

# **Principles of Political Science**

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# Unit I

*Political Science: Definition,  
Nature and Scope*

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## Chapter 1 Political Science: Definition, Nature and Scope

### Learning Objectives:

This chapter devotes the discussion on some important methods to study political science. After studying this chapter, you should be able to understand:

- Meaning of Political Science
- Origin of Political Science
- Nature of Political Science
- Scope of the study of Political Science

### Structure:

- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 Origin of the Study of Political Science
- 1.3 Meaning and Definitions of Political Science
- 1.4 Nature of Political Science
- 1.5 Scope of Political Science
- 1.6 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
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## 1.1 INTRODUCTION

Politics is in reality a natural and essential aspect of social life. No society is or can be without politics. Everyone is involved in some kind of politics. It is said that politics is an unavoidable fact of human existence. Politics also takes care of everyone. So, modern man is a political animal. Political Science is a social science which deals with the systematic study of politics. Ancient Greeks can claim the credit of being pioneers in studying Political Science methodically. At that time, Greeks lived in city states, Greek philosophers like Socrates, Plato and Aristotle made a scientific study of the various problems which has beset the city-states. While Socrates discussed orally through dialogues, his great Pupil Plato cultivated systematic political thought in his three dozen written dialogues, among which the 'Republic' was the most celebrated. Plato explained the moral importance of the state, its organic unity and educational duties, and, most all, its superiority over

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individuals in this book. Aristotle is supposed to be Plato's intellectual kid. He pioneered a methodical study of Political Science as a separate academic discipline in his classic work 'The Politics.' So, Aristotle is regarded as the father of Political Science. The word "politics" comes from the Greek word "polis," which means "city-states" or "state." As a result, it is described as the study of the state's activities.

However, Political Science has ceased to be solely a science of "statecraft and eloquence" in recent years. The subject's scope has widened to the point where defining "Political Science" has become challenging. The nature of Political Science is a source of much debate among academics. Aristotle called it as a master science while scholars like August Comte, Buckle and Maitland denied Political Science as a science. Political science was taught in Plato's "Academy" and Aristotle's "Lyceum" in order to prepare future statesmen and administrators. Administrators, politicians, and diplomats now all require a solid understanding of Political Science in order to do their duties effectively. The study of Political Science is valuable for securing unity of the nation and also to make the democracy success. The significance of Political Science has assumed much importance in the nuclear age. G.B. Shaw said "Political Science is the science by which alone civilisation can be saved."

## 1.2 ORIGIN OF THE STUDY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Political Science is a social science which deals with the systematic study of politics. As an ancient field of learning, it first began from the Greeks. Ancient Greece produced a series of intellectual luminaries of whom Socrates, Plato and Aristotle were famous political philosophers. Socrates laid the foundation of intellectual inquiry and the quest for truth. Plato and Aristotle were two early Greek political philosophers who contributed significantly to the discipline of political science. Plato explained the moral importance of the state, its organic unity and educational duties, and, above all, its superiority over individuals in his classic book "The Republic." Aristotle is regarded to be Plato's intellectual child, and in his classic book "The Politics," he established Political Science as an independent academic department for the first time. Because of his far-reaching and permanent contribution to the realm of politics, Aristotle is known as the Father of Political Science. As a result, he was the founder of the science of politics. It then expanded to all other countries, and its study has become increasingly important in current times.

## 1.3 MEANING AND DEFINITIONS OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

The title "Political Science" or "Politics" comes from the Greek word "Polis," which meaning "city-state." "The science and art of government, the science dealing with the form of organisation and administration of a state or portion of one, and the regulation of its relations with other states," according to the Oxford

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English Dictionary. Political Science has been defined by different thinkers in various ways. A precise and universally accepted definition of Political Science is not available. A review of the publications authored by famous scholars reveals that the authors themselves do not hold firm opinions, making it difficult to provide accurate definitions. The following are some key political science definitions.

### Traditional Definitions

1. **Paul Janet:** "Political Science is that part of social science which treats the foundation of state and principles of the Government".
2. **Gettell:** "Political Science is the historical investigation of what the state has been, an analytical study of what the state is and a politico-ethical discussion of what the state ought to be."
3. **Seeley:** "Political Science investigates the phenomena of Government as Political Economy deals with wealth, Biology with the life, Algebra with numbers and Geometry with space and magnitudes."
4. **Bluntschli:** "Political Science is the science which is concerned with the state which endeavours to understand and comprehend the state in its fundamental conditions, in its essential nature, its various forms of manifestation and its development."
5. **Garner:** "Political Science begins and ends with state."
6. **Gilchrist:** "Political Science is a study of state and government."

All the definitions stated above speak out one thing that Political Science is concerned with the State, Government and formal political institutions.

### Modern Definitions

- (a) **Lasswell and Kaplan:** "Political Science is the study of shaping and sