beginning through crude but improving forms of manifestation towards a perfect and universal organization of mankind." Thus, Political Science has to depend upon Sociology to understand the impact of the social and allied forces on the origin and development of the State.
- (ii) **Sociology supplies material to Political Science:** Sociology is concerned mainly with social life in general and its development. It analyzes and describes society and its social laws as they have existed in all ages and climes. Sociology investigates into the origin and growth of groups, their forms, laws, customs, institutions, modes of life and their contribution to human culture and civilization. Sociology, therefore, supplies to Political Science both valuable material and guidance in judging the worth of laws, customs and institutions and in regulating future social relationships.
- (iii) **Helpful in regulating the problem of social control:** The problems relating to society are perhaps the most difficult of the various problems which face modern governments. Customs of a society plays significant role in solving these problems. A state, however powerful may be, cannot make laws which are opposed to social customs and traditions of the people. If it makes, these are sure to be disobeyed by the mass of the people. Sociology, thus, supplies to Political Science useful information about customs of the society. The state pays due respect to them while framing the laws to deal with the problems of social control.
- (iv) **Emergence of a new discipline of Political Sociology.** During the past about five decades, importance is being given to the sociological foundations of politics. A revolution in the study of Political Science came in the beginning of the twentieth

Century. Because of that a new discipline known by the name of Political Sociology has come up. Political Sociology explains the sociological interpretations of political phenomena. Factors like kinship, Racialism, tribalism, religion, caste, linguistic affinity and the like form part of the study of Sociology. But their role in the political process of the country cannot be ignored in an empirical study of a political system.

3.5.2. CONTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL SCIENCE TO SOCIOLOGY

The above explanation is one aspect of the issue. It explains the dependence of Political Science on Sociology. The other aspect relates to the dependence of Sociology on Political Science. It is discussed ahead:

- (i) **State affects social process:** Social process is the subject-matter of Sociology and it is profoundly affected by the state, which is the subject matter of Political Science. State is the highest of all associations and regulates our external social behaviour. The state defines in terms of its laws, the way of life to which both individuals and other social organizations must conform. Hence, without knowledge of the facts regarding the nature, organization and activities of the state a student of Sociology cannot have a clear understanding of the meaning and nature of man's social behaviour. A sociologist can get such knowledge only from Political Science.
- (ii) **State eliminates social evils:** Modern time is characterized as an era of welfare state. Such a state performs not only political and legal functions but welfare functions too. The elimination of social evils is one of them. Thus, when Sociology analyzes the various aspects of social life, it cannot overlook the useful role played by the state in cleaning the social life. Without the state action the abolition of social evils is almost impossible.
- (iii) **State is a major agent of social change:** State is considered as the main agency of social change. No one can deny the fact that the policies of the government are largely responsible for changing the general social pattern in any society. For example, in Indian society the mitigation of the practice of untouchability, to uplift the people of scheduled castes and the decrease in the rate of child marriages, etc., are mainly due to the progressive social policies of the Indian government. Thus, Sociology cannot ignore politics if it wants to understand, remould and improve the social pattern.

3.5.3. DIFFERENCE BETWEEN POLITICAL SCIENCE AND SOCIOLOGY:

In spite of close affinity between Political Science and Sociology, the study of both the sciences is distinct. Their problems are by no means the same. The province of Political

Science is not co - extensive with that of Sociology. The following lines of demarcation can be drawn between the two:

- (i) **The scope Sociology is Wider:** Sociology is a study of the evolution of the society from its very birth. It attempts to discover the facts and laws of social life as a whole. On the other hand, Political Science is interested in a particular aspect of society as an organized political unit. Sociology treats of all forms, civilized and uncivilized, of human associations, but Political Science has mainly with one form of that of Sociology human association, namely the state. Thus, the scope of Political Science is narrower than that of Sociology.
- (ii) **Political Science is a part of Sociology:** Sociology is the science of society. It deals with the origin, development and structure of society. Study of social traditions, customs, origin and civilization fall within its purview. According to R.G. Gettell, –Sociology is a general social science. It deals with the social aggregate and attempts to discover the facts and laws of social life as a whole. But Political Science is mainly concerned with the political aspect of man's life which is a part of the whole social life. "Thus, Sociology is a general social science and Political Science is only a part of the sum total of social life.
- (iii) **Sociology begins at an earlier stage:** Society is prior in its origin to the state. Man was found to be a social animal long before he turned to be a political animal. Political Science assumes to start with that man is a political animal. It does not attempt to explain as Sociology does, how and why he became a political animal. Political life of man begins much later than his social life. Sociology is, thus, prior to Political Science.
- (iv) **Sociology is general Social Science but Political Science is a particular social science:** Sociology is generally regarded as the fundamental and general social science. It embraces social life or the life of society as a whole. But Political Science is a specialized social science dealing with the political life of a man, which is one part of his total social life. Sociology is the general Social Science in the sense that it studies all the social relations of human life- legal, political, social, religious, economic, etc. Political Science, on the other hand, is concerned with state and government which are highly organized institutions. Thus, the difference between Sociology and Political Science is the difference between general and particular social sciences.
- (v) **Difference in nature:** Another point of difference between Political Science and Sociology is worth noticing. Political Science describes not merely the present structure and organization of the state and the forms it assumed in the past, it also aims at explaining what the state ought to be. It seeks to determine the ideal form of political organization. This normative aspect is entirely missing from Sociology. Sociology is primarily concerned with tracing the origin and social conventions of mankind. It is not concerned with their future ideal forms.

(vi) **In Sociology the unit of study is individual, while in Political Science it is the state.** According to Garner, in Sociology the unit of investigation is the individual viewed as a social creature. Sociology studies individual not merely as a social animal but also as a neighbour, a citizen, a co-worker, etc. But in Political Science, the unit of study is the state as distinct from the tribe or the family. Its primary subject is a definite portion of society which has become organized politically.

3.5.4. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS III

1. How Sociology supplies material to Political Science?

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2. How State is a major agent of social change?

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3.6. SUMMARY

To conclude that all the disciplines have their unique importance and can't be said that one is more important than other. Political Science and History are two distinct disciplines with separate problems, yet they have a common subject in the phenomena of the State, and, as such, their spheres touch at many points and overlap at others. The two sciences have no doubt close affinities with each other, but their status as separate social sciences should always be borne in mind. Though History and Political Science are inter - related and mutually complementary, yet the two have distinct features of their own. Political Science is pre - eminently reflective and deals with ideas and abstractions, while History is narrative and deals with facts. The scope of the former is limited to political institutions, but of history embraces all aspects of human activity. Leacock succinctly remarks that some of History is part of Political Science, the circle of their contents overlapping an area enclosed by each.

Economics and Political Science are two independent but supplementary social sciences. The fundamental basis of the two sciences stands in close relation to each other. It is recommended by the Cambridge Round Table, organized at the instance of the UNESCO in April 1952, that Economics should be linked with Political Science in any well-designed course of studies. Similarly, the UNESCO Report on the Teaching of Economics reported that some study of political theory and institutions should form part of an economic curriculum.

Sociology and political Science are mutually dependent. They are closely associated in the study of man's social life. Every sociologist is in need of some

knowledge about political science, and every political scientist finds knowledge of sociology indispensable. In spite of their differences the fields of Sociology and Political Science often overlap. For instance, the social institution of marriage is primarily a concern of Sociology. At the same time, the laws of the state regarding child marriage, monogamy, divorce, etc. bring the institution within the purview of Political Science too. In fact, the two sciences touch at innumerable points.

3.7. QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE

3.7.1 LONG ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Critically examines the relationship of Political Science with History?
2. Explain major differences between Political Science and History?
3. Discuss the relationship of Political Science with Economics?
4. What are the major differences between Political Science and Economics?
5. Discuss the relationship of Political Science with Sociology?
6. Discuss the differences between Political Science and Sociology?

3.7.2 SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Is Political Science is a part of Sociology?
2. How states solve the economic problems?
3. History as a laboratory of Political Science.

3.8. SUGGESTED READINGS:

- A.C. Kapoor, Principles of Political Science, S. Chand & Company Pvt. Ltd.,2014
- J.C. Johari, Principles of Political Science, Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 2019
- Andrew Heywood, Political Theory- An Introduction, Palgrave McMillan, New York,2004
- R.C. Aggarwal, Political Theory, S. Chand & Company Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 2016

BACHELOR OF ARTS

SEMESTER I

COURSE: PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

UNIT 4: STATE: DEFINITION, ELEMENTS AND ITS DISTINCTION FROM GOVERNMENT, SOCIETY AND ASSOCIATION

STRUCTURE

4.0 Learning Objectives

4.1 Keywords

4.2 Introduction

4.3 Definition of State

4.4 Essential elements of State

4.4.1. Population

4.4.2. Territory

4.4.3. Government

4.4.4. Sovereignty

4.5. Non-Essential Elements of State

4.5.1. Check Your Progress I

4.6. State and Government

4.6.1. Distinction between State and Government

4.6.2 Check your Progress II

4.7. State and Society

4.7.1. Distinction between State and Society

4.7.2 Check Your Progress III

4.8. State and Association

4.8.1. Differences between State and Association:

4.8.2. Check your Progress IV

4.9. Summary

4.10. Questions for Practice

4.10.1. Long Answer Questions

4.10.2. Short Answer Questions

4.11. Suggested Readings

4.0. LEARNING OBJECTIVES:

After the completion of this unit, you will be able to

- To understand the meaning, nature and elements of State.
- To discuss the meaning and functions of Government, Society and Association.
- To differentiate the State from Government, Society and Association.

4.1. KEYWORDS: Sovereignty, Territory, Population, Membership

4.2 INTRODUCTION:

The State is a natural, necessary and a universal institution. It is natural because it is rooted in the reality of human nature. It is necessary, because as Aristotle said, 'The State comes into existence originating in the bare needs of life and continuing in existence for the sake of good life'. Machiavelli was an Italian political thinker and he used the term 'State' for the first time in the current sense in his famous book "The Prince". To quote him, "All the powers which have had and have authority over men are states and are either monarchies or republics." In modern times, the term State is used in various senses. It is used as a synonym for Nation, Government, Society or Country. The term is also wrongly applied to certain political organizations which are not regarded as States. The component units forming the federation of the United States of America and also of the Indian Units are termed as 'States'.

All these terms have definite meanings in Political Science. But the term 'State' has more specific and definite meaning which has little in common with most of its various ordinary meanings. In Political Science, the term 'State' should be used in the scientific sense to mean an assemblage of human beings living in a particular territory under one organized government, the sovereign power of which is free from external control.

4.3. DEFINITION OF STATE:

Though the State is a necessary and a universal institution, no two writers agree on its definition. The important definitions of state are:

- Aristotle defined it as "a union of families and villages having for its end a perfect and self - sufficing life by which we mean a happy and honourable life.
- According to Dr. Woodrow Wilson," State is a people organized for law within a definite territory. "
- In the words of Burgess," The State is a particular portion of mankind viewed as an organized unity. "
- According to W.W. Willoughby, State exists" wherever there can be discovered in any community of men a supreme authority exercising a control over the social actions of individuals and groups of individuals and itself subject to no such regulation ".
- The German writer Syndal says. "A State comes into existence whenever a number of men who have taken possession of a part of the earth's surface, unite themselves together under a higher will."

There are other definitions also, given by many scholars and writers, but none of them is comprehensive in as much as each one of them emphasizes only a particular or a few aspects of the State and neglects the other. A correct definition of the State must include the essential elements of the state and explains its true nature. Dr. Garner's definition of the State is regarded by many as the best: "The State, as a concept of Political Science and Public Law, 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. In this definition of Dr. Garner, we find that all elements like political, physical and spiritual are present. First, we find that the people must form one political unit obeying the dictates of Government duly constituted. Secondly, they must live in a definite territory. Thirdly, they must be independent of foreign control and fourthly, they must be guided by the collective will as expressed through the common supreme authority, Keeping these essential elements in view, we can define the State as a territorial community or society, living under a Government, and claiming internal supremacy and external independence - in other words, possessing both internal and external sovereignty.

4.4. ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF STATE:

After examining several important definitions of state, we conclude that the state has four essential constituent elements or attributes. The essential elements of the State are, first, a number of people, or population, second, a definite territory, third, an organization unifying the people, or Government, and fourth supremacy in internal matters and independence from external control, or sovereignty. The first two of these elements constitute the physical or material bases of the State, while the last two forms

are its political bases. Each of these four elements or attributes of the State are elucidated below:

4.4.1. POPULATION:

Population is a very essential element of state, and it is obvious that there can be no state without population. State is meant for human beings and not vice versa. Population is inevitably a basic requirement. No hard and fast rule can be made about the exact population a state should have. J W. Garner says: The nearest approach to a safe rule is to say that population must be sufficient to provide a governing body and a number of persons to be governed, and of course sufficient to support a state organization. Aristotle favouring a medium sized population said that the population should be large enough to be self-sufficient and at the same time small enough to be efficiently ruled. A very small number of people cannot form a state, if it is to function properly. It is ridiculous to imagine that 25 persons can form a state. Greek thinkers who were influenced by the city states of Athens and Sparta believed that the population should be neither too small nor too big. Plato put the ideal number at 5,040 only. The opinion of thinkers like Plato and Rousseau has no validity now. An increase or decrease of population within limits does not affect the status of a state, though it may change the standard of living and strength of a state. In the modern world, the population of states varies greatly from one country to another like the few thousands of Monaco to the many millions of China, India and the United States. No limit either theoretical or practical can be laid down in this respect. However, it is desirable that the population of a State should not be very large or very small. It should be large enough to be self - sufficient and small enough to permit good government.

4.4.2. TERRITORY:

Without a fixed territory there can be no state. The size of the territory of a state cannot be fixed. As in the case of population, no definite limit can be laid down for the territory of a state. The modern States vary greatly in respect of territory. The defunct Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics was the largest State in size. Its area was more than ten million square miles, i.e., one sixth of the world. On the other hand, the State of San Marino has an area of few square miles and the State of Monaco has only 4 square miles. However, it is obvious that the territory should be adequate both in resources and area to provide material prosperity to its citizens. The resources within it should be sufficient to meet the needs of defence and of an efficient system of administration. In other words, the State should be Viable. The territory as a constituent element of the State refers to a particular region of the earth's surface which is within its exclusive jurisdiction. Under international usage, land, water and air space comprise the territory

of a State. The territorial sovereignty of a State extends over the land with its geographical limits, and over its rivers and lakes. Generally, it extends to a distance of three miles of the sea from the coast. In practice, however, this maritime jurisdiction is sought to be extended further by the States. The authority of the State extends also to the air space above its territory.

4.4.3. GOVERNMENT:

The purpose for which people live together cannot be realized unless they are properly organised and accept certain rules of conduct. The agency created to enforce such rules of conduct and to ensure obedience is called government. Therefore, to maintain law and order, to punish law breakers, to protect law abiding citizens and to promote the general welfare an organization called Government is not only necessary but also inevitable. "Government is an essential instrument of the State." Government is, in fact, the concrete outward manifestation of the State. It is visible instrument of state power. We can consider government as the face of the State. The State and Government are sometimes treated as synonymous, but the two are not identical. Government is one of the essential elements of the State and the State cannot and does not exist without a Government. However, the form and structure of the Government may differ and vary.

4.4.4. SOVEREIGNTY:

Sovereignty of the State is its most essential and distinguishable feature. When a State is deprived of it, the State is reduced to the position of other organizations or associations. Sovereignty is supposed to be the absolute power inherent in a State which is free from any outside control. In fact, sovereignty is the hallmark of the State. Sovereignty denotes supreme and final legal authority above and beyond which no legal power exists. It implies that the State is not subject to the control by any other State or authority within its own territory or outside. Sovereignty has two aspects - internal and external. Internal sovereignty means supremacy of the State over all individuals and associations of individuals within the area of its jurisdiction. Everyone there must obey laws of the State and only the government is competent to apply physical coercion. External sovereignty of the State implies that it is free from the control of any other State or political authority. If the State accepts any obligations and restrictions on its freedom of action in its interactional relation it is supposed to do so voluntarily and not because it is compelled to do so by an authority higher than itself. If it accepts, under external compulsion, foreign control on its authority it is then not a State in the technical sense of the term.

4.5. NON-ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF STATE:

Apart from the four elements discussed in the preceding analysis, several other elements of State are given by some of the writers. For instance Burgess gives comprehensiveness, exclusiveness and permanence as peculiar characteristics of the State, with sovereignty as the most essential principle.

- Comprehensiveness means that State embraces all persons and associations of persons within the given territory.
- Exclusiveness means that there can be one and only one organization of the State and permanence means, whatever the form of government may be the State always continues to exist. Governments change from time to time. One government may be subdued by another or disappear by being absorbed into another, but mankind must continue to live within a State.
- International law speaks about one more aspect of the State. According to it, a state must be recognized by other States.
- Recognition is generally given by other States when a State has the power and will to fulfil its obligations to other States. In a world characterized by mutual interdependence of the States international recognition is considered to be an important criterion of perfect Statehood.

Thus, our discussion of elements of the State leads us to the conclusion that every State must have its population, a definite territory, a duly established government and sovereignty. The absence of any of these elements denies to it the status of Statehood. Accordingly, the term 'State generally used for the constituent units in a federal system, of government is a misnomer. None of the constituent units of a federal system is sovereign. They possess the first three elements and are autonomous in their own spheres and jurisdiction. But autonomy is not sovereignty and lack of sovereignty gives them no position to rank as States. Regarding other elements of the state it may be said that most of them are implied in the four essential elements of the state. The element of international recognition has not yet grown to be as important as the other elements.

4.5.1. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS- I

1. What are the essential elements of State?

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2. Write down the Non-Essential elements of the State?

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4.6. STATE AND GOVERNMENT:

The terms "State" and "Government" are very often used interchangeably as if there is no difference between them. People generally use them in an identical sense; Louis XIV of France confused State with Government when he said "I am the State". He could claim that he was the government as he was an absolute monarch and all governmental authority was vested in him. But he himself could not claim to be State as the State is altogether a different concept. Some political philosophers like Hobbes employed the terms State and Government as if they were identical in meaning. Even in ordinary parlance we often find that the two terms are used interchangeably. It is most noticeable when a classification of governments is mistaken for classification of States or when acts of government are treated as if these were the acts of the State. There are vital differences between the state and government. In order to understand fundamental differences a clear elucidation of the definition of the two terms is very much essential. Government is the organization or machinery of the State. It includes all those persons who are occupied in expressing or administering the will of the State. It is the sum total of all the legislative, executive and judicial bodies in the central and local organs. In its broader sense, the Government is the sum total of those organizations that exercise the sovereign powers of the State. Government is, thus, a political organization or an agency through which the will of the state is expressed, formulated and executed.

4.6.1. DISTINCTION BETWEEN STATE AND GOVERNMENT:

With the help of following points we can understand the distinction between the State and the Government:

1. Government is only one of the four elements of the State.

Government is only a constituent element of the State. It is only one of its four characteristics. According to Dr. Garner, "The state is a sovereign authority, while the government is the collective name for the agency, magistracy or organization through which the will of the state is formulated, expressed and realized." Without a Government the State becomes a non-entity and is no longer a State. The will of the State is formulated and expressed only through the Government. Government is an essential element of the State, but it is different from it.

2. The Government is narrower than the State.

The State is co-extensive with the total population living in its territory, but the number of people who constitute the Government is much smaller. The State includes the whole body of people, whereas the Government includes only those who are elected or nominated by the people and are engaged in expressing and enforcing the will of the State.

3. Government is included in the State.

The State is an all - embracing organization. It draws within its ambit all the citizens and the government also. To quote Maclver, "When we speak of the state, we mean the organism of which Government is the administrative organ. A state has a constitution, a code of laws, a way of setting up its government, a body of citizens. When we think of this whole structure we think of the state ". Thus, Government is eventually included in the State.

4. The State is more or less permanent, Government is temporary.

Hugo Grotious once said, "States are immortal." Though States are not immortal in the literal sense of the term, yet, State is far more durable than the Government. A State remains a State so long as it continues to have all its essential elements. But Governments are temporary. They can be changed through periodic elections or through revolutions. Changes in the personnel and even in the form of Government do not affect the existence of the State. Death of a monarch or a ruler or the overthrow of a Government through peaceful or revolutionary means does not mean the extinction of the State. It implies that changes in the form of Government do not constitute a change in the State.

5. The State is largely an abstraction, while the Government is concrete.

The State is merely a concept which cannot be perceived by our senses. It is something abstract, and can only be understood and not seen. Thus, State is an abstraction. On the other hand, it is something tangible and definite. In the day - to - day life, it is the Government which matters. Government is the representative or the agency of the will and power of the State. It is with it that the people come into contact and have their dealings. The State is a concept, an idea without a physical or concrete form but Government is a definite group of persons who run the administration and act in the name of the State.

6. All States are identical, but forms of Government vary.

Forms of Government differ from State to State and from time to time, but all States are essentially alike. The form of the State is one and universal with its four essential elements, i.e., population, territory, Government and sovereignty. All states, whether large or small, must possess these four constituent elements. Unlike the state, Government exhibits different forms, such as monarchy, aristocracy, democracy, unitary and federal, parliamentary and presidential.

7. Sovereignty belongs to the State, not to Government.

Sovereignty is an exclusive characteristic of the state, whereas Government does not have such characteristic. Whatever authority or power belongs to the Government, it is delegated by the State. The power of the State is absolute and original, but that of the Government is limited and delegated. The State can at pleasure increase or decrease this power. Legally speaking, the state has unlimited sovereign powers. They are not derived

from any higher authority. There are no legal limits on the powers of the State. Government, being an agent of the State, has limited and delegated powers.

8. Territory is the essential characteristic of the State and not of the Government.

State is a territorial association. The possession of territory is a necessary basis for all modern States. The idea of territorial sovereignty and jurisdiction is firmly embedded in the concept of State. Contrary to it, the term Government has no reference to the element of territory.

9. Individual can have rights against the Government, but not against the State.

The individual may have rights against the Government but he has no rights against the State. The State is the fountain of all rights. Hence, an individual may not have rights apart from the State. In fact, the individual, being a member of the population, is a constituent element of the State and as such it cannot have rights against the whole. The individual can have complaints and grievances against the Government, but not against the State. The State never acts by itself. It always acts through the Government which alone can be the target of individual complaints.

10. The State is the master and the Government is its servant:

The State is the master as it is in possession of original and plenary power. The State has the supreme authority inherent in itself. The authority of the Government is derived and delegated. The Government can only do those things and performs such functions as are specifically authorized by the State. The status of the Government in relation to the State is that of a servant and a master. To conclude we can quote that Prof. Laski believes that the distinction between the 'State and the Government is largely theoretical and that for the purpose of a practical administration the state is Government. In reality, however they are not synonymous.

4.6.2. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II

1. Define State and write down the distinctions between State and Government?
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2. Write down the meaning of State and Government and distinguish between the two?
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4.7. STATE AND SOCIETY

State and Society are not identical. Since the time of the Greek city - states the relation of State and society has been a popular theme in political discussions. The Greek political thinkers considered the State and society identical. This is because the Greek city-state was something more than a political system. It was an all - embracing society, an ethical society, an economic institution and a cultural association. It was the "Society - State". But today this Greek notion stands discredited since it is maintained on all hands that State and Society are neither identical, nor are they co-terminus. If State and Society were identical, citizen's life would exhaust all its social content and there would remain no sphere of life beyond that covered by the State.

4.7.1. DISTINCTION BETWEEN STATE AND SOCIETY:

The term society means harmonious or at least peaceful relationship. It includes every willed relationship of man to man. It is a complex of associations and communities through which men seek the fulfillment of their social instinct, and institutions which regulate their mutual relationship. Society is a term for designating the entire network of social relationship. The study of society involves not only the study of political relations by which men are bound together but also the study of their religion, family, economic activities, etc. The State is a concept of Political Science and exists where a number of people, living on a definite territory are unified under a government which in internal matters is the organ for expressing their sovereignty and in external matters is independent of other governments. The aforesaid meaning of society and that of state bring forth the following points of distinction between the two:

1. Scope of Society is a wider than the State:

Society is the whole web of social relationship. Society is much more than the State. It comprises the whole gamut of social relationships. The study of society involves the study of man's religion, of domestic institutions, economic activities, education, etc. But the State is a small part of the society and is concerned only with the political activity of the individuals. Thus, the scope of society is wider than that of state.

2. Society is prior to State:

Historically, society is prior to State. According to Maclver, "In the earliest phases among hunters, fishers, and root diggers, and fruit gatherers, there have been social groups which knew almost nothing of the State." A considerable period must have passed before man evolved the form of political organization called the state. . Therefore, historically viewed, the State came into existence much later than the society.

3. Territory is the distinguishing feature of the State, not of Society:

Society is not a territorial concept. Society refers to any relationship between man and man. The term Society has no reference to territorial occupation. It refers to man alone.

But on the other hand, territory is one of the essential characteristics of the State. A State without a definite geographical area cannot be thought of.

4. Distinction in Respect of mode of operation:

Another fundamental difference between the State and society is in regard to their respective modes of operation. Essentially, the State operates through the instrument of coercion and compulsion. Society, on the other hand, operates through voluntary action and persuasion. Society appeals and persuades, while the State uses force. States enjoy the power of coercion. Disobedience to its laws is followed by punishment. Society, on the other hand, does not enjoy the right of exercising coercive power.

5. Organization is essential for a State but not for a Society:

Organization of government is an essential feature of the state. A State without a Government is unthinkable. The term "State" is applied only to politically organized communities. That is not the case with society which covers both organized and unorganized communities. Primitive people were not formally organized as a State, though they lived in some form of society. Even today, there are some simple people like Eskimos who constitute social groups but have no political organization.

6. Distinction in respect of their functions:

Society and State differ in their functional aspect also. It is the function of the State to make and enforce a legal framework. Its main purpose is the maintenance of law and order. As the State is only a political association, it deals only with the political aspect of the life of man. Society, on the other hand, performs a multiplicity of functions in order to fulfil the various purposes of life. Society is concerned with the whole life of man. There is no aspect of life with which society is not concerned.

7. The State possesses sovereignty, Society does not:

The State possesses sovereign and enforce its authority on those who violate its laws. The word "Sovereignty" means supreme in power. It can enforce its laws by the threat or use of its coercive power. Society has no coercive power comparable to that of the State. A State without sovereignty is a mere illusion. Society is based on customs, conventions, moral persuasions and pressure of public opinion. It is the State which maintains the framework of the social order. Society is held together by the State which is the highest form of social organization.

On the bases of the views expressed above, we come to the conclusion that the state and society are two different institutions and both have wide differences. According to MacIver, -To accept the state and society as one is to create a misunderstanding, so, we can neither know about the state nor about the society.¶ But in spite of this there are close relations between the two and to separate both from one another is not only difficult rather it is Impossible.

4.7.2. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS III

1. Write down the two differences between State and Society?

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2. Write down the meaning of State and Society.

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4.8. STATE AND ASSOCIATION:

State is Like Other Association. The modern society is pluralistic in nature. It consists of a large number of associations. Each of these associations has its separate aims and functions. To satisfy their needs and wants, human beings form different associations like the State the Church, Trade Union. There are, thus, political, social, religious, recreational, charitable and supports associations. The source of authority of all associations is inherent in their own nature and functions. Some people hold that these groups and associations have their existence only on State sufferance. But there are others who say that associations are a natural growth, and that the State is an association like other associations. The ultimate purpose of all associations including the State is to enable the individual to satisfy his needs and achieve his best self.

4.8.1. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN STATE AND ASSOCIATION:

In spite of the essential similarities between the State and other associations we find the following important differences between them:

1. Membership of Association is Voluntary:

All persons permanently living within the territorial limits of the state automatically become members or citizens of the state. They have to choose. They cannot refuse to be members and fail to meet their obligations to the state. They shall pay taxes and discharge other duties as citizens. On the other hand, the membership of an association is purely voluntary. Nobody can ever be coerced to become a member of a religious association, sports club, labour union or any other association.

2. No Territorial Limits for Associations:

No association is restricted by territorial frontiers. The membership of an association may go beyond the frontiers of a state and its members may be found in many states, if it happens to be an international association like the Red Cross. At the same time, there

may be an association, which is strictly local in character. In the case of a state its sovereignty is strictly limited by its territorial frontiers, beyond which it writs cannot run.

3. Sovereignty is essential for State and not for Associations:

The most fundamental point which distinguishes the State from other associations is that the State alone possesses sovereignty or superior coercive power. It will is supreme and all individuals and associations of individuals are under its complete supremacy. Whenever there is a conflict between the will of the State and other associations, the will of the State must prevail. No association which challenges the supremacy of the State is permitted by the State to exist.

4. State Enjoys Power of Coercion, but Associations are Devoid of Such Power:

Voluntary associations lack the legal power of coercion. They cannot compel their members to obey orders. Associations can at most expel their members for disobedience or inflict some sovereign authority. It not only can fine, imprison or confiscate the property and a member who refuses to obey its orders but in extreme cases, can deprive him of his right to life.

5. Membership of a State cannot be given up while that of Associations can be surrendered:

An individual had the liberty to give up the membership of an association whenever he likes to do so. But this is not the case with the membership of a state since the membership of a state has a compulsive character. A citizen is born in the State and can in no case withdraw from it. But a member of any other association can withdraw or resign from the association whenever he deems proper. The withdrawal from the membership of a State is permitted in very rare cases, but in the case of other associations such withdrawals are easy and frequent.

6. At one time an individual can be a Member of one State only but of Many Associations:

The membership of the State is determined by birth and one has to be a member of one State or another. There is not option. Furthermore, an individual can be a member of one State only at a time, but he can join as many associations as he pleases. It is he who decided whether he should join one or more associations, or not join them at all, or withdraw from them whenever he wishes to.

8. The State is more or Less a Permanent Association but other Associations are generally of temporary Nature:

A state relatively speaking is permanent: but an association is temporary. An association may work only for some time, and close down owing to financial difficulties or lack of interest in members. The doors of a state can never be closed down. Government may change or fall, but the state continues as long as it enjoys sovereignty.

9. The State is an all-inclusive Association of Associations:

The State is the supreme association. It controls and co - ordinates the activities of all other associations. The State is all pervasive, all - embracing and all - inclusive association. It is the most powerful of all associations. It is often described as an association of associations. The State brings harmony by controlling the external behaviour of other associations. It supplements and supervises the activities of other associations within the society

10. Limited Scope of Association Activity:

The scope of an association established to achieve a particular objective, which may be social, economic, commercial, cultural, political or literary is limited. An association does not go beyond the restricted field of activity for which it has been started On the other hand the scope of state activity is very wide, almost without limits.

11. Government is an Essential Element of State but not of Associations.

A state cannot exist without a government. It is the government which implements, the will of the State through its laws. But in case of Associations government is not an essential element of them. Associations are normally organized and they have a set up to work for the achievement y of the ends for which the association was constituted, but the set up of an organized association is no match to the government of a state.

Lastly we can say that an association is not a mere crowd or a loose gathering of people. It is an organised group, with clear-cut aims and with well-defined methods of achieving them. Associations render useful services to members and make life easier and better. No association in society would be able to function without the existence of a central authority, i.e. the State.

4.8.2. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS – IV

1. Write down the differences between State and Association?

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2. Is Sovereignty an essential of Association?

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4.9. SUMMARY:

It can be sum up that State is an organised institution which organise the society and association through its important element government. The status of the Government in relation to the State is that of a master and a servant. The ends and purposes of the State

are executed through the instrumentality of the Government. Without Government, the State has no existence. The State is largely an abstraction, but the Government is concrete. The State is permanent and fixed, while the Government is transitory. Sovereignty is an essential attribute of the State, but the Government does not possess sovereignty. State has original powers, while Government has only limited powers delegated by the State. There is mutual interdependence between both, the society and the state. Peaceful environment is necessary for the existence of the society and such an environment can only be maintained by the State. It is the State which harmonizes the contradictory claims of different associations. As an integrating force of society, it seeks to co-ordinate and holds the balance. In dealing with other associations the state frames general rules to ensure their smooth functioning and to adjust the relationship among different associations.

4.10. QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE

4.10.1 LONG ANSWER QUESTIONS

- 1 Define State. Discuss its essential element.
2. Write a note of State and differentiate it from Society.
3. Discuss the inter-relationship of Government and state.
4. Critically examines the relationship between State and Association.
5. Write down the meaning of State and Association and discuss the differences between the two?

4.10.2. SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Give the non essential elements of State.
- 2 Write any two definitions of Government.
3. Write a note on government as an essential element of State.
4. Society is prior to State. Briefly explain.

4.11. SUGGESTED READINGS:

- A.C. Kapoor, Principles of Political Science, S. Chand & Company Pvt. Ltd.,2014
- J.C. Johari, Principles of Political Science, Sterling Publishers Pvt.Ltd., 2019
- Andrew Heywood, Political Theory- An Introduction, Palgrave McMillan, New York, 2004
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BACHELOR OF ARTS

SEMESTER I

COURSE: PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

UNIT 5:- THEORIES OF THE ORIGINS OF STATE: EVOLUTIONARY AND SOCIAL CONTRACT

STRUCTURE

5.0. Learning Objectives

5.1. Key Words

5.2. Introduction

5.3 .Elements of the State

5.4 .Different Theories of the Origin of the State

5.5 .Theory of Social Contract

5.5.1 Conception of the State of Nature

5.5.2 Hobbes's State of Nature

5.5.3 Origin of the State for Hobbes

5.5.4 Certain Features of the Contract for Hobbes

5.5.5 Locke's State of Nature

5.5.6 Origin of the State for Locke

5.5.7 Certain Features of the Contract for Locke

5.5.8 Rousseau's State of Nature

5.5.9 Origin of State for Rousseau

5.5.10 Certain Features of the Contract for Rousseau

5.5.11 Limitations of the theory of Social Contract

5.5.12 Check Your Progress I

5.6. Evolutionary Theory of the Origin of the State

5.6.1. Views of MacIver

5.6.2. Views of Burgess

5.6.3. Views of Gettell

5.6.4. Views of Garner

5.6.5. Critical Evaluation of the Evolutionary Theory

5.6.6. Check Your Progress II

5.7. Summary

5.8. Questions for Practice

5.8.1. Long Question Answers

5.8.2. Short Question Answers

5.9 Suggested Readings

5.0 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After the completion of unit, you will be able to

- Understand the origin of the State through the social contract and evolutionary theories.
- Analyze how these two theoretical standpoints explain the emergence of modern State.

5.1 KEY WORDS: State, contract, Sovereign, state of nature, liberty, society

5.2. INTRODUCTION

The study of State is one among the primary focus of the discipline of political science. But each thinker differs in defining this term due to divergent reasons of its origin and purpose of existence. For Aristotle, 'State is the creation of nature and that man is by nature a political animal'. According to Sant Aquinas, State is important for the well-being of human beings. The defenders of divine theory of origin of State argued that it has created by God and king is the agent of God on earth. State, for Machiavelli, is an artificial creation. For Hegel, 'state is March of God on earth'. For Karl Marx, state is a product of class struggle and originated with the advent of private property. As per V. I. Lenin, State 'is an organ of class rule, an organ for the oppression of one class by another'.

5.3. ELEMENTS OF THE STATE

The study of State is very integral part of the discipline of political science. The State is a political institution which acts through its agencies. The main and essential elements of the state are:

(a) **Population** – There must be large number of people who needs to be organised in various manners. Hence, without population State cannot exist.

(b) **Defined Territory** – To govern the people, a political organization like State needs a fixed and defined territory that is under its control. People should be residents or citizens of a specific territory to enjoy the protection of the State.

(c) **Sovereignty** – It is the most significant element that gives control to the State over its territory. It consists of internal sovereignty and external sovereignty. The internal sovereignty means the supreme power to make laws and govern the territory. The external sovereignty means independence from foreign country.

(d) **Government** – It is a form of political organization through which the State governs and perform everyday activities. It has three branches: (a) Legislative, (b) Executive, and (c) Judiciary. Legislative makes the law, rule and regulations. Executive implements the law. Judiciary provides justice.

5.4. DIFFERENT THEORIES OF THE ORIGINS OF THE STATE:

There are number of theories regarding the origins of the State:

- (1) Divine Origin Theory of State
- (2) Liberal Theory of State
- (3) Marxist Theory of State
- (4) Evolutionary Theory of State

(5) Social Contract Theory of State

5.5. THEORY OF SOCIAL CONTRACT:

This theory came up during the period of 17th and 18th centuries when the existence of monarchy came under scrutiny. It was the time of great political upheavals in different parts of Europe. With the emergence of enlightenment, political regimes were challenged and revolts were threatening their continuation. The emergence of the theory of social contract was meant to address the issues concerning political authority. This theory became the basis or reason of modern democratic State and government. Though, it is an oppressive institution, but human beings cannot afford to live without it. As per this theory, the State is a necessary evil. It is a product of a contract or agreement amongst the people. The three main advocates of this theory are: Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), John Locke (1632-1704), and Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778).

They are also known as social contractualists and contractual theorists. For them, State is not a result of divine power or brought by some sudden reaction or force, it came into existence as a result of social contract among people to govern themselves. It means, there was a time period in the history when people were living without the State. They called this phase of human life without the existence of State as the state of nature. It means that State was not present from the very beginning of human life but originated due to certain circumstances.

5.5.1. CONCEPTION OF THE STATE OF NATURE

These theorists premised their origin of State on the basis of a hypothetical situation called the state of nature. It is the time period in which human beings were living in the stateless society, i.e. society without State. Before going into formation of the State, we shall understand this phase of statelessness. It is a hypothetical state of nature that gave reason or justification for the origin of the State. We shall discuss the views of each thinker on state of nature separately because they have different views about the nature, behaviour and living conditions of human beings during that period.

5.5.2 .HOBBES' STATE OF NATURE

Thomas Hobbes in his book *Leviathan* described the state of nature as period of lawlessness. It was a period in which people were not governed by the State. In this phase people were selfish and holding equal powers. They exercise this power without control of any one supreme authority and can acquire as much things and hold them for as long as men were able to do so with mere power. It was the situation in which individual's private or self-judgment is absolute and no political organization exists to arbitrate and resolve the conflicts emerged between individuals. In other words, the state of nature for Hobbes is a state of war, a war of all against all'.

It was a situation where nothing was just or unjust, and everything depended upon the force and cheat. The might is right was the basic norm that governed the society. The life of a man, according to Hobbes, was solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short'. A man was living under the worse conditions without the presence of knowledge, arts, letters and culture. There was no industry because its future benefits were uncertain, no navigation activities in sea as no

instruments for moving goods. Each person was concerned with himself and for his own personal preservation. In this state of nature morality was non-existent. There was no distinction between right or wrong and every man worked as per his own state of mind. There is no place for notions such as justice and injustice. There was no preservation and security of life of a man. In this state of nature, the laws of nature also existed and that were in tune with the basic principles of self-preservation and security? Hobbes laid out nineteen natural laws and some of them would assist men to come out of the state of nature.

Few of those laws are: (a) every man should seek peace, (b) every man should surrender his right to possess all things, hold power and self-defense as much as others are willing to give up their rights, (c) men must abide by their contracts to build mutual confidence that is very important to bring peace. In other words, the selfish nature of human beings would generate war like situation without the control of any supreme authority. It was presented as a reason for the necessity and origin of the State. So, without the existence of the State there would be anarchy everywhere.

5.5.3. ORIGIN OF STATE FOR HOBBS

In the state of nature, according to Hobbes, the laws of nature were existed but no one was following them due to the lack of any supreme authority. In order to secure and preserve the life, men decided to make a contract to create a Sovereign or State with supreme power to rule. The contract was made possible by giving up powers by all the men and handing them over to an individual or group of individuals called the State. According to Hobbes, each man will give up his right to govern himself and authorize a man or assembly of men and it is being repeated by the others also. The formation of State is the only way that the war like situation or anarchy can be prevented. With the formation of State, men leave the pre-social and pre-political phase and entered into the social and political society. Men surrendered their natural rights and handed them over to the political Sovereign. This State or King would be all-powerful and a full sovereign authority, called Leviathan.

5.5.4. CERTAIN FEATURES OF THE CONTRACT FOR HOBBS

(a) To bring peace, all men give up their rights to govern themselves by making a contract with each other. This contract is both social and political in nature.

(b) It is important to remember that the contract is not between the Sovereign and the people it is among the people themselves. Hence, it is a social contract.

(c) The sole source of each law and regulation is the Sovereign or State. It commands absolute power to govern.

(d) The Sovereign is supreme, irrevocable, permanent and indivisible. It means, people cannot break or renounce the contract and revolt against the Leviathan or State.

(e) The presence of Sovereign represents the unity of people. The overthrow of Sovereign will result in going back of the state of nature and living in anarchic and very insecure conditions. In other words, Sovereign is necessity even if it is authoritarian or dictatorship.

(f) As the protection of life of people is the prime responsibility of the Leviathan, people can

revolt only in one situation when their right to life is violated by the Sovereign.

5.5.5. LOCKE'S STATE OF NATURE

John Locke expressed his views on the origin of the State in his works *Two Treatises of Government* and *The Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. He also believed that before the existence of State, there was a phase of state of nature. But he differed from Hobbes with regard to the views of the nature and behaviour of the men in the period of statelessness. For Locke, human beings in their essence are peace loving, self-preserving, compassionate, believe in mutual assistance and possess reason. They control their passions and emotions through these qualities. Given these human qualities, the state of nature is not a state of war, as defined by Hobbes. For Locke, the state of nature is state of peace in which people have social interaction in an orderly manner. It was the phase of pre-political but not pre-social, as men were not living under a political organization called State but peaceful social engagement was the order of the day.

The men possess right to life, liberty and property in the State of nature as natural rights. These rights are not absolute in nature and they come with certain limitations. As all individuals, according to Locke, are equal and independent, no one has a license to destroy each other's life, liberty and property. He believes that all men are creation of God and they are obliged to preserve their rights not only for themselves but for others also. With regard to the origin of right to property, he argued that God has made every man the sole owner or possessor of all the property in his own person. The body and its physical and mental capabilities are of man's own possession.

When a man works on common natural resources with his own labour that resource indisputably become his private property. For example, if a man picks something to eat from the nature, it is detached from the common resource by adding his labour and become no more accessible to the society but turned into his property. This right comes with the limitation that a man cannot own or possess as much property as he desires. He can acquire the property only in proportion to his use. In the state of nature, the property acquired by a man is more than its use and remains unproductive and tend to spoil. For Locke, there will be inequality in the ownership of private property as the amount of labour and need of every man is different from each other. However, it may further lead to extreme economic inequalities as one can buy more labour power and make use of as much resources.

5.5.6. ORIGIN OF STATE FOR LOCKE

One may wonder if everything was alright in the state of nature then why Locke felt the need for origin of State through social contract. According to him, men renounce the state of nature as they were facing certain difficulties. He lists three of them, such as:

- (a) The state of nature lacks clearly defined, known and established law. It lacks common measures to decide what was wrong and right. So, no law was binding on men.
- (b) The state of nature lacks one definite authority that defines the law. It wanted a judge that determines the differences as per the established law. In the state of nature, all men are judges and execute law as per their interests.

(c) The state of nature lacks the power that backs and supports the right of sentence and executes it properly.

These difficulties caused the fight among men. Due to these reasons, they decided to enter into a social contract to establish State or civil or political society.

5.5.7. CERTAIN FEATURES OF CONTRACT FOR LOCKE

(1) With this contract, the State came into being with a government to protect the individual's right to life, liberty and property. These rights are inalienable in nature.

(2) The main purpose of the government is to protect these inalienable rights.

(3) The contract is irrevocable and men cannot reject it and move back to the state of nature.

(4) Men have surrendered their rights partially to create a Sovereign, which is not absolute as that of Hobbes.

(5) The formation of State is for the welfare of the people. The Sovereign performs the role of making law, carrying out the right punishment, makes arrangements for the protection of property and security from external danger.

In nutshell, Locke proposes for the limited form of government against whom people can revolt in case it fails to protect the inalienable rights. But the revolt against the government is not dissolution of the State or Sovereign.

5.5.8. ROUSSEAU'S STATE OF NATURE

Rousseau is the third thinker we shall discuss with regard to the theory of social contract. He discussed about the existence of pre-political phase of state of nature in human history in his book *Discourses on the Origin and Foundation of Inequality of Mankind*. Rousseau's state of nature is different from Hobbes's 'state of war' and Locke's 'state of peace'. For him, a man was neither entirely cruel and selfish nor peace-loving or compassionate. He was leading a solitary life, wandering around the forests, living without a home, no speech, social interactions with fellow beings merely to fulfill sexual and material needs and no want to hurt others. But he was distinguished from other creatures by the sentiments or emotions of self-love and pity. Self-love is crucial for securing and preserving oneself and pity is a feeling of aversion to the sufferings of the other human beings. Free-will and capacity to self-improvement are another two notable features of human nature.

With these attributes, human beings began to settle down and live a family life. The social interaction increased between them and language started developing. They abandoned the life of isolation and entered into society formation. For Rousseau, this was the golden age in the history of human kind. At the third stage of development, men started agriculture and involved in certain industrial works. As men have different physical and mental capacities and capabilities, they started possessing or accumulating different amount and value of resources and goods. This led to the emergence of private property in disproportionate manner and rise of

rich and poor classes or sections in the society. The inequalities increased with the passage of time resulted in exploitation and intensification of confrontation among human beings.

5.5.9. ORIGIN OF STATE FOR ROUSSEAU

This phase of state of nature witnessed the increase in corruption, selfishness, slavery and wickedness among human beings. Man has led to the degeneration of everything good, according to Rousseau. The situation kept on slipping towards worse and men decided to form a political society or State. They surrendered all their powers under the direction of a general will to create a Sovereign, which would protect their life and provide freedom. The contract was not a majority decision, rather formulated after the consent of all men. They have abandoned their individual will and accepted the General Will which is the Sovereign or State. The individual will or actual will was narrow and selfish in nature and General Will represents the interests of all, which is just in nature.

5.5.10. CERTAIN FEATURES OF THE CONTRACT FOR ROUSSEAU

- (1) As other thinkers, for Rousseau the contract created General Will which is irrevocable, inalienable, permanent and absolute.
- (2) The General Will or State or Sovereign is the source of rights, freedom and justice. No man has the liberty to go beyond what is authorised by it.
- (3) The General Will represents the complete unity among men, as they abide by its decisions.
- (4) Everybody obeys the General Will and those who refused are forced to conform.

5.5.11. LIMITATIONS OF THE THEORY OF SOCIAL CONTRACT

Though this theory left great impact on the understanding and need of a political authority, it has its limitation. It follows:

- (1) The state of nature is a purely hypothetical situation without any historical evidence. Once the very basic premise is challenged, the whole theory is considered as speculative.
- (2) Some scholars criticised that Leviathan of Hobbes is an absolute Sovereign which may endanger the liberty and freedom of individuals rather than protecting them. It is a justification for the minimal State.
- (3) Marxist rejected this theory by arguing that state is a product of class conflict and originated with rise of private property. It has not emerged due to social contract.
- (4) Feminist thinker like Carole Pateman argues that it was not a contract among human beings but a contract among men to subjugate women.

5.5.12. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I

Q. 1 In Hobbes' state of nature:

- (a) People were well disciplined (b) Mutual respect among people

- (c) People are at war with each other (d) People were living under state

Q. 2 write a short note on General Will?

.....
.....

5.6. EVOLUTIONARY THEORY OF STATE

The thinkers propagating this theory refute the origin of State through any divine intervention, force or social contract. The origin of State according to this theory was a slow, historical and evolutionary process. It emerged in a society on the basis of natural evolution. It develops into a present modern state by passing through numbers of social and economic developments. In other words, the State has not emerged from the very beginning of the human kind rather it evolved through a steady process and acquired a complex structural formation with the passage of time. The emergence and growth the State, according to this theory, is the result of multiple processes advanced slowly with the passage of time. Seeking one causal factor in the existence of State is dissuaded by the proponents of this theory.

The main proponents of the evolutionary theory are: J. W. Garner (1871-1938), R. G. Gettell, J. W. Burgess (1844-1931) and R M MacIver (1882-1970). For these thinkers, State is an agency to fulfil the human purpose. It is an association formed by the community to establish social order. The community authorised the State to enforce social order. Apart from establishing order, State has the responsibilities to protect, conserve and develop society. It Means State plays the role of re-conciliating the conflicting interests prevalent in the society. It harmonises the society.

A trained sociologist, MacIver, provided sociological analysis of the origin and progression of State. For him, society exists prior to the formation of the State and human history has witnessed the stateless societies. As per his understanding, before the emergence of State there were other institutions through which the ancient rulers exercise their authority. The historical development of kinship or family, institution of property, religion or customs or customary laws, power or conquest and citizenship are the important factors in the origin and sustenance of the State. For these theorists, to begin with, the instinct to become social, i.e. to live in a society among other fellows is one of the fundamental characteristics of human beings. They started organising themselves in the form of family and later enlarged into kinship or community of their own blood relations.

5.6.1. VIEWS OF MACIVER

For MacIver, kinship builds society, which in turn builds State. As a result of living together, they developed common consciousness, interest and purpose. The community then moved towards social relationships. Religion has progressed that furthered the process of social relationship. The aspect of common worship strengthened the sense of community and accustomed human beings to authority and discipline. Force is another important factor for the formation and expansion of State. The economic activities play important role in the advent of State. Later on, the formation of laws and regulations with respect to production, trade, and marketing consolidated State as a political organisation. The element of political consciousness

– in terms of sentiments for preserving and expanding territory, wars and conquests, political relationship among human beings and allegiance towards the system – further modernised the State.

5.6.2. VIEWS OF BURGESS

J W Burgess laid out four important features of State as:

- (1) State is all-comprehensive. It includes all human beings and associations formed by them;
- (2) State is exclusive. It means there cannot be more than one State for the same population living in a particular territory. Though, State can consist of two or more forms of governments;
- (3) State is permanent. It means men have no power to create the State and destroy it later. ‘Anarchy’, for Burgess, ‘is permanent impossibility’, and;
- (4) State is sovereign. It consists of ‘original, absolute, unlimited, universal power’ over not only human beings but all organisations and associations. It commands obedience and can enforce punishment for disobedience.

According to him, State is a historical construct that evolved and matured along with gradual development and improvement of a society from imperfect beginning to perfection and universal organisation. It existed as a fact much before human knew and understood it. The powers which are attached with the State were exercised under forms that we now considered as not political. He believed that each development in society led to the progress of State.

5.6.3. VIEWS OF GETTELL

According to Gettell, the best way to begin the study of political science is to understand ‘state as an institution’. For him, State is a product of ‘gradual and natural historic evolution. It is neither the gift of divine power nor the deliberate work of men’. As per Gettell, ‘no definite step in the history of civilization can be pointed out as the origin of the state’. It is difficult to know the time period of emergence of the State. It arose, like other social institutions, from many conditions and multiple sources. But there are certain main sources responsible for the rise of the State: (1) kinship, (2) religion, and (3) need for order and protection. Some form of family and kinship (blood relation) life was existing before the origin of State. Initially, the kinship relations were organised into a political life that gradually developed into authority and organisation of the State.

The mature State is relatively different from earlier kinship associations. The State deals with individuals but earlier associations are in the form of groups. State gives citizenship to diverse set of people but kinship associations provide membership only to the persons with blood relations. The religious values of obedience and reverence in terms of respect and loyalty helped to discipline humans and prepare them to submit to higher authority called State. Another reason for evolution of State was the need for order and protection for person and property.

5.6.4. VIEWS OF GARNER

J W Garner argued that ‘the state is neither the handiwork of God, nor the result of superior physical force, nor the creation of resolution or convention, nor a mere expansion of the family ... state is not a mere artificial mechanical creation, but an institution of natural growth, of historical evolution’. The State as an idea, for Garner, has not developed suddenly at one

particular moment or incident rather it must have taken long time to germinate in society. The people were unfamiliar with political authority and ignorant about the nature and forms of political organisation. The idea of State appeared merely in a subjective form and took physical form later on.

Then it began as an _objective existence in institutions and laws‘, before the society realised its manifestation and end purpose. The conception of political consciousness has taken its root. It first developed among some of the natural leaders and then got spread across the masses and become common or general with the passage of time. The rudimentary character of State kept on growing and extending as political consciousness was percolating among the people. As the civilisation advanced the structure of the State became more complex and essential for needs of humankind.

5.6.5. CRITICAL EVALUATION OF THE EVOLUTIONARY THEORY

- (1) The theory has ignored the division of society into haves and have-nots and the need of the haves to form State to make policies and laws for their own profits.
- (2) It does not explain the nature of State power.
- (3) It does not make clear that whether State is free or autonomous from the dominant interests of the society.

5.6.6. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II

Q. 1 State is a historical construct. Explain?

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.....

Q. 2 What role religion played in the evolution of State?

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.....

5.7. SUMMARY

This unit explained the social contract and evolutionary theories of the origins of State. For the contractualists state is the result of contract among people to create a sovereign that would protect right to life, liberty and property. For these theorists, state is a necessary evil. According to evolutionary theorists, the State has evolved slowly with the passage of time and no single event has resulted in its formation. The modern State has matured from its earlier form of kinship association. They considered State as historical construct that evolved and matured gradually.

5.8. QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE

5.8.1. LONG ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. State is a _necessary evil‘? Discuss
2. State has not originated at any particular moment? Comment

3. Hobbes ideas are in favour of monarchy? Discuss

5.8.2. SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. ‘State is March of God on earth’ briefly explain.

2. What is Divine Origin Theory of State?

3. What do you mean by General Will?

5.9. SUGGESTED READINGS

- Dr. Jagroop Kaur, *Pachmi Rajneetik Chintan*, madaan Publishers, Patiala, 2006.
- Shefali Jha, *Western Political Thought: From the Ancient Greeks to Modern Times*, Pearson Publication: New Delhi, 2018.
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BACHELOR OF ARTS

SEMESTER I

COURSE: PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

UNIT-6 NATURE OF STATE: LIBERAL, GANDHIAN AND MARXIST

STRUCTURE

6.0 Learning Objectives

6.1 Key Words

6.2 Introduction

6.3. Concept and definitions of State

6.4. Idealist, Functionalist and Organisational Perspectives of State's Nature

6.4.1 Characteristics or Essential Elements of the State

6.4.2. Check Your Progress I

6.5. Nature of State: Liberal Perspective

6.6. Nature of State: Gandhian Perspective

6.6.1.1. Check your Progress II

6.7. Nature of State: Marxist Perspective

6.8. Differences between Liberal, Gandhian and Marxist Perspective of State

6.8.1. Check Your Progress III

6.9. Summary

6.10. Questions for the practice

6.10.1. Long Answer Questions

6.10.2. Short Answer Questions

6.11. Suggested Readings

6.0. LEARNING OBJECTIVE

After the completion of unit, you will able to

- Understand the concept and nature of state.
- Understand the nature of state from liberal, Gandhian and Marxist perspectives.

- Understand the differences between liberal, Gandhian and Marxist perspectives of state

6.1. KEY WORDS: Liberalism, Gandhism, Marxism, Class-Struggle, Ahmisa, Liberty

6.2. INTRODUCTION:

The State as a concept in the study of politics is important as political science in its proper sense is the science that is concerned with the all aspects of state. It is an endeavour to understand and comprehend the State in its conditions, in its essential nature, its various forms or manifestations, its development etc. Traditionally, political science begins and ends with the state. So it can be considered that it is the study of the state and government.

It is significant that though some sort of political organization has existed since ancient times, such as Greek city-states and the Roman Empire, yet the concept of the 'state' as such is comparatively modern. The contemporary concept of the state owes its origin to Machiavelli who expressed this idea in early sixteenth century as 'the power which has authority over men'. This was an important idea because it describes the nature of the state, not the end of the state which was a question of political philosophy rather than political sociology or political science. This peculiar feature of the state has been the focus of attention of many political thinkers.

In this lesson, you have learnt about three major political ideologies: Liberalism, Gandhism and Marxism. You know that liberalism is a political philosophy which advocates the autonomy of individual, the constitutional state, the responsive government, rights and liberties of the individual, rule of law, welfare state and the like. While on the other hand Marxism is a political philosophy of the working class, which highlighted class struggle, capitalism, private property etc. You also know about Gandhism, a synthesis of all major political ideologies of the world as an alternative solution of all problems faced by humanity.

6.3. CONCEPT AND DEFINITIONS OF STATE

The term 'State' is central to the study of Political Science. But it is wrongly used as synonym for nation, society, government etc. The term 'state' is also used as State management, State aid and so on. Also as the States of Indian union or the fifty States that make the United States of America. But in Political Science, we use this term differently; it has a more specific meaning. Some of the definitions of the concept of State are as follows:

- "State is a union of families and villages having for its end a perfect and self sufficing life by which we mean a happy and honourable life."- Aristotle

- -The State is the politically organized people of a definite territory. || Bluntschli
- "State is a people organized by law within a definite territory. || -Woodrow Wilson
- "The State exists when a people settled in country under its own sovereignty. || Oppenheim
- "State is particular portion of mankind viewed as an organised unit. || Burgers
- "The State is a product of society at certain stage of development." C.I. Engels

The state exists for the sake of good life. It is an essential and natural institution and as Aristotle said, -The State comes into existence originating in the bare needs of life and continues its existence for the sake of good life. || It is only within a state that an individual can raise to his or her ability. If there is no authority, no organisation and no rules then society cannot be held together. The state has existed where human beings have lived in an organized society. The structure of the state has evolved gradually over a long period of time, from a simple to a complex organisation that we have today.

The evolution of modern nation state as a political organization took a long period of time. In ancient times human beings lived in communities. The obvious fact is that human beings are social animals and they cannot live in isolation. They belong to society. The collective life that they need assumes certain rules and regulations and gradually such a group life has led to the formation of political communities and the emergence of State. In its earlier form, the State was very simple in its organisation. From that simple organisation it has evolved and grown into the modern complex organization. Over the years it has acquired different forms and has become a reality found everywhere.

As used in political science, the word state means a community or society politically organized under one independent government within a definite territory and subject to no outside control. There can be no community without the people to form one, and no common life without some definite piece of territory to live in. When people live a collective life, they fulfil the meaning of Aristotle's famous phrase, "Man is a social animal" and when they live a settled life on a definite territory to realize the purpose of collective living, they fulfil the meaning of Aristotle's second famous phrase, "Man is a political animal". The people are bound by rules of common behaviour and their violation is accompanied by punishment. That is the state. Society meets man's companionship; the state solves the problem created by such companionship. Therefore, the state is some form of association with some special characteristics particularly that of its territorial connection and of its use offered. It is charged with the duty to maintain those conditions of life for which the state came into existence and for which it continues to exist. Therefore, the state is a natural, a necessary, and a universal institution. It is natural because it is rooted in the reality of human nature. It is necessary

because, according to Aristotle, "The state comes into existence originating in the bare needs of life and continuing in existence for the sake of good life". Man needs the state to satisfy his diverse needs and to be what he desires to be. Without the state he cannot rise to the full stature of his personality. In fact, in the absence of such a controlling and regulating authority, society cannot be held together and there will be disorder and anarchy. What food means to the human body the state means to man. Both are indispensable for his existence and development. The state existed whenever and wherever man had lived in an organized society.

There is no definition of the state that is universally accepted and this is not peculiar to the concept of the State; it is a fundamental and an unresolved issue in the study of human society. A measure of the difficulty of answering such questions as what the state is, how it begins and develops, and what it does, is the reluctance of many of those who offer opinions about the nature of the state to define precisely what the state is. As they put it, no one definition will please everybody, and many definitions may please only those who write them.

6.4. IDEALIST, FUNCTIONALIST AND ORGANISATIONAL PERSPECTIVES OF STATE'S NATURE

During the analysis of the term State has been used to refer to a bewildering range of things: a collection of institutions, a territorial unit, and philosophical idea, an instrument of coercion or oppression, and so on. The confusion stems from the fact that the State has been understood in three different ways, from an idealist, functionalist and organisational perspectives. The Idealist approach to the State is most clearly reflected in the writings of Hegel, who identified three moments of social existence: the family, civil society, and the state, and conceived of the State as an ethical community underpinned by mutual sympathy – universal altruism. Functionalist approaches to the State focus on the role or purpose of State institutions. The central function of the State is invariably seen as the maintenance of social order, the State being defined as that set of institutions that uphold order and deliver social stability. On its part, the organisational view regards the government as the apparatus of the State in its broadest sense: that is, as that set of institutions that are recognisably public in that they are responsible for the collective organisation of social existence and are funded at the public's expense. It is important to note that the State is a special and unique form of human association; but it differs from other associations on the following grounds:

(a) It alone has the right to exercise force to compel obedience to its orders. It may impose any penalty, including imprisonment, deportation or death, as it chooses on its citizens;

(b) It is an all-inclusive association i.e., all segments of life are, at least potentially, under its control while no other association caters for more than limited segments of life. All other organisations and activities within the national frontiers are subordinate to the State;

(c) Its membership is compulsory for everybody and not voluntary, like other associations. Everybody must belong to a State;

(d) The basis of the State is territorial, that is, its jurisdiction includes everybody who was born in a certain stretch of territory and continues to reside there;

(e) It has permanence. Other associations are not permanent; they may arise, disappear, and re-emerge, unite and separate with ease; and

(f) It has complete independence and sovereignty. The State is the ultimate source of legal competence, and in principle, it has the power to make and enforce laws with all the means of coercion it cares to employ, and it is also free from foreign control.

6.4.1. CHARACTERISTICS OR ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF THE STATE

Four key characteristics or essential elements of the State can be identified from the foregoing analysis. The first two can be taken to be its __physical__ elements, and the last two can be regarded as its __spiritual__ or __metaphysical__ elements. These are:

a) Population:

Since the State is a human association the first element that constitutes it is the human being. The State is composed of men, women and children. The population of the state can thus be defined as including citizens or subjects who enjoy full civil rights and owe allegiance, nationals or natives of the dependencies of a State, slaves, aliens or citizens and subjects of other States who reside within the territory of a given state.

b) Territory:

It is the other important physical feature of State. Every State is situated within a defined territory with clearly recognisable boundaries that do not overlap the area of any other State. A State's territory includes not merely the land itself, but also the air above the land, the waters extending outward from its coast for a distance of twelve miles, the lakes and mountains and all other topographical features as well as natural resources. It is important to note that States are of different sizes. There is no hard and fast rule regarding the size of population. But, the strength of state depends upon the quality of its population.

c) Government:

Government is the soul of the State. In the words of Harold Laski, every State, in short, is a territorial society divided into government and subjects, the government being a body of persons within the territorial society, who are entitled to use coercion to see that these imperatives are obeyed. The group of people who superintends over or oversees the affairs of the State at any given time constitutes the government of that State. This is the instrument through which the overall will of the State is articulated, realized and expressed.

d) Sovereignty:

Sovereignty is the highest power of the State that distinguishes it from all other associations of human beings. It has two aspects – internal and external. It means that inside the State there can be no other authority that may claim equality with it. In the external sphere, it implies that the country should be free from any kind of foreign control– although the State can voluntarily accept the memberships of international organisations. The modern state is also above all a sovereign state because it seeks to be the sole authority and the only effective power within a given territory, and seeks to protect the independence of that territory.

Some writers have mentioned some other features of State in addition to the above four in the form of permanence which means that statehood continues even if it is merged in another state by force or acceded to another State, internationally recognition by other State and States have a ability to issue a citizenship on the basis of their conditions as prescribe in laws.

Political thinkers have, up to the first half of Twentieth Century, principally shown concerns in the phenomenon of the State, its evolution, organization and purpose. Several political writers and schools of thought have developed ideas about the nature and purpose of the State according to different points of view. None of the theories can therefore claim absolute authority or validity over another; hence, their merits and demerits need constant examination before arriving at any consistent conclusions.

6.4.2. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I

Q. 1 Write a note on government as an essential element of state.

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Q. 2 Define State.

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6.5. NATURE OF STATE: LIBERAL PERSPECTIVE

Liberalism is a principle of politics which insists on Liberty of individuals as the first and foremost goal of public policy. The liberal state focuses on individual rights and freedom. It also argues for a neutral and minimal state. It replaces the divine right theory of the state and argues that a legitimate rule must be based on the consent of the people. With the coming of the liberal state, there were some significant changes occurring in the political organisation of the society like representative and constitutional forms of government, rule of law, and governments based on the consent of the ruled. It stressed on a new discourse on rights, to uphold the natural and basic human-like rights - to life, property, freedom, justice and so on. According to liberals, nature of state is dynamic that can be discussed in following points:

1. State- A man made Institution:

The Social Contract - as espoused by Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean Jacque Rousseau, as three dynamic thinkers, and also by a few other modern philosophical thinkers -- is a convention between men that aims to discard the proverbial -State of Nature, whereby people are to live without government or written laws. The idea of social contract divides human history into two phases, i.e. one is the state of nature which was the life of people before the State come into existence and second is the creation of the State as a result of the contract between the people who earlier lived in the State of nature.

2. State is a Necessary Evil:

Classical liberalists wanted to ensure maximum freedom to individuals and therefore regard the state as a necessary evil. Necessary because it come forward to protect the individuals and secure their liberty and prevent chaos. It is consider an evil as it put restraints on the freedom of individuals by making laws. But as per modern liberalists, without legal authority in the form of state, individual lives and property would be under constant threat. And that would be detrimental to peace and prosperity of the society.

3. Pluralistic Nature of State:

In the view Liberalism, politics and decision making are located mostly in the framework of government, but many non-governmental groups, pressure groups and

interest groups use their resources to exert influence. But the state is distinguished from other social associations because of its sovereignty.

4. Will, not force, is the basis of the state:

According to T.H. Green, Will, not force, is the basis of the state. –Might without right can at best only temporary, might with right is a permanent basis for the state. Force is essential but it should be used only as a medicine. Power comes from the people and government is based on the consent of the people. If government fails to carry out the functions, people are justified in overthrowing it and setting up a new government.

5. The sphere of State Activities:

Based on the ideas of Adam Smith, classical liberalists believe that individuals should be free to pursue and protect their own economic self-interest, free from undue interference by the central government. To accomplish that, classical liberalists advocated minimal government limited to only six functions:

- Protect individual rights and to provide services that cannot be provided in a free market.
- Defend the nation against foreign invasions.
- Enact laws to protect citizens from harms committed against them by other citizens, including protection of private property and enforcement of contracts.
- Create and maintain public institutions, such as government agencies.
- Provide a stable currency and a standard of weights and measures.
- Build and maintain public roads, canals, harbours, railways, communications systems, and postal services.

8. Welfare state:

Government in the welfare state is a well-established network of social institutions plays a key role in the protection and promotion of the economic and social well-being of citizens. It is based on the principles of equality of opportunity, equitable distribution of wealth, and public responsibility for those who are unable to avail themselves of the minimal provisions for a good life.

9. Constitutional State:

The Laws of the State do not restrict the freedom of Individual. Liberalists favoured constitutional state, regulatory control of limited government and guarantees the right of individual and rule of law. Thus, instead of jeopardizing liberty and democracy, the

constitutional state makes these concepts stronger and more viable. People can enjoy the liberty within the permitted sphere and area which is not forbidden by the constitution as liberty is a gift of State.

10. Democracy:

Another aspect of State is Democracy which consists of four key elements: a political system for choosing and replacing the government through free and fair elections, the active participation of the people, as citizens, in politics and civic life; protection of the human rights of all citizens; and a rule of law, in which the laws and procedures apply equally to all citizens. In this regard, Locke proposes that people retain the right to change and overthrow a government through constitutional measures if fails to act for common goods and protect the rights. The laws must be an expression of the will of the people.

To conclude, liberal theory of the state overestimates the individual and conversely underestimates the potentials of the state. Its zeal to protect and promote the individual in his rights, liberties and autonomy, it seeks to build a capitalistic system where the state is reduced to the position of an instrument serving the exploitative tendencies. The focus of liberalists theorizing concerns the definition of individual rights and the state's role in protecting those rights, analysing such issues depends not only on how one views the source of individual rights but also on how one conceives the state itself.

6.6. NATURE OF STATE: GANDHIAN PERSPECTIVE

The state, understood as the legitimate supreme coercive authority of the political community, is an integral part of Gandhi's political philosophy. A major goal of his political activities as a leader of the Indian nationalist movement had been the establishment of a sovereign, non-coercive state for India. Without such a state, it would have been impossible to realize to the fullest, his vision of political Swaraj. Gandhiji is not an admirer of that type of the state which exists in the Western Society. For him, the Western state represented violence. Further, Gandhian ideas of state are discussing in the following points:

1. Nature of the State:

Gandhi ji stated that State promotes violence in a concentrated and organized form. The individual has a soul, but the State is a soulless machine, which can never be weaned from violence to which it owes its very existence. Gandhi was a champion of non-violence which deprecates all types of coercion. He believed that state is a manifestation of power and laws of the state are inherently based on coercion. The state is inclined to

impose its own will on individuals with the help of an elaborate machinery of police force, law courts, prisons and military power.

2. Gandhi on Democracy:

Gandhi saw the connections between non-violence and democracy. For democracy involves a set of institutions and a spirit that makes possible maximum individual liberty, nonviolent processes for social change, and the emphasis on persuasion and example rather than force and coercion. To him *Swaraj* and democracy are synonymous but decentralisation of power must be the basic part of democracy. Gandhism stands for a non-violent state based on (i) the consent of the people (ii) the unity in the society. Gandhiji advocated decentralization of power: both political and economic. The spirit of Gandhian democracy is the spirit of decentralization. Decentralization means devolution of power at each level beginning from individual/ local unit and reaching the apex. The essence of decentralization, according to Gandhiji is that all powers flow from below and go up, in ascending order.

3. Minimal State:

He was of the view that most of the functions of the state limited the freedom of individual as it is based on violence. In the views of Gandhiji –government is best which governs the least. Gandhiji is of the view that the individual is of supreme value. He is a free moral agent that must subsume himself to working for social progress. The survival of the community, society or state is contingent on effective freedom of the individual. He favoured a government which was minimalistic in nature and occupied itself with maintaining law and order. Gandhiji looked upon an increase in the power of the State with the greatest fear. All increase in the power of the State, according to him was detrimental to individuality.

4. Gandhiji as Anarchist:

Gandhi, as a philosophical anarchist repudiated the state on ethical, historical and economic grounds. He opined that nature of the state authority was compulsive and took away the moral value of an individual's action. To quote Gandhiji, –A man is moral when he acts voluntarily. He believed in the essential goodness of man. Left unto himself, man can develop his spiritual and moral personality. Man alone is capable of achieving wonders in the real world. The state should not interfere in the activities of the individual.

5. Rama Rajya:

It simply means an *Adarsh Rajya* or principled rule and is not the rule of a Hindu king or Hindu elite but of all and for all. Gandhiji had a message hidden in it for all the political

parties who today have forgot to keep themselves available to those who have chosen them to rule. *Rama Rajya* conveys a sense of duty on those sitting at the helm of public institutions to set the highest of moral and ethical values. According to Gandhi ji, in *Rama Rajya* land State belongs to the people. Freedom is guaranteed to all the people and they can live a happy and contented life. Right to resistance against the cruel and wicked laws is given to all. The features of *Rama Rajya* are: 1. decentralisation, 2. *varna vyavastha*, 3. non-possession, 4. trusteeship, 5. bread labour.

6. State as means and people as ends :

To Gandhiji, State is not an end itself rather it is a means to the end. It is meant to do greatest good of greatest number of the people. Neither force nor absolute sovereignty is the basis of State. Gandhi's ideal of a welfare State is always ready to promote the condition of its subjects. In the view of Gandhi ji the State is not an end in itself. The individual is the end. The State is the means to the realisation of self and moral perfection.

7. Non-violence:

Gandhi's ideal State will be non-violent of enlightened anarchy where social life would remain self-regulated. In that State there is no ruler, no subject, no government or no governed. It is a perfect State consisting of enlightened persons, self-regulated and self-controlled following the principles of non-violence. A non-violent state for Gandhi must aim at the welfare and upliftment of its citizens. In such a state, the police would be like social workers ready to use moral persuasion and public opinion to deal with anti-social elements. Crime would be treated as a disease that required understanding and help, and not punishment. It would be a state free of exploitation and conflicts between the labour and capital in industry, between the tenant and landlord in agriculture and between the city and village.

8. Decentralisation:

Gandhi ji believed that decentralisation and voluntary cooperation are two essential features of the non-violent State. He praised this system because in it everyone knows his wants and also realise that "no one should want anything that others cannot have with equal labour." Gandhi ji was in favour of Panchayats. He pleaded that Panchayats should be given full powers as every village had to be self-sustained and capable of managing its own affairs. All the villages should be united loosely by a bond of spiritual unity and social cooperation. There will be no military force, law courts, jails and no command and compulsion. All social problems will be solved by *Ahimsa*, truth and love.

9. State Ownership:

Gandhi ji admitted that State ownership was better but he rejected it on the ground of violence. In his view if the *Zamindars* or Capitalist refuse to become trustees and then State ownership become unavoidable. He would support a minimum of State ownership.

10. Reject the State:

Gandhi ji was hostile to state. Neither had he regarded State as necessary nor divine or natural creation. Gandhi ji rejects State mainly for three reasons:

1. The State is based on violence.
2. The coercive authority of the State is destructive of individual freedom and personality.
3. The society of equals is based on non-violence and cooperation, the State is an evil and unnecessary.

We find that in Gandhian perspective of state is based on the principles of democracy, freedom, participation, non-violence, morality, justice, truth and decentralisation. They all are related *to each other* in some way. Without decentralisation all these will remain distant hopes. To him *Swaraj* and democracy can be used as synonymous but decentralisation of power must be the basic part of democracy. Through decentralisation men will be able to develop their various faculties. Coercion and violence are associated with centralisation.

6.6.1. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II

1. Write a note on Rama Rajya.

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2. What non-violence means according to Gandhi ji?

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6.7. NATURE OF STATE: MARXIST PERSPECTIVE

Marxist theory of State is also known as class theory of State. Besides liberal State theory, it is perhaps the most prominent theory. Marxist theory not only challenge the basic concepts of liberal State but also emphasises that it enslaves majority men of

society for the realisation of its aims, it is to be abolished or smashed without which the emancipation of common men will never be possible. Marx's point of view regarding State can be discussed thoroughly in the following points:

1. State is an instrument of Bourgeois Class:

Marx stated that the state was created to defend the economic interests (other interests are also included but economic interests are primary) of the bourgeois class and ultimately the state (along with its police, military and bureaucracy) becomes an instrument of that class. State is used as an instrument for the fulfilment of interests of a particular class or section of society. The bourgeoisie controls the economy therefore they control the state. In this theory, the state is an instrument of class rule.

2. Private property is the cause of the rise of state:

They have divided the development of society into old communist social system, slave society, feudal society and industrial society. In the old communist society, there was no state because there was no existence of private property. The system of private property worked as a potential cause of the rise of state. The owners of private property felt insecurity as to its protection and they felt the requirement of a super power which could provide protection eventually.

- I. When the private property had emerged, two classes of men appeared such as one was the owner of property and the other was without property.
- II. The conflict between them became prominent. Property owners wanted to subjugate the other class.
- III. Property owners formed a force within the society and this force ultimately assumed the status of state.

3. State is not natural and Ethical:

Marx, Engels and their supporters had no faith on the social contract theory of state origin. They have observed the origin from a materialistic' viewpoint which emphasises that though the state is the formation of man, behind this there is no emotion, idea but the influence of material conditions which they termed as economic conditions. Marx believed that the State was not a natural institution. The Marxists explain that society and State are essentially two different institutions. The society is natural institution while the State an agency to exploit the poor by the rich.

4. Continuity of Class Struggle:

Marxists explain the history of "civilized" societies in terms of a war of classes between those who control production and those who produce the goods or services in society. In

the Marxist view of capitalism, this is a conflict between capitalists (bourgeoisie) and wage-workers (the proletariat). The State came into existence as class instrument to serve the interest of the dominant class. According to Marxists, the State is a product and manifestation of the irreconcilability of class antagonism. Once the classes came into being, it was natural that their different interests would lead to disputes and clashes among them.

5. Welfare state is meant to save the capitalist System:

The relationship between Marxism and the welfare state is complex. Some Marxists have seen the welfare state principally as a controlling agency of the ruling capitalist class. Others have seen it as the 'Trojan Horse' within which socialist principles can be carried into the very heartlands of capitalism.

6. State cannot bring unity and harmony in society:

Basic idea of Marxism with regard to the historical role and nature of the state highlights that state cannot bring unity and harmony between the 'haves and have not'. The state is a product and a manifestation of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms. The state arises where, when and insofar as class antagonism objectively cannot be reconciled. And, conversely, the existence of the state proves that the class antagonisms are irreconcilable.

7. Government and law express class interests:

Marx had something of a theory of politics and somewhat less of a theory of government. The slogan -the capitalist state serves as the managing committee of the bourgeoisie represents the simplest version of his view of the state. He generally regarded government and law as an expression of class interests. According to Marxists, the State was a class institution and basically it is bad institution and would never act for the good of the society. State is an instrument of violence. The military, police, courts, laws, bureaucracy, etc. are all employed to use violence and force for the good of dominant class.

8. Force is a source of coercion in state:

Marx views power as to be held by a particular group (dominant class) in state at the expense of the rest of the society (subordinate class). The dominant group uses power according to their own interests and these interests are a direct conflict with the interests of their subject to its power. Thus for Marx the source of power in society lies in the economic infrastructure. The basis of dominance or power is the ownership of sources of production. The ruling class, those who own the sources of production uses power to

exploit and oppress the subject class in all societies. The case of power to exploit others is defined by Marx as coercion.

9. Transformation through revolution:

The present structure of the state is to be transformed through reforms. Whether Marx supported reforms or not, is not clear from his compiled literature and there is a controversy on this issue. Interpreters of Marx's thought had opinion that according to Marx without revolution, fundamental change of society is not possible. But the success of revolution depends upon some prerequisites like awareness among labour class to resist the existing political system.

10. Classless and Stateless Society:

Marxist believes that the State is a temporary institution and will wither away when the society turns classless. Marx was thus against the State and sought its complete abolition. But he did not seek its abolition immediately after a successful proletarian revolution. The State will stay for a temporary period to facilitate smooth transition from capitalism to communism. This would be a temporary period of dictatorship of the proletariat. The State will wither away and a classless and Stateless society will be formed.

Analysis of the Marxist perspective of the state has been presented and highlighted that the state is opposed to the liberal theoretical traditions which deny the class essence of the state. The Marxist view of the State clearly rejects the above given propositions; it sees the State as essentially an instrument of exploitation and domination of one class (the poor, workers, and non-owners of means of production) by another class (the rich and the capital-owners). Marxists argue that the state is established by the most powerful class in society; it is used by this dominant class to suppress and oppress other social classes and in the process, it is a tool for the consolidation and reproduction of the dominant class. The State is used for these ends in class struggle through the protection of private property and the exploitation of the weaker classes, which are based ultimately on force.

6.8. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN LIBERAL, GANDHI AN AND MARXIST VIEWS OF STATE

1. Differences between Liberalism and Marxism: Differences between both are discuss under following points:

- I. Liberalists have an opinion that State originate from social contract while Marxist give stress on class struggle for the origin of State.

- II. According to liberalism state is an instrument of welfare while Marxists have the opinion that State is an instrument of class rule.
- III. Liberalism consider the purpose of the State is to provide welfare to its population on equal bases without any kind of discrimination while Marxists believe that State serve the ruling class and is not neutral.
- IV. Liberalists believe that State established cooperation and coordination between different groups of State while Marxists have an opinion that the existence of the State depends upon class struggle.
- V. According to liberalists, people have right to overthrowing government through constitutional measure if it fails to carry out the welfare functions. But, Marxists believe that as State is class institution and instrument of violence so it will withers away after revolution.
- VI. Liberalists have an opinion that State will continue for the welfare of people. But according to Marxists, after the dictatorship of the working class the State will wither away and classless and stateless society will be formed.
- VII. Liberalist consider State as evil because it put restraints on the freedom of individuals by making laws while Marxists consider State as evil on the ground that it is a source of class exploitation.
- VIII. Liberalists have a believe that laws must be an expression of the will of the people while according to Marxist laws of the State serve the interests of capitalists.

2. Differences Between Gandhism and Marxism

We get some similarities between Marx's and Gandhiji's perceptions:

1. Gandhi and Marx both described state as repression institution.
2. Both were focusing on hate as an institution.
3. Gandhiji agree to abolish of state to create stateless system, other side Marx said that state is a well organized form of violence.
4. Both discuss state as an irreconcilable institution.

• Some dissimilarity between the two political thinkers:

1. Marx discussed on interest of class. There are two classes-capitalist and bourgeoisie. Gandhiji opposed the institution of state.
2. Marx was materialist, in other words, Gandhiji was a spiritualist.

3. Non-violence, satya, trusteeship are some important principles of Gandhiji and class struggle, historical materialism, dialectical materialism, theory of surplus value, dictatorship of proletariat are the basic tenets of Karl Marx.

3. Differences between Liberalism and Gandhism

- I. Liberalism discusses the functions of State as welfare while Gandhi ji describe State as repression institution.
- II. Liberalists have faith in welfare State for the wellbeing of its citizens while Gandhi ji gives stress of Rama Rajya for the welfare of people.
- III. Liberalism give stress on private property while Gandhi ji is in the favour of State ownership if the *Zamindars* or Capitalist refuse to become trustees
- IV. Liberalists have faith in State for the welfare of people and it will continue while Gandhi ji agreed to abolish the state to create stateless system.
- V. Liberalist strongly believe that power comes from the people and government is based on the consent of the people while Gandhi ji has a strong believe that state is based on violence and the coercive authority of the State is destructive.
- VI. Liberalists consider state a necessary evil while Gandhi ji consider State as evil but not necessary.

6.8.1. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS III

1. What is meant by Classless Society?

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2. Write any two differences Between Gandhism and Marxism

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6.9. SUMMARY

In the end of this lesson it is pertinent to mention that Liberalism, Gandhism and Marxism have one ultimate aim in describing the purpose of the state which is the –ultimate good|| of the citizen though they may differ with each other. The viewpoint of one ideology about the purpose of the state may be at odds with another ideology. For example, liberals demand freedom and equality while accepting the capitalist state but Gandhian ideology is in the favour of non-violent state based on sawraj. Marxist reject the capitalist state in totality, however they also demand freedom and equality of man. Hence, all these political ideologies of these great political thinkers have developed into

political movements and later into the formation of political parties which resulted in the modern day civic political system. It is through these political ideologies that man has campaigned for a better life in society. In conclusion, the purpose of the state according to Liberal, Gandhian and Marxist standpoint is the creation of a just society; the protection of freedom and liberty; the creation of a class-less society and the creation of a social justice in society respectively.

6.10. QUESTIONS FOR THE PRACTICE

6.10.1. LONG ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. What is State? Discuss its nature.
2. What is liberal perspective of State's nature?
3. What is Gandhian views regarding the nature of State?
4. Discuss the Marxism with regard to the nature of State.
5. Discuss the differences between Liberal, Gandhian and Marxist perspective of State.

6.10.2. SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Write a note on Class Struggle.
- 2 State is a man made Institution. Explain
3. Write a note on Gandhi's Minimal State.

6.11. SUGGESTED READINGS

- J.C.Johari, *Contemporary Political Theory*, Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1987.
- S.R. Myneni, *Political Science*, Allahabad Law Agency, Faridabad (Haryana), 2004.
- O.P. Gauba, *An Introduction to Political Theory*, Macmillan Publishers, Delhi, 2009
- R.C. Agarwal, *Political Theory*, S. Chand & Company Ltd., New Delhi, 1976.

BACHELOR OF ARTS

SEMESTER I

COURSE: PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

UNIT 7:- SOVEREIGNTY: DEFINITION, ATTRIBUTES AND ITS TYPES

STRUCTURE

7.0 Learning Objectives

7.1. Key Words

7.2. Introduction

7.3. Two dimensions of Sovereignty

7.4. Definitions of sovereignty

7.5. Characteristic or Attributes of Sovereignty

7.6. Types of sovereignty

7.6.1 Check Your Progress I

7.7. Monistic Theory of sovereignty or Austin's Theory of sovereignty or Legal Theory of

Sovereignty: Meaning

7.7.1. Characteristics of Monistic theory or Austin's Theory of sovereignty or legal Theory

of sovereignty

7.7.2 Criticism of Austin's Theory or legal Theory of sovereignty:-

7.7.3 Check Your Progress II

7.8. Pluralistic Theory of Sovereignty or Pluralism

7.8.1. Definitions of Pluralistic Theory

7.8.2. The main characteristics of Pluralist theory

7.8.3. Criticism of Pluralistic Theory of Sovereignty

7.8.4. Check Your Progress III

7.9. Summary

7.10. Questions for Practice

7.10.1. Long Answer Questions

7.10.2. Short Answer Questions

7.11. Suggested Readings

7.0. LEARNING OBJECTIVES:

After the completion of this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the concept of sovereignty
- Classify the different types of sovereignty
- Analyze the various kinds of sovereignty

7.1. KEY WORDS: Sovereignty, Absoluteness, Universality, Sovereign, Monistic, pluralistic

7.2. INTRODUCTION

Supreme power is the placed name of Sovereignty. Sovereignty is the one of the four essential elements of the state. The term Sovereignty is derived from Latin word *Superanus* which means 'supreme'. So, Sovereignty refers to supreme power of the state. It is the only element that distinguishes state from any other association like family or a school, or from a whole set of associations and relations like society or a nation.

7.3. TWO DIMENSIONS OF SOVEREIGNTY:

Sovereignty has two dimensions-Internal Sovereignty and External Sovereignty.

1. Internal Sovereignty:

Internal Sovereignty deals with the residents of the states and the various associations under its jurisdiction. This sovereignty exercises its absolute authority over all individuals or associations of the individual within the state. The state is empowered to give order to its people and associations within its jurisdiction and all are bound to obey the orders of the state. In the words of Laski, -It issues orders to all men and all associations within that area it received orders from none of them. Its will is subject to no legal limitations of any kind. What it proposes is rights by mere announcement of intention.¶

2. External sovereignty:

Sovereignty in the external sphere implies freedom of state from any alien subjection or control which means that the state is not under the control or influence of any foreign power in respect of its foreign or International affairs. Each state is independent of other states and every independent state is at liberty to determine its foreign policy and to join any bloc of power it likes. No state has right to interfere in the internal and external

matters of an independent state. In the words of Laski about external sovereignty –The modern state is a sovereign state. It is, therefore independent in the face of other communities. It may infuse its will towards them with a substance which need not be affected by the will of any other power.¶

7.4. DEFINITIONS OF SOVEREIGNTY:

- Sovereignty is the supreme political power vested in him whose act is not subject to any other and whose will cannot be over-ridden.

-Grotius

- Sovereignty is the supreme, irresistible, absolute, uncontrolled authority in which the highest legal power of the State resides.

-Balckstone

- Sovereignty is the characteristics of the State by virtue of which it cannot be legally bound except by its own will or limited by any other power than itself. **-Jellinek**
- Sovereignty is that power which is neither temporary nor delegated, not subject to particular rules, which it cannot alter, nor answerable to any other power on earth.

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Pollock

- Sovereignty is the commanding power of the State, it is the will of the nation organized in State, and it is the right to give unconditional order to all individuals in the territory of the State.

- Leon Duguit

- Sovereignty is the original, absolute and unlimited power over individual subjects and associations of subjects.

- J.W. Burges

- The sovereignty of the State issues orders to all men and all associations within its area, it receives order from none of them. Its will is subject to no legal limitations of any kind. What it proposes is rightly by mere announcement of intention.**-H.J. Laski**

- Sovereignty is not only power but rather a quality; it is the supreme characteristic of a power in the sense that this power admits no other above it and no other compete with it.

-Carre de-Malderg

- Sovereignty is the strongest power and supreme authority within a State, which is unlimited by law or anything else, since otherwise it would neither

be strongest nor supreme.

-Donald F. Rusell

- Sovereignty is supreme authority, an authority which is independent of any earthly authority.

-L. Oppenheim

Above given definitions clears that sovereignty is the supreme political power of the state. This is omnipotent and absolute power against which there is no argument or appeal and state holds the monopoly of this power. It is not derived by the state from any other person or group or association.

7.5. CHARACTERISTIC OR ATTRIBUTES OF SOVEREIGNTY:

The main characteristic or Attributes of sovereignty given below:

1. Originality:

Originality is an important characteristic of sovereignty. Sovereignty is not derived by the state from any source it comes to the state of its own. Sovereignty is the basic feature of the state and without sovereignty, state cannot exist.

2. Absoluteness:

Absoluteness means sovereignty is subject to none. It is absolute and unlimited. It is free from internal and external control. According to Gilchrist, -The sovereignty of the state is absolute and unlimited. Where it is not so, the state would not be a state but a body of peoples subordinate to another state.¶ So, sovereignty is regarded as absolute because it cannot be limited or restricted by any superior power or authority.

3. Permanence:

Sovereignty is the permanent quality of a state. Sovereignty endures as long as the state maintains its independence wherever there is a change in the government of a state, it does not affect sovereignty. The holders of sovereignty may die, but the power of the state survives that is passed on to his successor. In the words of Garner, -Sovereignty does not cease with the death or temporary dispossession of particular bearer of the reorganization of the state but shifts immediately to a new bearer as the center of gravity shifts from one part of a physical body to another when it undergoes external change.¶

4. Indivisibility:

Sovereignty is indivisible and can't be divided. So, sovereignty is an absolute power which cannot be divided between different sets of individuals or associations or groups. Thus Gettle says, -If sovereignty is not absolute, no state exists, if sovereignty is divided then one state exists.¶

5. **Universality:**

Sovereignty is known as a supreme power, is supreme over all persons, associations, and groups within the state. A person can claim exemption as a matter of right. It is coextensive in its operation with the jurisdiction of the state and comprehends within its scope, all powers and things within its territory.

6. **Inalienability:**

Sovereignty is inalienable which mean Sovereignty is the life and soul of the state of the state which cannot be alienated without destroying the state itself. The deprivation of sovereignty is like a suicide for the state. It means state neither can leave its sovereignty nor any part of it can be given to some other state. According to Liber,^{||} sovereignty can no more be alienated than a tree can alienate its rights to sprout or a man can transfer his life and personality without self-destruction.^{||}

7. **Imprescriptibility:** -

It is another attribute of Sovereignty. It means that if state does not use sovereignty for some time in a part of its fixed territory, it is neither destroyed nor is there any deprecation in its absolute power.

8. **Exclusiveness:-**

Exclusiveness means that another higher power cannot exist in one independent state. There can only be one sovereign power in a state which can legally command obedience of the inhabitants. The unity of state is inseparably associated with the exclusiveness of sovereignty.

7.6. **TYPES OF SOVEREIGNTY**

The various types of sovereignty are discussed below:

1. **Nominal sovereignty:** -

Nominal or titular sovereignty is one whose authority is in name only, real sovereignty means a person or a body of persons who actually exercises the power of the state actually. The best example of nominal sovereignty is the king or queen of UK in which the whole administration is run on the name of the king or queen but he or she cannot use these powers by themselves.

2. **Real Sovereignty:**

Real sovereignty exists in hands of real sovereign and only he can use these all powers and all citizens or residents obey his orders. Real sovereignty means that –Sovereignty

Actually exercised. In every state there is person or body of persons endowed with powers of the state. If such an authority actually exercises the powers vested in I, it is called the real sovereignty. Lowell expressed his views on the position of the British sovereign that, –According to the early history of the constitution, the ministers were the counselors of the king. It was for them to advise and for him to decide. Now the parts are almost reversed. The king is consulted but the minister's decided.

3. Legal Sovereignty:

The legal sovereignty is the supreme power of law-making body in the state which has legal power to issue final orders. Nobody in the state can violate the commands of the legal sovereign. The British Parliament is the best example of a legal sovereign that may make any law as per its best judgments. The laws of the state are the expression of the will of the sovereign and these laws are always considered correct and legal. Dr. Garner says, The Legal sovereign is that authority which is able to express the highest command of the state in legal form, that power which can override the prescription of the divine law, the principle of morality, the mandate of public opinion. So, the authority of the sovereign is absolute and supreme.

4. Political Sovereignty: -

Political sovereignty is a vague term and it rests in the will of the people which is the ultimate and final source of all authority. The members of parliament cannot make that laws which are not acceptable by the voters. It is, for this reason, said that political sovereign lies behind legal sovereign. According to Gilchrist, –Political sovereign is the sum total of influences in a state which lies behind the law. Thus it is clear that the forces which influences legal sovereign are called political sovereign and both are the two aspects of sovereignty. In the words of Dicey –behind the sovereign which the lawyer recognizes, there is another sovereign to whom the legal sovereign must bow. Such sovereign to whom the legal sovereign must bow is called political sovereign.

5. Popular Sovereignty:

The concept of popular sovereignty is emerged the 10th and 17th centuries. Popular sovereignty implies highest power of the people which means ultimate authority rests with the people. In ancient times, political scientists used political sovereignty as weapon to refute absolutism of the monarchs. According to Dr. Garner, sovereignty of the people, therefore can mean nothing more than the power of the majority of the electorate, in a country where a system of the approximate universal suffrage prevails, acting through legally established channels to express their will and make it prevail. In popular sovereignty government exists for the good of the people and if wishes of the people are violated, there is possibility of revolution.

6. De-Jure sovereignty:

De jure sovereignty is the legal sovereignty. A De-Jure sovereign is an individual or a group of individual who have right to administer and give orders to the people. De-Jure sovereign enjoys full legal authority. De-Jure sovereign may not be in position to command obedience from the people. When it happens there appears another sovereign known as De-Facto whose authority actually commands obedience from the bulk of the people.

7. De- Facto sovereignty:

De-Facto sovereign are actually obeyed. De-Facto sovereign whose orders in reality and actually obeyed. In the words of Lord Bryce, de facto sovereign is the person or a body of person who can make his or their will prevail whether with the law or against the law he or they, is the de facto ruler, the person to whom obedience is actually paid. The real basis of the De-facto sovereign is to obedience to the sovereigns commands. Such a situation arises when the De-facto sovereign through the use of force or violence and De-jure sovereign and himself enjoys the sovereignty of the state and commands obedience to his orders from the people.

7.6.1. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I

- 1. Write down the Etymological meaning of Sovereignty

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- 2. Give two definitions of Sovereignty.

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7.7. MONISTIC THEORY OF SOVEREIGNTY OR AUSTIN’S THEORY OF SOVEREIGNTY OR LEGAL THEORY OF SOVEREIGNTY: MEANING:

Sir John Austin’s theory of sovereignty is a legal theory of sovereignty which was explained in his book -Province of Jurisprudence Determined and -Lectures on Jurisprudence (1832). The theory of sovereignty is quite distinct from the views of Hobbes and Bentham because he influenced by Hobbes and Bentham. He borrowed the idea of absoluteness of sovereignty from Hobbes and the legal and logical interpretation

from Bentham. So, his theory of sovereignty is based upon his view of law. In his view, –law is a command given by a superior to an inferior.¶

Monism is a philosophical term which means ‘single’. The Monistic theory confers on the state ‘a unitary sovereign’ power, either as the direct source of all political Authority as such or as the source of all legal authority.¶

Austin’s definition of sovereignty, –If a determinate human superior, not in the habit of obedience to a like superior, receive habitual obedience from a bulk of a given society, that determinate superior is sovereign in the society and that society, including the superior, is a society political and independent ...The mutual relation which subsists between the superior and them may be styled the relation of sovereign and subject or the relation of sovereignty and subjection.¶

**7.7.1. CHARACTERISTICS OF AUSTIN’S THEORY OF SOVEREIGNTY
OR
LEGAL THEORY
OR
MONISTIC THEORY OF SOVEREIGNTY**

Sovereignty as conceived by Austin has the following characteristics:-

1. Sovereignty is the essential element of a state:

Austin’s theory of sovereignty clears that without sovereignty no state can declare politically independent state. Austin is of the opinion that the society possessing sovereign is called political society this element distinguishes it from other associations.

2. Sovereignty is with a determinate superior:

The sovereign is determinate person or body of persons and this body of persons can be called sovereign. Austin’s sovereignty is not a divine power but it is a legal power which must be visible to the people.

3. Sovereignty is Unlimited:

This sovereign power is absolute and incapable of limitation. The will of the sovereign applies on the all associations, group and individual. Though his orders may be immoral but all laws must be obeyed by the people.

4. Sovereignty is Indivisible:

Sovereignty is indivisible because he is under nobody’s control or subjection. Sovereign does not obey any other authority. To divide sovereignty means to destroy it. So, sovereignty is absolute, indivisible and unlimited in internal and external matters.

5. Receives habitual obedience form the bulk of society:

The determinate human superior is subject to no one or any power. The bulk of the people obey the sovereign's command as a matter of habit. It must be regular, undisturbed and continuous. The obedience to the command of the sovereign should be perpetual and without any hurdle or obstacle.

6. Law is a command of the sovereign:

Austin defines law as a command given by a superior to inferior, whatever the superior commands is, that becomes law and without him there can be no law. So, whatever the sovereign's will may be, it becomes law. The people may observe their customs or not, but obedience to law is not matter of violation.

So, the legal theory of sovereignty has been best expounded by John Austin. In his views the sovereign power is absolute and incapable of limitation. In Austin's words, -Law is the aggregate of rules set by men as politically superiors, or sovereign, to men as political subject.¶

7.7.2. CRITICISM OF AUSTIN'S THEORY OR LEGAL THEORY OF SOVEREIGNTY:-

1. Sovereign is not always Determinate:

Sovereignty does not reside with a determinate person. The Austin's sovereignty is not only a determinate human superior but he is the wielder of highest and absolute authority. Sir Henry Maine views that it is very difficult to locate a determinate sovereign even in a despotic state.

2. Austin's concept of law is not correct:

Austin's concept of law as command of the sovereign is also criticized. Austin's definition of law as -a command given by a superior to an inferior¶ is not accepted by most of the political thinkers. Austin does not consider morality, religion, customs and natural laws as the source of law. Sociologists are of the opinion that people abide by the laws not because these laws foster social unity. According to MacIver, -The state has little power to make customs and perhaps less to destroy it, although indirectly, it influences customs by changing the conditions out of which they spring.¶

4. Force is not the Basis of law:

Austin's view _force is the basis of law' criticized by many political thinkers. According to Austin's that people follows the law only the fear of punishment. But this view of

Austin is totally wrong because for the peaceful social life laws are necessary. People obey the laws not because of punishment but of its utility. According to Duguit, –law is the product of our social life. We obey laws because they are in social interest and that it is impossible to maintain social order without these laws. |

5. Sovereignty is divisible:-

Austin's views that sovereignty is indivisible do not accepted by the critics. They said in Federal system in which the powers are divided between the central and state governments and each has taken as autonomous in the sphere allotted to it, so, it looks like the division of sovereignty. Other hand, the sovereignty is also divided among the three organs of the government i.e. legislature, executive and Judiciary. So, the pluralist does not accept the monopoly of the state's sovereignty.

6. Powers of the sovereign are not unlimited:

According to Austin's Theory Powers of the sovereign are unlimited, but in reality, he is subjected to a number of limitations. Bluntschli says, –Sovereignty is limited, externally by the rights of other states and internally by its own nature and by the rights of its individual. Unlimited authority and infinite right of the sovereign powers are mere abstractions on jurisprudence.

7. It ignores the power of political sovereignty:

Austin's concept of sovereignty covers only legal sovereignty alone. It ignores the influence of the electorate, public opinion and the political sovereignty.

8. This theory makes the sovereign completely absolute:

This theory makes the sovereign completely absolute, but in practice it is not possible. Austin's theory of sovereignty is dangerous because it promotes dictatorship and absolutism. So, according to his view that sovereignty is absolute and indivisible, is totally wrong. Associations plays crucial role in the life of individuals. So, state is like many other human associations in the society. In the views of Laski, –Because society is federal, authority must be federal.

9. Criticism by pluralists:

The supporters of pluralist theory like Laski, Burk, Duguit etc. do not regard sovereignty as absolute and indivisible. In every state, there are number of social, political and economic organizations which are formed to fulfill the needs of human life.

7.7.3. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II

- 1. What is legal sovereignty?

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- 2. Give the Austin's definition of sovereignty?

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7.8. PLURALISTIC THEORY OF SOVEREIGNTY OR PLURALISM

In the end of the 19th century and start of 20th century a new political ideology emerged which is known as pluralism. Pluralism is a reaction against the unlimited and autocratic form of sovereignty. In views of Pluralistic, the state is not only the supreme institution and sovereignty is not his private property. Like other institution state is also one of the institutions of society. According to Laskil The state is only one among the various forms of associations and so compares with them, has no superior clam to the individual's allegiance. So the pluralists advocate the antimony and freedom of social, political, religious, economic and educational associations.

7.8.1. DEFINITIONS OF PLURALISTIC THEORY ARE GIVEN BELOW:

- 1. "The theory of political pluralism has two sides-negative and positive. In a negative sense, it does not appreciate the contention of the monists that state is an omnipotent association in dealing with all affairs of the society. In a positive sense, it contends that the authority of the state must be shared by social groups and associations for two reasons. First, these associations have a personality of their own; some of them are even older than the state. Second, they play an important part in meeting requirements of the individuals which the state alone cannot do."
-J.C. Johri
- 2. "It would be everlasting benefits of Political Science if the whole concept of sovereignty were surrendered."
-Laski
- 3. "The concept of sovereignty is a fiction without value and without reality and should be vanished from the literature of Public Law. In fact the sovereign state is dead or on the point of dying."
-Duguit

4. -The notion of sovereignty must be expunged from political theory." -
Krabbe

- **Main Supporters of Pluralism:**

F.W. Maitland, G.D. H. Cole, A.D. Lindsay, Ernest Barker, Dugit, Laski etc. and some of the main supporters Pluralism.

7.8.2 THE MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF PLURALIST THEORY

1. State does not possess Absolute and Unlimited Sovereignty

Pluralists believes that sovereignty is not Absolute and unlimited. Pluralists do not want the state as Anarchist. They contend that the powers if the state should be limited so that individuals should be able to enjoy maximum freedom. This is no such example in present ancient as well as middle age in which state used his unlimited powers because power had religious and moral limitations.

2. Like State other Associations are equally important:

Pluralists believe that human have various types of needs in which state cannot fulfill all these needs. So, there are many associations like social, economic political, religious and cultural and fulfill the desires of human being. State fulfills only political needs of a person. So, all associations are equally important like state. According to E. Barkers,|| we see the state less as an association of individuals in a common like; we see it were as an association of individual already united in various groups for a further and more embracing common purpose.

3. Associations Possess Personalities and wills of their own:

Otto Gierke and Maitland discussed the importance of the associations and said that associations possess personality and wills of their own which totally separate from its members' personality and wills. They views that state is not only the resource of the making of law, but these associations and also free to make laws, in their fields. So these organizations and opposed have their own will and personality and opposed the unlimited and indivisible concept of sovereignty.

4. Criticism of Absolute Sovereignty on Ethical Grounds:

Professor Laski criticizes the absolute sovereignty on ethical bases. He views that it is immoral to demand forceful compliance of state orders without consider the obedience to the state orders, moral development cannot be possible. A person obey the order of a state he will surely believe that the address of the state are helpful for his development. According to Laski, -I shall be with my Trade Union and against the state if the impact of the state upon my experience seems inadequate as compared to the impact of the church or the Trade union.

5. Criticism on The Basis of Views regarding Law:

Pluralistic also rejects the Austin's views about law. According to Austin, law is command of the superior to inferior and Laski gives his views that laws are universal in character and applied both the law makes as will of subjects. According to Duguit, Law is the product of our social life. We obey laws because they are for social interest and that it is impossible to maintain social order without them. The absence of laws gives the birth of anarchy where no human existence would be possible.

6. Criticism of Indivisible Sovereignty on Administrative Grounds:

On the views of Pluralism's the Austin's views on sovereignty is dangerous. According to Laski power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Thus, sovereignty is not the monopoly of the state. Sovereignty stands divided among other associations. Sovereignty cannot be a complete indivisible unit.

7.8.3. CRITICISM OF PLURALISTIC THEORY OF SOVEREIGNTY

The theory of pluralism has been criticized by a number of political thinkers on various grounds which are as:

1. Division of Sovereignty Impracticable:

According to pluralists, state is an association like other associations and sovereignty divided into these associations is totally wrong concept. We know that to divide sovereignty is to destroy it sovereignty is indivisible as the views of Gettle, -A division in sovereignty is contradiction in terms. And in entire the views of Colhan, -Sovereignty is an entire thing, to divide it, is to destroy it. It is the supreme power of the state and we might just as well speak of half a square, or half a triangle as half sovereignty.

2. Without Sovereignty State is not exist:

There are four elements of state i.e. population, land, government and sovereignty. Without sovereignty no state can exist because it is the major component of state. Because the state is sovereign both internally and externally only sovereign state can do any type of national and international treaties without any pressure. So, without sovereignty state can't be imagined.

3. Law is not superior to State:

Pluralists believe that law is superior to the state and the state is controlled by law. But this tact is wrong because laws are framed by the state. No law can be made against the will of the state. Laws have been recognized by the state or it is only the state who executes the laws. The view of Duguit, -It is not the state which creates laws, but it is laws which creates state is totally wrong.

4. Pluralism Encourages Anarchy: If sovereignty is divided into state and other association then it will lead to the anarchy. Each association from their own rules and laws for its people and there is possibility to the contradiction of the rules of one

association to another association. It arise the situation of contradiction in the rules and laws among the associations and it will become difficult to find out the correct law anarchy will prevail.

7.8.4 .CHECK YOUR PROGRESS III

1. What is Pluralist Theory of Sovereignty?

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2. Give the name of the main supporters of Pluralistic Theory of Sovereignty.

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7.9. SUMMARY-

Although the pluralistic theory of the state has been subjected to several criticisms yet we cannot ignore its contribution like they plead for revivification of local life and pluralistic see that the interest of the state is not always identical with interests of its parts. Pluralism has played as important role in upholding the importance of associations, for which they claim have autonomy. The pluralists have drawn attention to the people in the direction and thereby sought to reconcile the authority of the state with the liberty of the individual. In the words of Gettle, -The state in spite of the legal, omnipotence should be subject to moral restraints, is a desirable reaction||

7.10. QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE

7.10.1 Long Answer Questions

1. Write down the characteristics of Sovereignty.
2. What are the main features of Monistic Theory of Sovereignty?
3. Critically examine the Austin's Theory of Sovereignty.
4. Explain the characteristics of Pluralistic theory.
5. Critically evaluate the Pluralistic Theory of Sovereignty.

7.10.2. Short Answer Questions

1. What is Internal Sovereignty?
2. What is external Sovereignty?
3. What is Nominal and real sovereignty?
4. What is De-Jure and De-Facto sovereignty?

7.11. SUGGESTED READINGS

- O.P. Gauba, An Introduction Political Theory, National Paperbacks, U. P., 2009
- M.P. Jain, Political Theory (Punjabi & Hindi): Authors Guild Publication, New Delhi,1990
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BACHELOR OF ARTS

SEMESTER I

COURSE: PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

UNIT 8:- ORGANS OF GOVERNMENT: LEGISLATURE, EXECUTIVE AND JUDICIARY

STRUCTURE

8.0. Learning objectives

8.1. Key words

8.2. Introduction

8.3. The Legislature

8.3.1. Types of legislature

8.3.2. Composition of the Legislature

8.3.3. Functions of legislature

8.3.4. Arguments for and against bi-cameral Legislature

8.3.5. Check your progress I

8.4. The executive

8.4.1. Kinds of executive

8.4.2. Functions of the executive

8.4.3. Check your progress II

8.5. The judiciary

8.5.1. Organization of judiciary

8.5.2. Characteristics of the organization of judiciary

8.5.3. Functions of judiciary

8.5.4. Independence of judiciary

8.5.5. Why judiciary needs to be independent?

8.5.6. Methods or conditions to secure independence of judiciary

8.5.7. Check Your Progress III

8.6. Summary

8.7. Questions for Practice

8.7.1. Long Answers Questions:

8.7.2. Short Answers Questions

8.8. Suggested Readings

8.0 LEARNING OBJECTIVES:

After the completion of this unit, you will be able to:

- Examine the three main organs of modern governments, viz., legislature, Executive and judiciary.
- Understand the Organization of legislature, Executive and judiciary
- Characteristics of legislature, Executive and judiciary
- Know the types of legislature and Executive
- Understand the functions of the three organs of modern governments

8.1. KEY WORDS: Uni-cameral, Bi-cameral, Multi-dimensional, Hierarchical, Judicial Review

8.2. INTRODUCTION

State has four elements and the government is one of the four elements of the state which represent the will of the state, implements it and run administration of the state. The functions of government are divided into three categories;

1. To make laws.
2. To execute the laws.
3. To settle the disputes.

There are three different organs of government which perform these functions:-

Government		
Legislature	Executive	Judiciary

- 1. Legislature**-Legislature represents the will of the people. It revises old laws and according to need, passes new laws.
- 2. Executive**-Executive executes the laws made by the legislature and runs the administration.
- 3. Judiciary**-Judiciary interprets the laws, settles the disputes of the people and provides justice to them.

8.3. THE LEGISTURE

Legislature is the first and most important organ of the government. It makes new laws, revises the old if need arises, and it changes the old laws also. Legislature, in comparison to the other organs of government is considered supreme, because its members represent the will of the people who are generally elected directly on the basis of universal adult franchise. In India, the members of the state legislative Assemblies and of Lok Sabha are elected directly on the basis of universal adult franchise. It is the legislature which makes the government responsible before the people. It also evaluates the government from time to time. Because of this, it is said that the efficiency and responsibility of the government depends upon the effectiveness of the legislature. According to **Laski**, ‘Limits of the powers of the executive and judiciary, is in the will of the Legislature.’

8.3.1. TYPES OF LEGISLATURE

Following are the different types of the Legislature;

A. TYPES ON THE BASIS OF NUMBER OF HOUSES:

On the basis of the number of houses, the legislature is of two types;

(i) Uni-cameral Legislature: In Uni-cameral legislature, there is only one house of the legislature. In China, Turkey, Hungary, Norway, Sweden, Poland and Romania, have uni-cameral legislature.

(ii) Bi-cameral Legislature: In bi-cameral legislature, there are two houses of the legislature. In majority of the countries, as in India, United Kingdom, U.S.A., Canada, France, Italy, Japan, Switzerland etc, have bi-cameral legislature.

B. TYPES OF LEGISLATURE ON THE BASIS OF POWERS:

On the basis of the powers, the legislature is of two types;

(i) Sovereign Legislature: Sovereign legislature is free from any type of control. The British Parliament is considered the sovereign legislature like in United Kingdom, no difference is made between the ordinary law and constitutional law and the judiciary cannot declare the laws unconstitutional which passed by the Parliament.

(ii) Non-Sovereign Legislature: When there are limitations on the powers of the legislature, it is known as non-sovereign legislature. Legislatures in India, U.S.A., and Canada are non-sovereign. In these countries, the powers of the parliament have been fixed by the constitution and by exercising power of judicial review, judiciary can declare ultra-vires the laws passed by the parliament.

8.3.2. COMPOSITION OF THE LEGISLATURE:

Generally there are two houses of the legislature which are Lower House and the Upper House. The members of the Lower House are generally elected by the people directly, through secret ballot, on the basis of universal adult franchise. The members of the Upper House are elected differently in different countries. In India, the members of upper house, which is known as Rajya Sabha, are elected indirectly by State Legislative Assemblies, through single transferable vote system of proportional representation system. But in U.S.A., the members of the upper house, which is known as Senate, are elected directly by the people on the basis of universal adult franchise.

Tenure of the Legislature:

The tenure of the legislature is different in different countries. In India, the tenure of the lower house is five years where as in U.S.A., it is two years. In most of the countries, generally the tenure of the upper house is permanent. In India and U.S.A. the upper houses are permanent and 1/3 of the total members retire after every two years.

8.3.3. FUNCTIONS OF LEGISLATURE

The functions of the legislature depend upon the form of the government. In comparison to Presidential Government, the functions of the legislature are much more in Parliamentary Government. Still the major functions of the legislature can be discussed as under:

1. Legislative Functions:

Legislature is the legislative organ of the government therefore its first and foremost function is to make laws. It makes laws according to the requirement and time, it amend and repeals the old laws. In the modern time, with the increase of the functions of the state, there is considerable increase in the law making function of the state.

2. Constitutional Functions:

Constitution is the supreme law of the country. But it needs to amend according to the needs of the time and the power to amend the constitution is vested in the legislature. In most of the countries, it is the legislature which amends the constitution according to the procedure of amendment, written in the constitution.

3. Financial Functions:

Legislature also controls the finance of the country. Without the approval of the legislature, neither money can be raised, nor, it can be spend. In the beginning of every year, the legislature passes the annual budget of the country through which it gives approval to levy fresh taxes, to increase or decrease the old ones, and to spend the money on items.

4. Control over the Executive:

The legislature exercises its control over the executive also. In parliamentary form of government, the executive is responsible before the legislature. Legislature makes it responsible by asking questions and supplementary questions, by passing a censure motion or no-confidence motion etc. In parliamentary government, the executive stays in office so long as it enjoys the confidence of the lower house of the legislature. In presidential form of government also, the legislature investigates the functions of the executive through investigation committees.

5. Judicial Functions:

Legislature investigates the functions of the high officials and if it considers necessary, it can remove them from office through impeachment. In India, for example, President, Vice-President, Judges of the High Courts and Supreme Court can be removed by the parliament through impeachment. Similarly, the American Congress can also remove President, Vice President and the Judges of Supreme Court through impeachment. In England, the Upper House is known as the House of Lords which is the highest court of appeal.

6. Electoral Functions:

The legislature also performs some electoral functions. In India, President, Vice-President and the speaker are elected by legislature. In Switzerland, the members of the Federal Council are elected by the Federal Legislature.

7. Policy Formulation:

The internal and external policies of the country are made by the executive but it needs approval of the legislature.

8. Investigating Functions:

The legislature makes investigation of the functioning of different departments. From time to time, it appoints investigating committees for the purpose. Such committees prepare their reports and place these before the legislature which recommends necessary actions.

Apart from these functions, legislature performs the following functions;

1. Deliberative Function:

The legislature deliberates over such other inevitable problems which are faced by the country. In legislature, there are representatives of different interests and different classes which give their opinion openly on different subjects.

2. To Express Public Opinion:

The members of the legislature are the representatives of the people and they express the grievances of the people before the government and they become a link between the people and the government.

3. The Function of Criticism:

The members of the legislature criticize the policies of the government and make it responsible.

4. School of Leadership:

The legislature in democratic countries has proved the most useful school for future national leaders. Most of the leaders show their worth in the legislature and attract the attention of the nation.

5. To provide link between the people and the Government:

The members of legislature are the representatives of the people and they provide link between the people and the government. They take the complaints of the people to the government and also tell the people about the achievements of the government.

6. Selective Function:

Legislature is such a platform where the leaders get an opportunity to prove their ability and out of these, the national and regional leaders are identified. The people want to see the able leaders holding high offices.

From the above description, it is quite clear that in this modern age, the legislature performs multi-dimensional functions. According to **Walter Bagehot**, ‘The real function of the legislature is to express the mind of the people and to teach the nation what it does not know.’

8.3.4. ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST BI-CAMERAL LEGISLATURE

On the basis of the number of the houses, legislatures are of two types such as (1) Uni-Cameral Legislature and (ii) Bi-Cameral Legislature. In these days in most of the countries, there are bi-cameral legislatures.

• ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF BI-CAMERALISM

The following arguments can be given in favour of Bi-cameral Legislature;

1. Check on the despotism of one House:

The second chamber is useful because it checks the despotism of one chamber. If there is only one chamber, it can misuse its authority and can become despotic. **J. S. Mill** has rightly said, ‘Powers in the hands of single chamber makes it despotic.’

2. Check on the hasty Legislation:

The second chamber also becomes a check over the hasty, ill-considered and rash legislation passed by the single chamber. In case the wrong laws are passed, the administration cannot be run properly.

3. It is Revisory Chamber:

The second chamber revises the bills passed by the popular house and removes mistakes which might have been left into these. It compels sober second thought and gives an opportunity for the passions to subside.

4. Saves the Time:

Two houses save the time also. Certain bills are introduced in the upper house and it discusses such bills thoroughly. The lower house passes such bills without wasting much of its time.

5. It shares the burden of the lower House:

Another advantage of the second chamber is that it shares the burden of the lower house. Because of over-burden and shortage of time with the lower house, it is not possible for it to discuss the bills in detail. So, the non-controversial and the bills of lesser importance are thoroughly discussed in the upper house and it saves the time of the lower house.

6. According to democratic Principles:

Democracy demands, more people get representation in legislature. So, if there are two houses, the more people can get representation. So it is according to democratic principles. Apart from this, the same issue is discussed again and again in both the houses as a result of which more members get an opportunity to express their views.

7. Minorities and special interests get proper Representation:

The members of the lower house are elected and whosoever gets more votes gets elected. So, in the lower house, minorities and special interests do not get proper representation. Special provisions are made to give proper representation to minorities and special interests in the upper house. For example, in India, President can nominate 12 members in upper house, out of the men of science, art, literature and social service.

8. Essential for federal States:

Bi-cameral legislature is also essential for federal states because in the lower house, the people are given representation and in the upper house the provinces which are the units of federation, are given representation. In U.S.A. and Switzerland, every unit is given equal representation.

9. High quality debates in the Upper House:

Generally the members of the upper house are the men of high caliber. Apart from this, the number of the members in upper house is also quite less in comparison to the lower house. So, the speeches in the second chamber are of high quality and almost every member gets an opportunity to speak.

10. Second Chamber is Stable:

Generally, the second chamber is more stable than the first house. In India and U.S.A., the upper houses are permanent as only the members keep on changing where as the house continues. So, the members of the upper house get more experience and also bring continuity and stability in the policies.

11. Historical Support:

Historical experience is also in favour of bi-cameral legislature. Uni-cameral Legislature was established in several countries in 18th and 19th century, but this experience failed. So, experience shows that the bi-cameral legislature is more popular than uni-cameral legislature. Majority of the countries have bi-cameral legislatures.

• ARGUMENTS AGAINST BI-CAMERAL LEGISLATURE

The following arguments can be given against Bi-cameralism;

1. One house can represent Public Opinion:

The general opinion is that only one house can also properly represent the public opinion. On the same issue, the people have one opinion and not two. They either support the issue or oppose it. So, there is no need of the second chamber.

2. Second chamber is either mischievous or Superfluous:

The experience shows that when in both houses, the same political party is in majority the upper house only dittos the decisions of lower house. But when in both the houses, two different political parties are in majority, then the upper house becomes mischievous and puts obstacles in the way of the lower house.

3. Possibility of Dead-Lock:

When there are two houses of the legislature, there is possibility of the dead-lock between the two. In the words of **Benjamin Franklin**, ‘Bi-cameral legislature is like a cart with horse hitched to each end and the two horses pulling in the opposite direction.’ The dead-lock between both the houses can prove harmful for the smooth running of the administration.

4. Laws are not passed in Haste:

There is also wrong to say that the laws are passed in haste. In every country, there is definite procedure of law making and every bill has to pass through various stages before it becomes law. In India, U.S.A. and United Kingdom, a bill has to pass through

three readings and only then it is considered to have passed. At every stage, the bill has been thoroughly discussed. Therefore the critics are of the opinion that there is no need of the second chamber.

5. Upper House is unable to check the despotism of Lower House:

It is also wrong to say that the upper house can check the despotism of the lower house because in most of the countries the upper houses enjoy much less powers than the lower houses. The lower house, being a popular house, has control over the finance of the country, legislation and the executive. The upper house can cause delay in the passing of the bills.

6. Difficulty in the organization of the Upper House:

There is a problem of organizing the upper house because there is no universally accepted principle. In India, majority of the members of the upper house are elected by the state legislatures and some are nominated by the President. But the indirectly elected members do not feel themselves responsible. In United Kingdom, the majority of the members of the upper house are hereditary and it is against democratic principles. In U.S.A., the members are directly elected, so they demand equal powers and respect.

7. Expensive House:

Bi-cameral legislature is expensive also because the second chamber involves lot of expenditure and poor countries cannot afford it. The same money can be used for welfare purposes.

8. Upper House is generally Conservative House:

Generally the upper house is of conservative nature. Its members do not have progressive outlook, so, this house becomes obstacle in the way of progressive legislation. They just concentrate on protecting their vested interests and British House of Lords is an important example of it.

9. Upper House is fortress of rich People:

Experience also proves that only the rich people become members of the upper house and they concentrate on consolidating their own interests. House of Lords and the American Senate are the examples of it.

10. Problem of defining the powers of Second Chamber:

It is also very difficult to define the powers of the upper house. If both the houses are given equal powers, there will be possibility of dead-lock. If the upper house is given less powers then there is no utility of having it and if the upper house more powers, it will be undemocratic.

11. Second chamber is not essential for Federal States:

Even in federal states, there is no need of the upper house. The members of the upper house do not represent their particular province, rather they vote on party lines. For example, in U.S.A., occasionally, the members of the same province have voted against each other.

In spite of drawbacks, we cannot deny the utility of the bi-cameral legislature. It is more democratic, the minorities and special interests get proper representation, bills are thoroughly discussed in it and it also works as a break over the lower house and does not let it become irresponsible. So, in the modern times, most of the democratic states have adopted the system of bi-cameralism.

8.3.5. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I

1. What are three different organs of government?

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2. Write the composition of the Legislature.

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8.4. THE EXECUTIVE

Executive is the second organ of the government which runs the administration of the state according to the laws passed by the legislature. The laws will become useless and their objective will not be fulfilled if these were not properly implemented. Therefore, to execute the laws is the important duty of the executive.

Different scholars have given the definitions of Executive:

According to **Gilchrist**, ‘The executive is that branch of government which carries out or executes the will of the people as formulated in law.’

According to **Gettell**, ‘In its broadest sense, the executive department consists of all governmental officials except those acting in legislative and judicial capacity. It includes all the agencies of the government that are concerned with execution of states will as expressed in terms of laws.’

The definition of **Gettell** gives a broad meaning to the word executive because it includes all the agencies of the government which are involved in the execution of the policies of the government such as, Executive Head, Council of Ministers and Civil Servants. In narrow sense, it includes only those officials who frame the policies of the government, make plans and take major decisions. It is named as political executive and it includes chief executive head and the Council of Ministers.

8.4.1. KINDS OF EXECUTIVE

Following are the different kinds of Executive-

1. Nominal and Real Executive:

In nominal executive, chief executive head is the nominal executive. Though, by law, he has all the executive powers, yet he does not make use of these. All the powers are exercised by the cabinet or Council of Ministers on the name of the chief executive head. In parliamentary form of government, chief executive is Nominal head like *the President of India* and *the Queen of England* are the examples of the nominal chief executive head. By real executive, we mean that kind of executive which makes use of executive powers in reality. The *American President* and *German Chancellor* are the examples of real executive.

2. Singular and Plural Executive:

By singular executive, we mean, when all the executive powers are in the hand of a single individual. American President or Indian President is the examples of singular executive. When the executive powers are in the hands of more than a single person, it is known as plural executive. Swiss executive is a typical example of plural executive because the executive powers hands of a Federal Council which consists of seven members.

3. Parliamentary and Presidential Executive:

In parliamentary form of government, there are two types of executives - Nominal and Real. In the nominal executive, the head of the state is nominal executive but his powers are exercised by the real executive which is council of ministers or the cabinet. In parliamentary form of government, real executive is always responsible to legislature. But in presidential form of government, there is no difference between the nominal and real executive. All the executive powers are in the hands of chief executive head and he is not responsible to legislature.

4. Absolute and Constitutional Executive:

When the source of the powers of the executive head is not constitution but his own will and he is answerable before anybody for the exercise of his powers, such an executive is known as absolute executive. **Zia-ul-Haque** and **General Parvez Musharaff**, the former Presidents of Pakistan are the examples of absolute executive. Such an executive is also known as Dictatorial Executive. On the other hand, when the source of the powers of the executive is law or the constitution, it is known as constitutional executive. In democratic countries, there is the constitutional executive.

5. Hereditary, Elected and Nominated Executive:

On the basis of the method of the appointment, executive is of three types such as;

- **Hereditary-**

When the office of the executive is hereditary, it is known as hereditary executive and British Executive is the example of this type of the executive.

- **Elected-**

When the executive is elected, either directly or indirectly, it is known as elected executive. In India and U.S.A., there are elected executives.

- **Nominated-**

When the chief executive head is nominated, it is known as nominated executive. Governor Generals of Canada and Australia are the examples of nominated executives.

6. Political and Permanent Executive:

The basis of the powers of the political executive is political. It derives its powers from the people and it can also be removed by the people. President of America is the example of political executive. Members of the permanent executive are appointed on the basis of their qualifications and they stay in their office for fixed tenure. Permanent executive does not change with the change in the government. Civil Services are the form of permanent executive implements the policies made by the political executive.

8.4.2. FUNCTIONS OF THE EXECUTIVE

1. Administrative Functions:

Executive is the administrative organ of the government and is responsible to run the administration of whole country. Executive enforces the laws made by legislature to run the administration, Executive has different administrative departments and each department is responsible to run its administration efficiently.

2. Internal and External Security:

To maintain law and order within the state is the responsibility of the executive. To achieve this purpose, there is police and other enforcing agencies to help the executive. Executive is also responsible to save the country from external invasions and for this purpose it organizes army, navy and air force. It is responsible to maintain the defense of the state and in most of the countries chief executive head is also the commander-in-chief of the forces.

3. Policy Formulation:

The executive makes the policies also. In parliamentary form of government, executive makes the policies and gets these approved by the legislature, whereas in presidential form of government, there is no need to take the prior approval of the legislature. The policies made by the executive form the basis of the administration.

4. Diplomatic Functions:

In present times, it is dire need of every state to establish foreign relations and this function is done by the executive. The executive appoints its representatives in other

countries and also receives representatives from other countries. It also concludes economic and political treaties with other countries.

5. Legislative Functions:

Executive performs the legislative function also such as;

- (a) Almost 95% of the bills are prepared and introduced in the legislature by the executive. Executive also gets these bills passed.
- (b) Chief executive can issue ordinances to tackle with the urgency.
- (c) Chief executive convenes, prorogues and inaugurates the session of legislature.
- (d) Chief executive also nominates some members of the legislature.
- (e) It also gives approval over the bills passed by legislature and can also exercise veto over the bills.
- (f) The executive head can send the bills back to legislature for reconsideration.

6. Financial Functions:

In parliamentary form of government, the executive prepare the annual budget and places it before the legislature for its approval. Budget includes the financial policy of the state and after it is passed by the legislature, the executive gets approval to collect taxes and to spend money on different projects.

6. Judicial Functions:

In many countries, the judges of the high courts are nominated by the chief executive head of the state. For example, in India, the judges of High Courts and Supreme are nominated by the President. In many countries, the chief executive heads also have the power to grant pardon. Apart from this, almost in every country, the practice of administrative justice is also becoming quite popular and because of this, the administrative heads are getting judicial power also.

7. To grant titles and Honours:

In return of the excellent services done for the country the executive grants titles and honours to recognize the services of such individuals. The President of India grants many titles and honours.

8. Control over Appointments:

Chief executive heads also make high appointments. For example, the President of India makes the appointments of the Governors, Ambassadors and Commissioners, members of the Union Public Service Commission and of Joint Public Service Commission,

Commanders of the Forces, Judges of Supreme Court and High Courts etc. Such power is also being used by the American President and the King of United Kingdom.

9. Military Functions:

Generally the chief executive head is the commander-in-chief of Navy, Army and Air force. He makes all high appointments in these forces, declares war and peace when need arises and also declares martial law in the country. It is his main responsibility to defend the country from external aggressions.

On the basis of the powers of the executive, explained above, we come to the conclusion that executive is the most important organ of the government and with the increase of the functions of the government and the functions of the states are also increasing. The fact is that the executive is the real government for the people because it comes in the indirect contact and solves their problems.

8.4.3. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II

1. Write a note on Real Executive.

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2. How executive exercise its control over various appointments?

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8.5. THE JUDICIARY

Judiciary is the third important organ of the government. In these days, judiciary is attached more importance in comparison to the other two organs of the government because it protects the rights and liberties of the people and also saves them from the arbitrariness of the government. According to **Lord Bryce**, ‘There is no better test of excellence of government than the efficiency of its judicial system, for nothing more nearly touches welfare and security of average citizen than his sense that he can rely on the certain and prompt administration of justice.’

8.5.1. ORGANISATION OF JUDICIARY

Organization of judiciary is not same in every country. It depends upon the form of Government. In democratic countries, the organization of judiciary is different than in dictatorial states. Similarly, the organization of judiciary in federal states is different from the organization of judiciary in unitary states. Moreover, in democratic countries,

judiciary works as an independent organ of government, whereas in socialist countries, its purpose is to strengthen the socialistic order and to punish its enemies. Besides, in some countries, all cases are heard by one type of court whereas in some other countries, special courts are set up to handle special cases. But in spite of these differences, some common characteristics of the organization of judiciary have been given below;

8.5.2. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ORGANISATION OF JUDICIARY

1. Hierarchical Organization:

Generally the organization of the judiciary, in most of the countries is hierarchical. It means that the lower court is subordinate to the above it and this way this order go on. In India, for example, at the lowest level there are the courts of third, second and first level. Above these courts, at district level, there are session courts. At the state level, there are High Courts and national level, there is Supreme Court. The lower courts work under the supervision of the upper courts and against the decisions of the lower courts, appeals can be made in the upper courts.

2. Dual Structure:

In most of the federal states, there is dual organization of the courts. In federal states there is double administration, so, the federal courts and the state courts are also different. For example, in U.S.A., there is double judicial system. Federal courts decide the disputes arising out of the violation or interpretation of federal laws and state courts decide the dispute arising out the violation of state laws. In Australia also, there is dual judicial system.

3. Civil and Criminal Courts:

In some countries, there are separate courts for deciding civil and criminal cases. Civil Courts hear the disputes concerning property and Criminal Courts hear the **cases** concerning theft, murder etc. But in India, same courts decide civil and criminal cases. When a judge hears criminal cases, he is called Judicial Magistrate and Chief Judicial Magistrate and when the same judge hears civil case, he is called a civil judge. Similarly, at the district level, when the judge hears the criminal cases, he is called session judge and when he hears civil cases then he is called District Judge.

4. Special Courts:

In many countries, legislature is empowered to establish special courts to listen special type of cases. In U.S.A., for example, Courts of Claims, the Tax Courts, Courts of Customs, Court of Military Appeals etc; special courts are established. In India the provision has also been made to establish special courts.

5. Administrative Courts:

In countries like France, Italy, Switzerland etc, administrative courts have been established. These courts deal with the cases concerning government officials. These courts decide disputes according to administrative laws which are different from ordinary laws.

6. Administrative Tribunals:

In these days, the administrative tribunals have been established almost in every country. The working of these tribunals is very simple and the disputes are also disposed of quite efficiently. In India, the Income Tax Tribunals, Labour Tribunal etc are the courts of such kind.

7. People's Assessors:

In some countries, people's assessors are associated with the courts. These assessors are the representatives of the people of that area. They help the courts in administering justice. In United Kingdom and Soviet Union, there is provision of people's assessors.

8. Lok Adalats:

In India, Lok Adalats have also been established. The purpose of these courts is to settle the disputes through mutual consultation. The retired judges, senior civil officials and influential persons of society are made judges of Lok Adalats.

APPOINTMENT OF JUDGES:

For the appointment of judges, different methods have been adopted in different countries. In India, the judges of High Courts and Supreme Court are appointed by the President on the basis of the qualification laid down by the constitution. In Switzerland, the judges of Federal Tribunal are appointed by the Federal Legislature. In U.S.A., the judges of the Supreme Court are appointed by the President with the approval of the Senate. In India, the judges of lower courts are selected on the basis of open competitive examination.

Qualifications: The qualification of the judges is also varied in different countries. In USA the qualifications of judges of higher courts are not fixed and any American citizen can be appointed as judge. In India, the qualifications of the judges of Supreme Court and High Courts have been laid down by the constitution and only the persons fulfilling those qualifications can be appointed as judges.

Tenure: The tenure of the judges is also different in different countries. In India, the judges of Supreme Court retire after completing sixty five years of age and the judges of High Courts retire after completing the age of sixty two years. In U.S.A., the tenure of the judges of Supreme Court is a lifelong and in Switzerland, it is six years.

8.5.3. FUNCTIONS OF JUDICIARY

1. To provide justice:

The first and the most important function of the judiciary is to provide justice. The persons, who violate the laws of the state, are produced before the courts and they are punished by the judiciary. Every individual can also go to courts for the protection of his interest and the judiciary is to give him justice according to the laws of the state. Many civil and criminal cases come before the judiciary and it settles these cases.

2. Interpretation of Law:

The second important function of the judiciary is the interpretation of the laws. Generally the law passed by the legislature is of technical nature and a lay man is unable to understand that law. Secondly, every person would like to interpret the laws in such a manner that it suits his purpose and it creates confusion. So, the interpretation given by the judiciary is considered final and everybody is bound to accept it.

3. To make Laws:

Though Law making is the function of the legislature, yet in special circumstances, judiciary can also make the laws. While interpreting the laws, the courts sometimes give a new interpretation and it becomes a new law. Apart from this, in many cases, the law is not clear but the judge is supposed to do the justice. In such a situation, the judge administers justice on the basis of his own judgment which becomes law for future cases. These laws are known as ‘_Judge made laws.’

4. Protection of the Constitution:

Judiciary is known as the custodian of law. Constitution is the supreme law of the country and it needs to be protected from the arbitrary enactment of the legislature and the executive. This function is given to judiciary which sees that no law is passed by the legislature which goes against the spirit of the constitution. Any law which is against the constitution is declared ultra-vires by the judiciary and this power of the judiciary is known as the power of 'judicial Review'. Judiciary in India and U.S.A. has the power of the judicial review.

5. Protection of Federal System:

In federal form of government, there is double administration and division of subjects. Therefore, there is a possibility of disputes between the centre and the states. In such a situation, judiciary plays an important role. It settles the disputes between centre and the states and also saves the interests of states from the arbitrary encroachment of the centre.

6. Protection of the Rights and Liberties:

In democratic states, judiciary protects the rights and liberties of the people. Rights and liberties are essential for the growth of the individual and Judiciary protects these from the arbitrary encroachment of the state and other individuals. In India, people can go to Supreme Court and High Courts for the protection of their rights. In India, Citizens of India can directly go to the Supreme Court and High Courts according to the Article 32 and 226 respectively to save their rights.

7. Advisory Functions:

In some countries, judiciary enjoys the right to give advice to the executive, when it is asked for. In India, the President can seek the advice of the Supreme Court on any important matter. But he is not bound to accept the advice given by the Supreme Court. In Canada, the Governor General can also seek the advice of the Supreme Court on some important issues.

8. Administrative Functions:

Judiciary performs some administrative functions also. It makes rules and regulations to run its day to day administration. It also supervises and controls the lower courts. It also makes rules about the appointment, removal and other number of services for the staff working under it.

9. Court of Record:

The judiciary also acts as a court of record. It keeps the record of all its decisions and advices. The lower courts are working in the light of these decisions.

10. Miscellaneous Functions:

Apart from these functions, the judiciary performs some other functions also such as-(a) It issues writs and injunctions: (b) Appoints trustees to look after the interests of minorities; (c) To appoint receivers: (d) It registers will and Civil marriages: (e) Administers oath to the Chief Executive heads: (f) Investigates charges against the high officials, (f). decides election petitions etc.

On the basis of the functions done by the judiciary, it can be said that it plays multi-dimensional role in democratic states. It is not only decides the disputes, it also makes laws, protects and interprets the constitution, protects the rights and liberties of the citizens etc.

8.5.4. INDEPENDENCE OF JUDICIARY

The independence of the judiciary means that the judges should be free from all types of controls so that they can freely discharge their responsibilities without any fear and pressure. If the judges are under the control of the other two organs of the government, then they may not be able to discharge their responsibilities in an impartial manner. Therefore, the judges should be kept free from the control of the legislature and executive. The method of the appointment, promotion, removal, salary and the other conditions of the judges should be according to the law and not according to the will of the executive. **Dr. Garner** has said, ‘If judges lack wisdom, honesty and freedom of decision, the high purpose for which the judiciary is established, cannot be secured.’

8.5.5. WHY JUDICIARY NEEDS TO BE INDEPENDENT?

In every society, there are rich and poor, weak and powerful, haves and have nots and the function of the judiciary, is to provide justice to all. Judiciary puts every individual at equal level and keeps the lamp of justice burning in the society. If the judiciary is not free then under some pressure, judiciary fails to provide justice, the lamp of justice will extinguish and darkness will spread all around. Apart from this-

- 1. For the protection of Rights:** Judiciary is always expected to protect the rights and liberties of the people and it can be done only by an independent judiciary.
- 2. To provide supremacy to judiciary over Executive and Legislature:** Judiciary can be independent only if it is provided supremacy over the legislature and the executive.
- 3. To maintain faith in the Government:** If people do not get justice, they lose faith in government and justice can be given only by an independent judiciary.
- 4. For the protection of federal System:** In federal states, there is double administration and to settle the disputes between the centre and the states, an independent judiciary is required.
- 5. For the protection of the Constitution:** Only an independent judiciary can interpret and protect the constitution.

8.5.6. METHODS OR CONDITIONS TO SECURE INDEPENDENCE OF JUDICIARY

The following conditions are essential to secure and maintain the independence of judiciary;

1. Mode of appointment of Judges:

The independence of the judges depends upon the method in which they are appointed. There are three main methods for the appointment of judges (a) Election by the People (b) Election by the Legislature (c) Appointed by the Executive. We explain these methods below;

(a) Election by the People –

Some people are of the opinion that the judges should be elected by people. This will make the judges responsible before the people and they will also do justice. But this method is not very popular because.

- (i) Judges can become politicians.
- (ii) Judges can try to collect money through fair or foul methods for next election.
- (iii) The judges can give special consideration to the people of their own constituency.
- (iv) Judges can feel insecure because they may not succeed in the next election.
- (v) Judges can come under the influence of political parties.

These are the reasons that except in a few cantons of Switzerland, this method is not adopted anywhere. According to **Prof. Laski**, ‘Of all the methods of appointment that of election by the people at large is without exception the worst.’

(b) Election by the Legislature-

Some people are of the opinion that the judges should be elected by legislature. This will make the judges indirectly responsible to the people. This system prevails in Switzerland, U.S.S.R. and some states of U.S.A. But still, this method is not very popular, because-(i) Judges will come under the influence of the Legislature and (ii) They will become tool into the hands of majority party in the legislature. So, the judges won't be able to act independently.

(c) Nomination by the Executive-

In most of the states, judges are nominated by the executive and this is the most popular method. In India, the judges of the High Courts and Supreme Court are also nominated by the President. In U.S.A., the judges of the Supreme Court are also nominated by the President with the approval of Senate. This method is also adopted in United Kingdom, Canada Australia, Japan and many other countries. But while making the appointment of the judges, the executive has to keep in mind the qualifications of the judges which are generally laid down into the constitution.

2. Long tenure of the Judges:

Another condition for making the judiciary independent, honest and impartial is that the tenure of the judges should be long. This will make the judges feel secure about their future and they will not abuse their position during their tenure. It will also give the judges long experience which will make them mature and experienced. An experienced judge can deliver the justice in a better way. Because of this reason the tenure of the judges of the Supreme Court is a lifelong in U.S.A. In India, the tenure of the judges of the Supreme Court is 65 years of age and that of the High Court is 62 years of age. We all know that in India the retirement age of all other permanent officials is 60 years.

3. Difficult method to remove from Office:

To ensure the independence of judiciary, there should be difficult method to remove the judges from office. This will make the judges impartial and fearless. Provisions should be made to remove the judges only in case of bad conduct, corruption and violation of the constitution. Article-124 (4) of the constitution of India makes provision of the removal of the judges. According to this article, the judges of the Supreme Court shall be removed from the office by the President after an order is passed by each house of the Parliament, supported by a majority of the total membership of that house and by majority of not less than $\frac{2}{3}$ of that house present and voting. This is a very difficult method because to get $\frac{2}{3}$ majority of the present and voting members of both the houses is not easy.

4. High Qualifications:

To maintain the independence and impartiality of the judiciary, the qualifications of the judges should be very high. Learned judges won't come under the influence of anybody. An incompetent judge cannot perform his duties properly and he becomes puppet into the hands of the shrewd lawyers. In India, qualifications for the appointment of the judges have been specified in the constitution. Only experienced persons from this profession are appointed as judges of High Courts and the Supreme Court.

5. High Salaries:

The judges must be paid handsome salaries so that they stay free from their financial worries. Low paid judges are susceptible to corruption and bribery and such judges will fail to provide justice. The judges should also be given high pensions after retirement. In India, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court gets Rs. 2.80 Lakh and the other judges Rs.2.50 Lakh per month. The Chief Justices of the High Court get Rs. 2.50 Lakh and the other judges Rs. 2.25 Lakh salary per month.

6. Legal practice is prohibited after Retirement:

After retirement, the judges should not be allowed to do legal practice in the lower courts. If this is allowed, the judges will make use of their old acquaintance and will put pressure on the judges to give judgment accordingly. This action also lowers the dignity and the respect of the judiciary. In India, the judges are not allowed to do practice in any lower court after retirement.

7. Special immunities for Judges:

Nobody should be allowed to criticize the judges. This will enable the judges to act independently. In India, nobody can criticize the judgments given by the Supreme Court and the High Courts. If somebody does this, he can be under the charge of the contempt of court.

8. Separation of Judiciary from Executive and the Legislature:

In order to keep the judiciary independent, it must be kept separate and free from the control of the legislature and the executive. The same person should not act as prosecutor as well as a judge at the same time. Similarly the person, who makes the laws, should not be the interpreter of the laws. For this, the judiciary must be kept separate and it will ensure the impartiality and independence of the judiciary.

9. Oath of Office:

At the time of assuming the office, the judges should be administered oath to remain impartial and independent. In India and other countries, the judges are administered oath for this purpose.

10. Not to appoint retired judges on High Offices:

Sometimes, after retirement some judges posted on high offices. The retired judges keep those offices in mind and try to please the government and give judgments favouring the government. This way they lose their independence. The judges should not be appointed on high offices after retirement.

11. Check on the arbitrary Transfers:

Though, in the constitution of India, the provision of the transfer of the judges of High Courts from one High Court to another has been made, yet this power needs to be used very cautiously. Arbitrary transfers will make the judges cowards and they will lose their independence.

Thus, we come to the conclusion that the independence of the judiciary is very essential for giving impartial justice to the people. Therefore, all possible efforts should be made to judiciary independent.

8.5.7. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS III

1. What do you mean by Court of Record?

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2. Write down the conditions necessary to maintain the independence of Judiciary.

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8.6. SUMMARY

In nutshell, it is evident that in present time, the legislature carries out different functions. On the basis of the powers of the executive, clarified above, we can say that executive is the significant part of the government. With the increase in the functions of the executive, the functions of the states are also increasing. The fact is that the executive is the actual working machinery of government for the people because it is in the indirectly contact with them and resolves their troubles. On the basis of the functions done by the judiciary, it can be said that it plays great role in democratic states. It is not only settles down the disputes, but also makes laws, protects and interprets the constitution, protects the rights and liberties of the citizens etc. and only independent judiciary provides protection and safety from the despotic government.

8.7. QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE

8.7.1. LONG ANSWERS QUESTIONS:

1. Write down the composition and Functions of Legislature.
2. Give Arguments in favour of Bi- Cameral Legislature.
3. Give Arguments Against Bi- Cameral Legislature.
4. Write down the meaning and kinds of Executive.
5. Write down the functions of Executive.
6. Write down the characteristics of the organization of Judiciary.
7. Write down the functions of Judiciary.
8. Write down the conditions necessary to maintain the independence of Judiciary.

8.7.2. SHORT ANSWERS QUESTIONS:

1. Write down the composition of Legislature.
2. Write down three Functions of Legislature.
3. What is Bi- Cameral Legislature?
4. What is Uni- Cameral Legislature?
3. Give three Arguments in favour of Bi- Cameral Legislature.
4. Give three Arguments against Bi- Cameral Legislature.
5. Write down the meaning of Executive.
6. What is Nominal Executive?
7. What is Real Executive?
8. What is Singular Executive?
9. What is Plural Executive?
- 10 Why judiciary needs to be independent?

8.8. SUGGESTED READINGS

- J.C. Johari: Principles of Political Science, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi.
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BACHELOR OF ARTS

SEMESTER I

COURSE: PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

UNIT 9:- PARLIAMENTARY AND PRESIDENTIAL FORMS OF GOVERNMENT: MEANING, MERITS AND DEMERITS

STRUCTURE

- 9.0. Learning Objectives
- 9.1. Key Words
- 9.2. Introduction
- 9.3. Classification of Governments
 - 9.3.1 Ancient Classification of Governments
 - 9.3.2 Modern Classification of Governments
 - 9.3.3 Contemporary Classification of Governments
 - 9.3.4. Check Your Progress I
- 9.4. Classification on the basis of Legislative-Executive Relationship
- 9.5. Parliamentary Government
 - 9.5.1 Evolution of Parliamentary Government
 - 9.5.2 Meaning of Parliamentary Government
 - 9.5.3 Characteristics of Parliamentary Government
 - 9.5.4 Merits of Parliamentary Government
 - 9.5.5 Demerits of Parliamentary Government
 - 9.5.6 Check Your Progress II
- 9.6. Presidential Government
 - 9.6.1 Evolution of Presidential Government
 - 9.6.2 Meaning of Presidential Government
 - 9.6.3 Characteristics of Presidential Government
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 - 9.6.5 Demerits of Presidential Government
 - 9.6.6 Check Your Progress III
- 9.7. Summary
- 9.8. Questions for Practice
 - 9.8.1 Long Answer Questions
 - 9.8.2 Short Answer Questions
- 9.9. Suggested Readings

9.0. LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After the completion of this unit, you will be able to:

- Define the meaning of parliamentary and presidential forms of government.
- Explain the characteristics of parliamentary and presidential forms of government.
- Evaluate the merits and demerits of parliamentary and presidential forms of government.
- Compare the parliamentary and presidential forms of government.

9.1. KEY WORDS: State, Government, Political System, Legislature, Executive, Parliamentary Government, Presidential Government, Cabinet, Prime Minister, President, Parliament, Collective Responsibility, Political Homogeneity, Separation of Powers, Checks and Balances

9.2. INTRODUCTION

The governments have been classified into different forms since ancient times. Numerous attempts have been made by several political thinkers to classify governments on different bases. In ancient times the words 'state' and 'government' were used simultaneously and no distinction was made between both these words. Therefore, earlier political thinkers used the term 'classification of states' in place of the 'classification of government'. In fact states are classified into different categories on the basis of the forms of government. Governments are classified as the Parliamentary Government and Presidential Government on the basis of relationship between the Legislature and Executive organs of the government. Let us first identify major classification of governments explained by political thinkers in different time periods and then proceed to examine the parliamentary and presidential forms of government.

9.3. CLASSIFICATION OF GOVERNMENTS

9.3.1. ANCIENT CLASSIFICATION OF GOVERNMENTS

Ancient classification of government was explained by various Greek political thinkers in 400 BC. Herodotus, Socrates and Plato classified states/governments into various forms. But, Aristotle's classification of governments is considered as scientific and is generally accepted. Aristotle, on the basis of analysis of 158 constitutions of Ancient Greek city-states, had classified governments into six forms. He adopted both quantitative and qualitative criteria for his classification. On quantitative basis i.e. number of persons ruling, he explained three good forms of governments- Monarchy, Aristocracy and Polity-rule by one, few and many persons respectively. On a qualitative basis i.e. the purpose of the rulers is good or bad, he further explained three bad forms of governments- Tyranny, Oligarchy and Democracy.

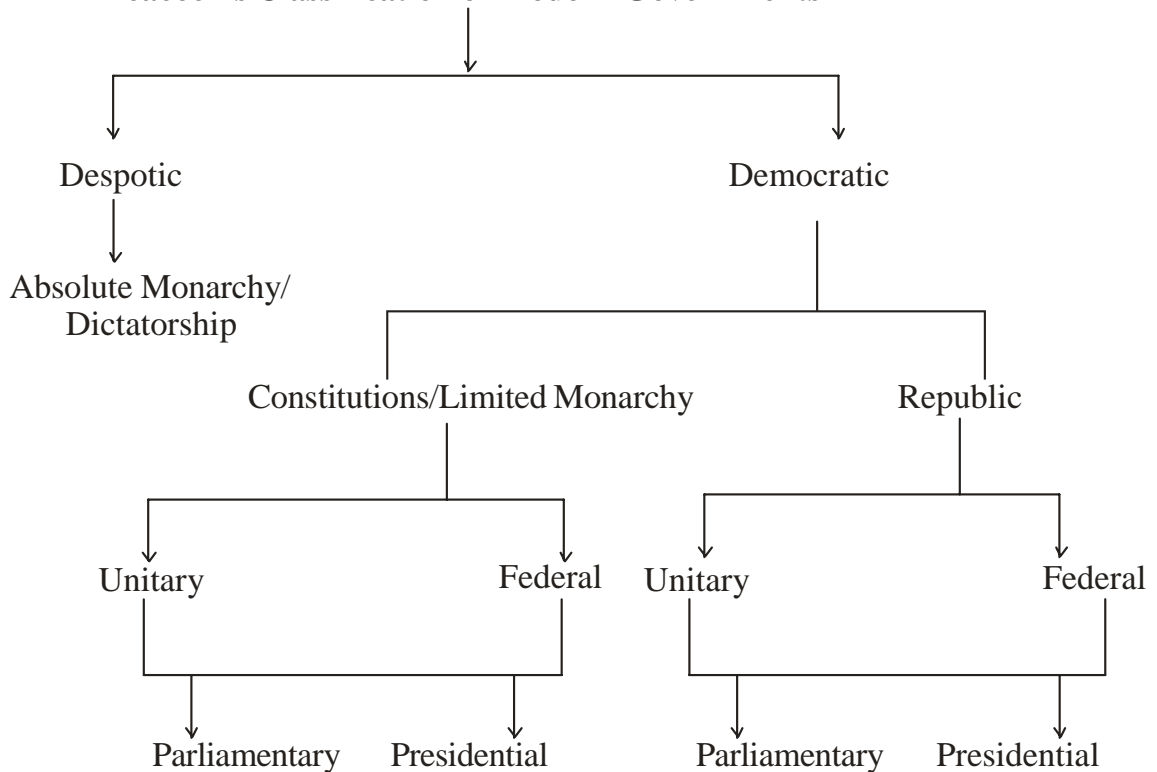
Aristotle's Classification

Purpose of Power exercised by Rulers	Number of Persons Ruling		
	One Person	Few	Many
Normal Forms (For Public Interests)	Monarchy	Aristocracy	Polity
Perverted Forms (For Personal Interests)	Tyranny	Oligarchy	Democracy

9.3.2. MODERN CLASSIFICATION OF GOVERNMENTS

Aristotle's classification was furthered by many traditional political thinkers like Bodin, Bluntschli, Montesquieu, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau and Kant. Relevance of traditional classification of government declined with the emergence of modern nation- states and liberal democratic governments under the influence of American Declaration of Independence and French Revolution during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries many political thinkers tried to explain modern classification of governments. Waitz, Pradier. Fodere, Von Mohl, Jellenick, Burgess, Marriolt, F.C. Strong greatly contributed in this regard. Leacock provided the best modern classification of governments. It is widely accepted.

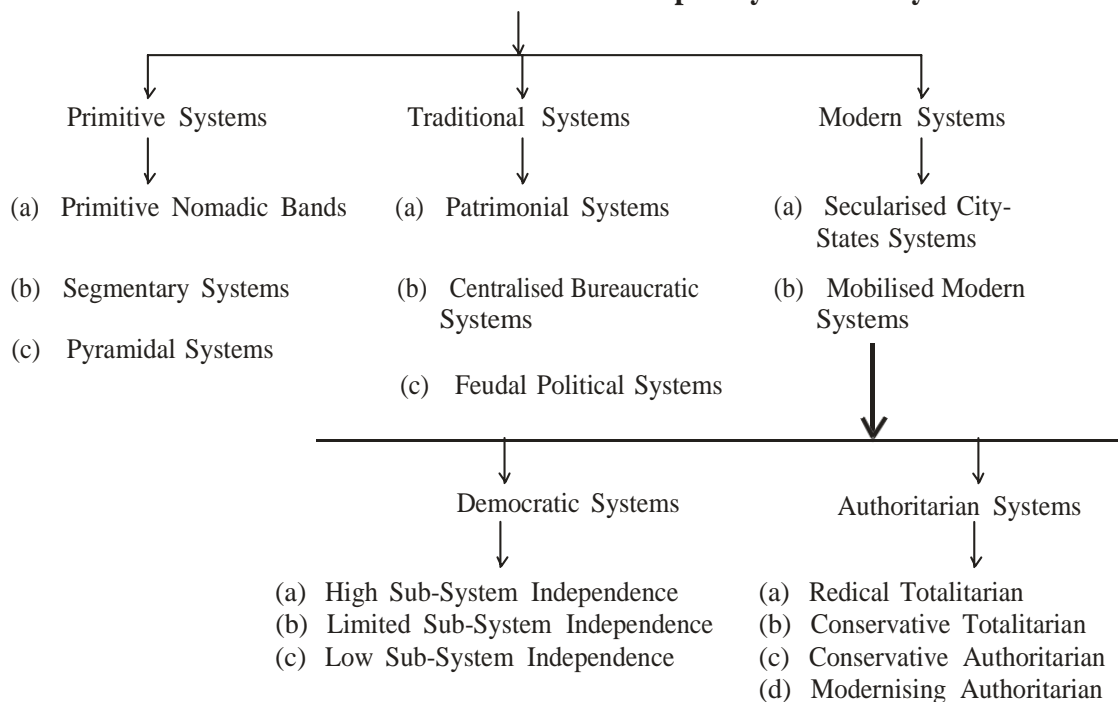
Leacock's Classification of Modern Governments



9.3.3. CONTEMPORARY CLASSIFICATION OF GOVERNMENTS

In the twentieth century, after the end of the 2nd World War many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America got independence from colonialism. These countries emerged as Independent sovereign states, requiring governments suitable to their economic, social and political conditions. There was also the emergence of communist countries and totalitarian regimes like Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany. All these developments completed the political scientists to provide new classification of governments. Political scientists like Edward Shills, David Apter, Robert Dahl, David Easton, Jean Blondel, and Allan Ball explained new forms of governments on altered bases. Modern political Scientists used the term political system in place of state/governments. Almond and Powell provided a Comprehensive classification of contemporary political systems based on criteria of structural differentiation and cultural secularization. They have incorporated ideas of various thinkers based on sociological and system perspectives.

Almond and Powell's Classification of Contemporary Political Systems



There was also the emergence of 'three-world' approach, which divided the political system into three blocs- First World of capitalist systems, Second World of communist systems and Third World of developing systems. In recent times, there is emergence of Fourth World Perspective which includes most underdeveloped, poverty-stricken and marginalized political systems.

Thus, governments have been classified into different forms on various bases by political scientists in different times. In the future, new forms of governments may emerge with new developments and changing circumstances.

9.3.4. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS: EXERCISE-1

1. Describe Ancient classification of governments.

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2. Explain modern forms of governments.

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9.4. CLASSIFICATION ON THE BASIS OF LEGISLATIVE-EXECUTIVE RELATIONSHIP

Modern governments are divided into Parliamentary and Presidential Governments on the basis of the relationship between legislature and executive. In parliamentary government, there is a close relationship between legislature and executive and the executive is accountable to the legislature. Contrary to it, in a presidential government there is separation of legislature and executive and executive is non-accountable to the legislature.

9.5. PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT

Parliamentary Government is one of the most popular forms of government. It is also known as Cabinet Government or Prime-Ministerial Government. Parliamentary government originated and evolved in Great Britain and was followed by many other countries. Presently, It is existing in countries such as the United Kingdom, India, Canada, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Sweden, Denmark, Pakistan, Italy etc.

9.5.1. EVOLUTION OF PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT

The origin and historical evolution of Parliamentary Government can be traced in Great Britain with the development of institutions of 'Parliament' and 'Cabinet'. The British parliament is known as 'Mother of Parliaments'. The origin of Parliament in Britain can be traced to the 13th century when King John summoned a few knights in the meeting of

the Great Council to advise him on tax collection. King John was made to sign 'Magna Carta' in 1215 by the Great Council. This laid down that the king will not impose any taxes in future without the consent of the Great Council. King Edward-I called 'Model Parliament' including the representative of all sections in 1295. The Bi-cameral parliament- House of Lords and House of Commons, came into existence in the 12th Century. The Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the Bill of Rights of 1689 established the Sovereignty of the Parliament and Constitutional Monarchy in Britain. Various Acts passed during 19th and 20th century such as the Reform Acts of 1832, 1867 and 1884, People's Representation Act, 1928, the Parliament Acts of 1911 and 1949, the House of Lords Act, 1999 resulted in the democratization of parliament and strengthened supremacy of parliament.

In Britain, the cabinet has always been associated with Parliament and is drawn from it. In Anglo-Saxon period, there was an institution 'Witenagemot', also known as the Great Council, to advise the King. During the Norman period, Kings named it 'Curia Regis'. The Privy Council replaced Curia Regis in the 16th century. The size of the Privy Council increased, therefore, the king started consulting his five confidants and their committee collectively called 'CABAL'. The King used to meet these ministers in a small cabin. Thus, the name Cabinet derived. In 1689, King William-III took all ministers of this cabinet from the majority party in the House of Commons and it became the convention.

The Cabinet system took real shape in the 18th century. King George-I, being German, was unfamiliar with British language and traditions. Therefore, he assigned responsibility to preside over the cabinet to the senior-most minister Sir Robert Walpole. Thus, Walpole became the first British Prime Minister in 1721. He resigned in 1742 when he could not secure the support of the majority in the parliament. Prime Minister Walpole during this tenure established and developed principles of parliamentary government. Many new developments and New Acts further strengthened the institutions of Cabinet and Prime Minister in Britain during the 19th and 20th century. The supremacy of the Parliament was replaced by the sovereignty of the Cabinet. Thus, the process of development of the Parliament and Cabinet has evolved the parliamentary form of government in Britain. Many other countries have adopted parliamentary governments with alterations.

9.5.2. MEANING OF PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT

Parliamentary Government is that form of government in which there is a close relationship between the executive i.e. cabinet and the legislature i.e. Parliament. There are two types of executive-nominal and real exists. The real executive is part of the legislature. The members of the real executive are taken from the legislature. The real

executive is responsible to the legislature. Therefore, it is also known as a responsible government. It is also called the cabinet government.

Gettell has defined Parliamentary Government as that form in which the real executive, consisting of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, is legally responsible to the legislature for its acts.

Dr. Gamer has defined parliamentary Government as that system in which the real-executive- the cabinet or ministry- is immediately and legally responsible to the legislature or one branch of it (usually the more popular chamber) for its policies and acts, and immediately or ultimately responsible to the electorate, while the titular or nominal executive occupies a position of irresponsibility.

9.5.3. CHARACTERISTICS OF PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT

The Parliamentary Government has its specific characteristics. Firstly, there are two types of executive-nominal and real. The head of state is a nominal or titular executive in which all powers are constitutionally vested. It may be a Monarch in a Monarchy or President in a Republic. The real executive is a cabinet which exercises all the powers of the nominal executive in a real sense.

Secondly, the real executive is closely linked to the legislature which is known as Parliament. All the members of the cabinet are the members of the legislature. If any minister is not a member of the legislature when appointed, has to become a member of the legislature within a specific time. Thus, the parliamentary government does not recognize the principle of separation of powers and there is a fusion of the executive and legislature.

Thirdly, the real executive is collectively responsible to the legislature. Generally, the cabinet is collectively responsible to the lower house of the Parliament consisting of directly elected representatives of the people. If a vote of no-confidence is passed against the entire cabinet or any particular minister by the lower house of the Parliament, and then the entire Cabinet has to resign. They swim and sink together. Therefore, tenure of the real executive is uncertain and depends upon the confidence of the majority in the popular chamber of the legislature.

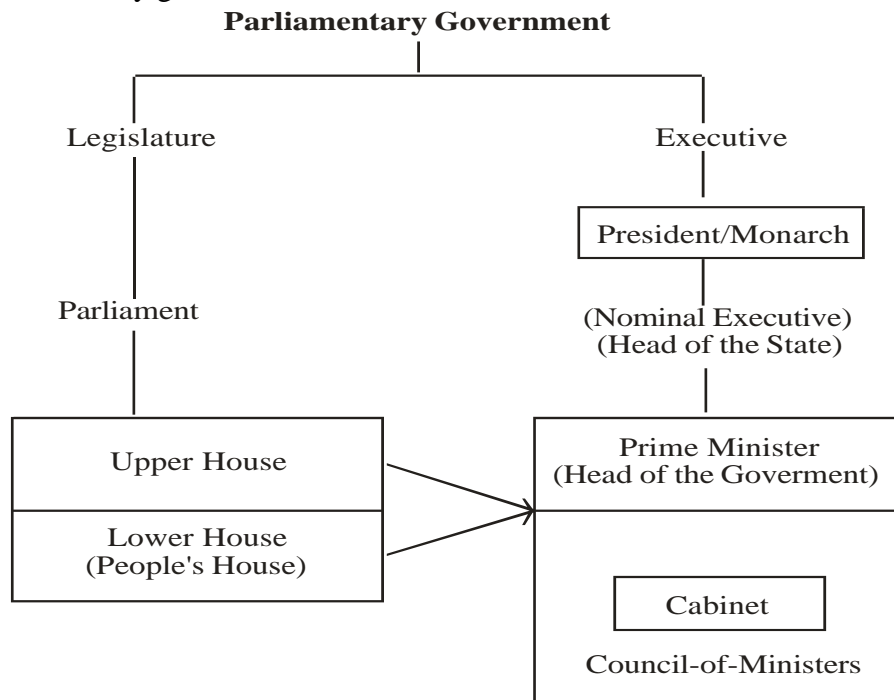
Fourthly, Each Minister of the cabinet has individual responsibility for his department to the Parliament. They are controlled through various means such as questions, debates by the members of the legislature. The Prime Minister may ask any minister to resign in case of non-performance or any failure of the department.

Fifthly, Parliament Government is based on the principle of political homogeneity. Generally, all the ministers are appointed from one political party which has secured a majority in the lower house of the parliament.

Sixthly, there is leadership of the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister is head of the real executive i.e. cabinet. He is the head of the government and leader of the majority party

in the Parliament. He has full control on the cabinet and coordinates and directs all its activities.

Principle of secrecy of the cabinet, dissolution of the popular chamber of the Parliament by the real executive and effective opposition are some other characteristics of the parliamentary government.



9.5.4. MERITS OF PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT

The Parliamentary Government has its own merits. Let us discuss the merits:

1. It brings harmony and cooperation between the legislatures and executive:

It brings harmony and cooperation between the legislature and executive. The real executive i.e. cabinet is the part of the legislature. All the policies of the cabinet are easily enacted by the Parliament because it enjoys a majority in the parliament. There are no chances of deadlock between both these organs of the government. It brings efficiency in the administration.

2. Responsible government:

The parliamentary government is a responsible government. The cabinet is responsible to the lower house of the legislature which is directly elected by the people. Thus, it is ultimately responsible towards people. The members of the legislature can make ministers responsible through various means. They can remove the ministers through a vote of no-confidence.

3. More democratic government:

It is a more democratic government. Government Power is exercised by the directly elected representatives of the people. Moreover, the executive is accountable to the legislature. Due to the constant control it cannot become autocratic. Due to its uncertain tenure, it is compelled to continuously work for public welfare.

4. Flexible government:

Parliamentary government is a flexible government which is very suitable to the changing circumstances. During any kind of emergency or crisis, governments can easily be formed consisting of all the political parties.

5. It brings swiftness in the administration:

It brings swiftness in the administration. The cabinet can take swift decisions and formulate public policies quickly, with the support of the majority in the legislature.

6. Provides political education:

Parliamentary government provides more opportunities for political education to the people. Periodic and Mid-term elections held in this system where people directly participate. In this government political parties have a very significant role. Political Parties also help to provide political education to the people through their propaganda, policies and programs.

7. Responsive to public opinion:

It is responsive to public opinion. Government always tries to work in accordance with popular sovereignty due to the possibility of new elections at any time.

8. Strong and effective opposition:

Strong and effective opposition is one of the characteristics of Parliamentary Government. Thus, it always provides an opportunity for effective alternative government.

9. Public Welfare:

In Parliamentary government, directly elected representatives become ministers. Therefore, there is more possibility of enactment and implementation of good laws based on public welfare. It also results in the emergence of effective leadership.

10. Two-fold Responsibility:

Parliamentary government is based on two-fold responsibility collective responsibility of the cabinet to the parliament and individual responsibility of each minister regarding

their decisions taken without informing the cabinet. Thus, the responsibility of everyone in the administration can easily be fixed.

11. Responsible Nominal Executive:

The nominal executive who is the head of the state can play the role of impartial and effective advisor for the government.

9.5.5. DEMERITS OF PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT

Although there are several merits of Parliamentary Government, on the other hand, it has demerits too.

1. Violates the principle of separation of powers:

It violates the principle of separation of powers. In parliamentary government, both executive and legislature organs of the government have been made dependent on each other so much that it may affect the efficiency of the administration. Moreover, the concentration of both executive and legislative powers in the hands of the same persons may result in centralization of power. It may establish autocratic rule.

2. Parliamentary government is unstable:

Parliamentary government is unstable. Tenure of the government is uncertain which depends upon the support of the majority in the legislature. Government can be dissolved easily which may prove harmful for the country.

3. It establishes dictatorship of the cabinet:

It may encourage dictatorship of the cabinet. The cabinet enjoys full support of the majority in the legislature. The cabinet functions according to the wishes of the majority party. It fully controls the legislature. Thus, it establishes dictatorship of the cabinet which eventually becomes rule by the majority. It is harmful for a vibrant democracy.

4. Parliamentary Government brings inefficiency.

Parliamentary Government brings inefficiency with the fusion of executive and legislature, Ministers become overburdened with work. They have to perform parliamentary and administrative functions simultaneously. Their work related to elections and public meetings always make them too occupied to concentrate on their official functions. They become dependent on bureaucracy. It results in growth of bureaucratic evils and degeneration of democracy.

5. National interests are ignored:

It is a government totally based on political parties. All political parties try to capture power by all means. All matters are decided in the interest of the political party. Thus, national interests are ignored for the sake of power-politics. Moreover political parties encourage political opportunism and corruption.

6. Fails to take quick decisions:

It is a weak government. Much time is wasted in discussion and debates. It fails to take swift decisions during an emergency.

7. Government by amateurs:

It is called a government by amateurs. Ministers who run the administration are appointed due to their political affiliations, not on the basis of their competency or experience.

8. Becomes a battle-ground between political parties:

Parliamentary government leads to conflict between the ruling and opposition parties. The opposition plays an irresponsible role instead of constructive criticism. The entire system becomes a battle-ground between political parties.

9. Unholy political alliances:

In multi-party systems, it becomes difficult to form a stable government. Unholy political alliances are formed to form coalition governments which bring political instability in the administration. Frequent changes in the government result in inconsistency of national policies. It is harmful for the progress of the nation.

9.5.6. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II

1. Define Parliamentary Government.
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2. Explain three characteristics of parliamentary government.
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9.6. PRESIDENTIAL GOVERNMENT

The Presidential system is based on the principle of separation of powers. The executive and legislative are kept separate and the executive is not responsible to the legislature. Presidential government was firstly adopted in the USA and has been followed by many other countries. Presently, this system is prevailing in countries like the Philippines, Mexico, South Korea, Brazil, France, Indonesia etc.

9.6.1. EVOLUTION OF PRESIDENTIAL GOVERNMENT

Unlike the parliamentary government, the presidential government has not been gradually developed. It is not based on conventions. It was firstly adopted in the constitution of the USA and later followed by many countries of Latin America and Europe with modification. Montesquieu, a French writer, wrote his famous book 'Spirit of Laws' in which he explained the principle of separation of Powers. He separated powers of all three organs of government-legislature, executive and judiciary. The Framers of the American Constitution were influenced by Montesquieu. They considered separation of power as a safeguard against tyrannical rules. They regarded that the accumulation of all three powers in the same may curtail liberties of the citizens. The Constitution of the United States was enacted by the Philadelphia Convention on 15th September, 1787 and came into existence on 4th March, 1789 after the ratification by states. This American constitution incorporated the principle of separation of powers. This was the principle on which the presidential government evolved in the USA. Further additions and modifications took place over several years which developed the presidential system in the USA. This USA model of presidential government is considered the best and it inspired many countries in the world. The constitution of the USA gave legislative power to the Congress, executive power to the President and judicial power to the Supreme Court and lower courts established under the constitution. All these organs working within their respective spheres are practically independent of each other. However, to ensure that no organ of the government may become dictator, the principle of Checks and Balances has also been adopted. It creates balances with two organs of government by imposing checks on one organ.

9.6.2. MEANING OF PRESIDENTIAL GOVERNMENT

Presidential Government is that form of government in which there is separation of powers and the executive organ is kept separated and independent from the legislature. The executive is not responsible to the legislature. The President is the chief executive. He is the head of the state as well as head of the government. He is the real executive. All constitutional powers are vested in him and exercised by him. The cabinet is appointed by him and solely responsible to him. The cabinet is not part of the legislature. The tenure of the chief executive is fixed and he cannot be removed before expiry of his tenure by no-confidence motion of the legislature.

Dr. Garner has defined Presidential government as that system in which the executive (including both the head of the state and his ministers) is constitutionally independent of the legislature in respect to the duration of his or their tenure and irresponsible to it for this or their political policies. In this system, the nominal head of the state is also the real executive.

Gettell had defined the Presidential system of government as that form in which the chief executive is independent of the legislature as to his tenure and to a large extent as to his policies and acts.

9.6.3. CHARACTERISTICS OF PRESIDENTIAL GOVERNMENT

Presidential Government has certain basic characteristics.

1. One chief executive Firstly, there is one chief executive i.e. the President. He is the head of the state as well as the head of the government. There is no distinction between the nominal and real executive. The President is the only one executive and he is a real executive. He has been provided all powers by the constitution which he freely exercised according to his own will. The appointment and dismissal of the cabinet is done by him. The cabinet is only an advisory body, to accept or not to accept its advice totally depends upon his will. The President is elected directly or indirectly by the people for a fixed tenure.

2. The executive is separated from the legislature: Secondly, in presidential government, the executive is separated from the legislature. The President and ministers of his cabinet cannot be the members of the legislature. Both organs are independent of each other and their tenure is not determined by each other. The President and his cabinet colleagues do not participate in legislative functions.

3. The executive is not responsible to the legislature: Thirdly, the executive is not responsible to the legislature. The real executive i.e. the President and his cabinet is free from legislative control. The Legislature cannot ask questions for the President and his ministers. The President is elected for a fixed tenure and cannot be removed through a vote of no-confidence by the legislature. He can be removed only through impeachment. The President and his ministers have no collective responsibility.

4. Direct responsibility of Chief Executive towards electorates: Fourthly, the President is directly responsible to the electorates. He is elected directly or indirectly by the electorates for a fixed term. He acts as the real ruler of the country.

5. Fixed Tenure of the legislature: Fifthly, the tenure of the legislature is fixed. It cannot be dissolved before the completion of its tenure by the President.

6. Political Homogeneity is not required: Sixthly, Political Homogeneity is not required in the presidential government. The ministers are appointed by the President without consideration of their party affiliations. They are like the family of the President or a brain trust.

7. System of checks and balances: Seventhly, the executive and the legislature are inter-connected through the system of checks and balances. This system provides powers to both organs in such a way that one organ's powers act as a check on the power of another organ. American system is the best example of such a system.

9.6.4. MERITS OF PRESIDENTIAL GOVERNMENT

Presidential government has many advantages.

- 1. Stable government:** It is a stable government. The tenures of both the executive and legislature are fixed. Thus, the government can adopt consistent and continuous policy.
- 2. Separation of powers:** It is based on the principle of separation of powers in which both the executive and legislature can work independently. It brings efficiency in the administration. Moreover, it results in decentralization of powers and leads towards a more democratic system.
- 3. Strong government:** Presidential government is a strong government. The chief executive is the real executive. It is suitable for emergencies as quick decisions can be taken.
- 4. Government of competent persons:** It is a government of competent and able persons. The president is free to appoint any competent person to his cabinet according to their abilities.
- 5. Fixed tenure:** In the presidential government, there is less influence from political parties. The government is not constituted on the basis of party politics. Fixed tenures of both the executive and the legislature minimize the chances of political opportunism and political corruption.
- 6. Checks and balances:** The system of checks and balances ensures that all organs of the government act as a check on each other's powers. Therefore, no organ of the government may become autocratic. It helps to preserve a democratic system.
- 7. Suitable for multi-party countries:** The presidential government is suitable for multi-party countries. Multi-party systems may lead to the formation of unholy coalitions. But, in a presidential government, such coalitions are not required to form the government. Therefore, it is best suited to countries with numerous diversities which result in a multi-party system.

9.6.5. DEMERITS OF PRESIDENTIAL GOVERNMENT

Despite its merits, the presidential government has its weaknesses.

- 1. Possibility of the executive autocracy:** In a presidential government, there is more possibility of the executive autocracy. The President is the real executive who can

use his powers arbitrarily in the absence of any direct legislative control over him. He can be removed only through impeachment before the completion of his tenure. It is very difficult to impeach him.

2. **Non-responsible government:** It is a non-responsible government. The executive is not directly responsible to the legislature for its functions and policies. This non-responsibility and fixed tenure of the executive may encourage it to ignore the legislature and popular sovereignty.
3. **Separation of powers may lead to inefficiency:** The separation of powers may lead to inefficiency in the presidential government. The executive and the legislature are fully separated and independent of each other. It may result in confrontation between both these organs of the government. If one political party's candidate is appointed as the President, the other political party gets a majority in the legislature. Then deadlocks and conflicts can occur between the executive and the legislature. These may hamper smooth working of the government.
4. **Rigid Government:** It is a rigid government. It lacks flexibility required for changing circumstances. The President and the legislature cannot influence and support each other to take quick decisions during a crisis or emergency. Due to the lack of harmony and cooperation between the executive and legislature, it may become difficult to pass good laws timely.
5. **Separation of power cannot be fully realized:** Presidential government is based upon the principle of separation of powers. But it is not practicable. The government functions as a coordinated unit. Separation of powers has not existed in a strict manner in any country of the world.
6. **Checks and Balances may curtail the efficiency:** The system of checks and Balances may curtail the efficiency of the government. The power of the organ may become detrimental to the working of the other organs.
7. **Undemocratic government:** It is also called an undemocratic government. The ministers are not elected representatives of the people. They are appointed by the President and are accountable only to him.
8. **Less opportunity of political education:** In a presidential government there is less possibility of political education. The members of the legislature cannot ask questions from ministers. Therefore, people have less interest in legislative discussion.

9. **Difficult to fix responsibility:** It becomes very difficult to fix responsibility in this system. The executive and the legislature do not have fixed responsibility towards each other. In case of any failure on any one's part, both can shift the blame on each other.

9.6.6. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS: EXERCISE-III

1. Define Presidential Government.
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2. Describe key characteristics of presidential government.
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9.7 SUMMARY

Governments have been classified into various forms on several bases by many thinkers in different time periods. The governments are classified into the parliamentary and presidential governments on the basis of the relationship between the legislature and executive. Parliamentary Government represents a close link between the executive and legislature with the executive’s responsibility to the legislature. On the other hand, the Presidential government exhibits separation of the executive and the legislature and non-responsibility of the executive to the legislature. Both these forms of government have their particular characteristics, merits and demerits. Although both are separate from each other, they have some similarities. Both these systems are popular and have been adopted by many countries in the contemporary world. Some countries have adopted mixed systems containing elements of both of these, by making it convenient to their social and political conditions.

9.8. QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE

9.8.1. LONG ANSWER QUESTIONS:-

1. Define Parliamentary Government. Explain its characteristics.
2. Evaluate merits and demerits of parliamentary government.
3. Define Presidential Government. Describe its characteristics.
4. Analyse merits and demerits of presidential government.
5. Make a comparative analysis of parliamentary and presidential government

9.8.2. SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Identify different contemporary political systems according to Almond and Powell.
2. Identify three merits of parliamentary government.
3. Analyse three demerits of parliamentary government.
4. Justify three merits of presidential governments.
5. Argue three demerits of presidential government.

9.9. SUGGESTED READINGS

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BACHELOR OF ARTS

SEMESTER I

COURSE: PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

UNIT 10:- FEDERAL AND UNITARY FORM OF GOVERNMENT: MEANING MERITS AND DEMERITS

STRUCTURE

10.0. Learning Objectives

10.1. Key Words

10.2. Introduction: Federal Form of Government

10.2.1. Definition of Federal System

10.2.2. Characteristics or Feature of the Federal form of Government

10.2.3. Merits of federal form of Government

10.2.4. Demerits of federal form of Government

10.2.5. Check your Progress I

10.3. Introduction: Unitary Government

10.3.1. Features of Unitary Government

10.3.2. Merits of Unitary Government

10.3.3. Demerits of the Unitary form of Government

10.3.4. Check Your Progress II

10.4. Summary

10.5. Questions for Practice

10.5.1. Long Answer Questions

10.5.2. Short Answer Questions

10.6. Suggested Readings

10.0. LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After the completion of this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the meaning of Federal form of government.
- Explain the meaning and features of unitary form of government.
- Evaluate the Merits and demerits of Federal and unitary form of governments.

10.1. Key Words: State, Unitary, Federal, Units, Separation of powers

10.2. INTRODUCTION: FEDERAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT

The word federalism has a root in the Latin word '*Foedus*' which means treaty or agreement. Under the federal system there are dual level of government, one at the central level and other at the state level. Both levels have their own area of Jurisdiction. In other words federal government is one in which there is a division of powers between centre and states.

10.2.1. DEFINITION OF FEDERAL SYSTEM:

- 1. According to Hamilton,** "Federation is an association of states that forms a new ones"
- 2. According to Dicey,** "A Federal state is nothing but a political contrivance intended to reconcile notional unity with the maintenance of state rights."
- 3. According to Finer,** "A Federal state is one in which part of the authority and power is vested in the local areas while another part is vested in central institution deliberately constituted by an association of the local areas."
- 4. According to Garner,** "Federal government is a system in which the totality of governmental power is divided and distributed by the national constitution or the organic act of parliament creating it between a central Government and Government of the individual states or the other territorial sub divisions of which the federation is composed."

So, above definitions says that in federal form of government power are distributed by the supreme constitution between the centre and states of the federal unions.

10.2.2. CHARACTERISTICS OR FEATURE OF THE FEDERAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT:

There are some characteristics or feature of Federal form of government:

- 1. Supremacy of the Constitution:** Supremacy of the constitution is one of the most important features of federal government. In this system the constitution must be written, rigid and supreme in order to make a clear division of powers between centre and state. The provisions of the constitutions cannot be easily amended by both centre and state government. The entire federal structure comes into existence on the basis of the constitution.
- 2. Rigid and Written Constitution:** In federalism the constitution is written and rigid. The constitution must be rigid so that the centre as well as state may not amend it arbitrarily. Any amending process of a constitution must require the

explicit participation of the federal units. Federal constitution should be written because the division also powers can be properly specified only in written constitution.

3. **Division of Powers:** Division of power between centre and states is an important feature of federal form of government. All subjects related to national importance should be given to the centre and subjects of local or regional importance should be entrusted to the government of the units. Some matters of common interest as concurrent subjects in which both centre and state make the law. If there is a clash between centre and state on a specific matter then central government shall be having an overriding authority.
4. **Dual Government:** In Federal system two sets of government exists. One is at the centre and other is at the state. The existence of both centre and state in same geographical boundary of a country. The central government controls the entire territory and regional governments have limited jurisdiction within their respective territory.
5. **Independent Judiciary:** There judiciary should be Independent to interpret the constitution. It also resolves the conflicts and issues between centre and the regional level units which can be called state, province etc. as well as between the units. It is the prime duty of the judiciary to watch the working of both centre and state which must be according to the constitution. If the actions of either conflicts with the provisions of the constitution the judiciary declares it as —Ultra Viresl.
6. **Dual Citizenship:** There should be dual citizenship in federal system. It means, the people will get the citizenship of that state, province etc. in which they are residing and they also enjoy the citizenship of the country. For example the citizens of USA and Switzerland enjoy the dual Citizenship.
7. **Bicameral Legislature:** Bicameral Legislature is another important feature of federal form of government. In which legislature should have two houses Upper House and Lower House. Lower house gives representation to the people and upper house consist of those have been nominated on the basis of ability and services to the nation as well as elected indirectly by the representatives of the people.

10.2.3. MERITS OF FEDERAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT:

A federal system has its merits and demerits. First we may enumerate to its following merits:

- i. **It combines the advantages of National unity with those of local Autonomy:** Federal government provides the separation of the powers between centre and state and it combines the advantages of National unity with those of local Autonomy. The decision making subjects are handed by the Centre government. Cultural and administrative autonomy is given to different nationalities and regions.

- ii. **Division of powers between centre and states lead to administrative efficiency:** Division of power between the Centre and State Government relieves the central government of many burdensome functions. So, Centre can concentrate on the problems of national importance. The administration of provincial or regional areas efficiently handles and resolves the regional issues.
- iii. **It Checks the despotism:** If powers concentrate only one hand or centralized the power there is very possibility of its being misused. But in federalism in which there are division of powers between Centre and State and division of authority which means a check on despotism.
- iv. **People take interests in local and regional affairs:** Federalism where is a separation of powers between centre and the regional units like states and provinces to manage affairs at their own levels. People take more interest and have great participation in local and regional affairs when the election to the provincial legislature and local bodies than the participation in central level elections. This is the only federal government who provides the number of opportunities of political participation from local level to National level.
- v. **Encourages small states for Union:** This system is more advantageous to the smaller states. Federalism affords a means by which petty states may be united into a more powerful common wealth. They establish diplomatic relations with other countries also and enjoy a good deal of autonomy in their respective field. Isolated countries can be easily attacked and annexed by strong countries.
- vi. **Necessary for Big Countries:** Federalism is necessary for big democratic countries with vast population, racial, cultural and linguistic diversities. Federalism is the only way out for combining this diversity with unity. It is therefore suitable to states of vast territorial jurisdiction and diversity of conditions which prevail in different parts of country.
- vii. **It is a model for the Global Village:** It serves as a model for the state to come together to form a world federation in their effort to have co-operation for peaceful living. Because world government is the only solution to the problem of world peace. The federal system raises high hopes for the future of mankind.

10.2.4. DEMERITS OF FEDERAL FORM OF GOVT.: A Federal government has also certain weakness or demerits some of them are:

- 1. **Federal government is a weak government:** Federal government is a weak government on account of the distribution of power between center and states. In term of national crisis it faces difficulties because a dual system of government is move slowly into action.

According to Prof. Dicey, “A federal constitution is as compared with a unitary constitution, is a weak form of government. A true federal government is based on

the division of powers. It means the constant effort of statesmanship to balance one state of the confederacy against other.¶

- 2. Federal Government is more Expensive:** Federal government is more expensive than unitary form of government. There are separate legislatures and executive as well as periodical elections for both central and regional are being conducted. In this way federal government becomes too expensive and poor countries cannot afford the expenditure of federal structure. Dual system of ruling also creates functional clashes degrading distribution of funds between states.
- 3. Rigidity of the Constitution may Hinder National Progress:** In federalism, constitution is rigid and regional units do not allow amending or changing the constitution once enacted. This type of constitution is not suitable for developing countries. Due to the rigid procedure of amendment, necessary changes in the constitution cannot be done so easily.
- 4. Fixation of responsibility is difficult:** It is a weak government on account of the division of powers between the centre and states. This division of powers sometimes creates confusion about the fixation of responsibility when something goes negative or wrong or unconstitutional. In case of wrong decisions or policies of administration, government (Center or State) may try to shift the responsibility on one to another.
- 5. Division of Power between Central and State Government leads to many conflicts:** In federal system every state has its own separate jurisdiction of rights. On confessionals or conflict issues there is non-cooperation between centre and state. Both centre and state government blame each other when anything goes wrong as the of the powers lead to division distribution of responsibility.
- 6. Conflict of Jurisdiction may arise:** In federal government there are two sets of legislature and two sets of laws. Division of the power may leads to conflicts of Jurisdiction between centre and state government because it cannot be make it clear that which government has power to deal with specific issues and situation and in various matter there is no compromise.
- 7. Diversity in Legislation and Administration:** In division of power there is always the possibility of a variety of laws on the same matter. This leads to great complexities and confusion.

10.2.5. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS I

1. What is Federal form of government?

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2. What is meant by separation of powers?

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10.3. INTRODUCTION: UNITARY GOVERNMENT

Governments are classified as unitary and Federal on the basis of division of powers or concentration of powers in centre and state relations. Let us discuss about the unitary form of government.

A unitary form of government is that government which is fully authorized to use all the powers and alone is responsible to execute the legislations. All other organizations within the state owe their existence and receive their authority from this body. The definitions of the unitary form of government by prominent political thinkers are as below:

According to Finer, -The Unitary state is one in which all authority and power are lodged in a single centre, whose will and agents are legally omnipotent will and agents are legally omnipotent over the whole area.¶

According to Willoughby, in a unitary government, -all the powers of government conferred in the first instance upon a single central government, and that government is left at complete freedom to affect such a division of these powers territorially as in its opinion is wise.

Professor Strong defined: -A Unitary state is one organized under a single central government, that is to say, whatever power are possessed by the various districts within the area administered as a whole by the central government, are held at the discretion of that government, and the central power is supreme over the whole without any restrictions imposed by any law granting special power to its parts.¶

According to Garner, -Where the whole power of government is conferred by the constitution upon a single central organ or organs, from which the local governments

derive whatever authority or autonomy they possess, and indeed their very existence, we have a system of unitary government.¶

According to above definitions, we can analyze that in unitary form of government powers are concentrated in Centre only and legislature is supreme law making body in the country. It means the concentration of powers in the hand of the Central Government.

10.3.1 FEATURES OF UNITARY GOVERNMENT

There are some features of unitary government which are as below:

- 1. Existence of Single Government:** In unitary form of government the powers are vested in the hands of single powerful government. There is absence of subsidiary sovereign law making body. The powers of the states are depends upon the will of the Centre. The regional units are working like administrative units of country and they are not free to exercise their will according to their own way. This strong government is responsible for the maintenance of internal peace, law and order and defense of the country.
- 2. Rigid and Flexible Constitution:** In federal form of government the constitution should be rigid but in unitary system it is may be rigid or flexible. The central government can amend the constitution according to its own sweet will because there is no division of power between center and state. Like constitution of UK is flexible but the constitution of France is slightly rigid.
- 3. Single Citizenship:** Centralization of powers is the basic feature of unitary government dual citizenship does not exist in unitary state because there are some local governments in the form of administrative units and they are directly handled by the center. Each citizen has only single citizenship of entire country and there is no separate citizenship of states. In England, Scotland Wales etc. in the UK are the example of single citizenship.
- 4. Written or unwritten constitution:** In unitary government constitution may be written or unwritten. For example France has a written constitution and other hand UK in which unitary form of government has a partly unwritten constitution. Like federal state, written constitution is not a basic feature of unitary government.
- 5. Single Legislature:** There is only one law making body in unitary state. There is no dual set of governments. There is no provision of separate legislature and executive for the units. These units are under the laws of the centre.
- 6. No Separate Judicial Authority to Resolve the Disputes.** In unitary system there is no separate judicial system at central and state level to solve the cases of centre and local units, the decision of the upper authority would prevail because the local units are the creation of the centre government.

7. **No Constitutional Division of Powers:** In federal government there are division of powers between centre and state but in unitary system there is only one supreme legislature and the local units are the creation of the centre, so there is no division of powers between centre and its unit. These units are not granted any power of the constitution. In this form there is concentration of power and centre is all powerful.
8. **Administrative Uniformity:** Uniformity in the administration is another feature of unitary system. Due to the concentration of powers there is one Parliament for the making of laws and to run the administration and there is only one cabinet for the whole country. In provinces have not their own separate legislature and cabinet. They all are to act according to the orders and decisions of the centre. There is only one administration for the entire country.

10.3.2 MERITS OF UNITARY GOVERNMENT

The following are the merits of Unitary Government:

1. **Flexibility:** Unitary system possesses greater flexibility and can adopt and adjust according to the needs of the people according to particular situation. The constitution can be amended quickly and easily. So, the administration of a unitary state is flexible.
2. **Prompt Decisions:** Prompt decisions are taken in a unitary government. The entire power is vested in the hands of central authority, to avoid delay and clash on any matter. This type of government is best in the time of crises.
3. **Uniformity:** Uniformity in law and administration in a state with unitary system. It is possible only because the local units are the created by the centre and are the agent of the center. There is no conflict and overlapping of the jurisdiction of the state and its units. These units are to act according to the rules of centre.
4. **Strong Administration:** In unitary system all powers are concentrated only a single powerful central government. So, it is a very effective and efficient government to take quick decision. Possessing a single administration the unitary government can adjust itself to changing conditions easily and quickly.
5. **Less expensive:** Unitary system is less expensive as compared to a federal system. In the lack of dual form of government no duplicity in the work at the unit level there is only one set of government at the centre and it is more economically.
6. **More suited to the small countries.** The form of government is quite suitable for small countries having geographical unity and cultural homogeneity after ending all difference.
7. **Promotes National Unity:** It represents the national unity in respect of religion, race, language, cultural diversities etc. There is only single legislature, executive and judiciary of entire nation. It is responsible for the development of its citizens. Unlike the federal system the unitary state does not divide the allegiance of the citizens.

- 8. Strong policies possible:** In this government, it is possible to execute a very strong policy because there is no danger of disagreement from the centre and states on the policies which made by the legislature. Due to the centralization of powers, there is less scope of conflicts between centre and its units regarding the policies.

10.3.3. DEMERITS OF THE UNITARY FORM OF GOVERNMENT

On the other hand, a unitary system has its demerits that may be counted as under:

1. **It crushes the local initiative:** Unitary system crushes the local initiative. Centralization takes away the autonomy of the provinces. It concerns the people of some particular localities. Though people have no share in the government and local matters can be ignored. The system thus tends to repress local initiative and to discourage popular interest in public affairs.
2. **Local Affairs are neglected:** There is an absence of autonomous local self-government in unitary system. The local-self-government works according to the provisions, supervision and control of centre. On the other hand, the centre is incapable of looking after the problems of regional areas that can be better managed in a federal system. Due to the centralization of powers, the centre has no time to give the attention to all the local matters. Local affairs are run by the administration appointed by the centre. The centre is incapable of looking after the problems of units that can be better managed in federal system.
3. **Centralized Bureaucracy:** In Unitary state over centralized administrative set up. The administration of provinces and units are run by the bureaucrats not by the elected representatives of the people. This administration minimizes the opportunity of the people to take the part in administration.
4. **The center may Become Autocratic:** There is a centralization of power can be lead to despotism and likely to be misused. All the powers are vested in the hands of single authority may have a corrupting influence on it. It is quite possible that the central authority can misuse its power and it may become autocratic to the extent of killing the liberties of the people.
5. **Not suitable for the big countries:** This form of government is not suitable for the big countries because of the heterogeneity of religion, ethnicity, culture, language etc. for this reason a federal form of the government is more suitable than the unitary form of government for big countries.
6. **Inefficient Government:** Due to the centralization of powers the governments totally neglect the problems of regional and local affairs. It may also be overburdened with problems and responsibilities. It may be fails to work efficiently since it deal with all sorts of public affairs.
7. **Less opportunities of Political Education:** There is no separate legislature in states and in local units in unitary form of government. Elections of the central legislative body holds once in a numbers of years. The people and their

representatives do not receive political education as they receive it in federal system. Regional and provincial bodies are often managed by the bureaucrats because these bodies are not elected by the people. So people have less opportunities of political education in unitary government. In the words of Dr. Garner," Unitary government tends to repress local initiative, discourages rather than stimulates interest in public affairs, impairs the vitality of governments and facilitates the development of centralized bureaucracy.

10.3.4. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS II

1. What is Single Citizenship?

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2. What is Administrative Uniformity?

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10.4. SUMMARY

In nutshell, it can be said that federal government is accepted beyond all doubts because federations gives better opportunities and give more chances for development of citizens. It suited to the countries having a large area and diversity of racial religion, linguistic, ethnic, and cultural matters.

After discussing the merits and demerits of unitary government we find there are some demerits in unitary government, yet as compared to federal countries. It is more useful for small countries. In modern times unitary governments generally give maximum regional and local autonomy in democratic countries. In the end we can say that both forms are equally important forms of government and can be adopted according to the circumstances and requirements. Like unitary form of government is better for small countries and federal form of governments for large countries.

10.5. QUESTIONS FOR PRACTICE

10.5.1. LONG ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Mention the Merits of Federal government?
2. What are the essential characteristics of Federal government?

3. Write down the demerits of federal government.
4. Write the features of unitary form of Government.
5. Describe the Merits of unitary form of government.
6. Mention the demerits of unitary form of government.

10.5.2 SHORT ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Give A Definition Of Federal Form Of Government.
2. Name Any Five Federal States In World.
3. What is unitary form of government?
4. Give definitions of unitary form of government.
5. Name any five unitary states in the world.

10.6. SUGGESTED READINGS

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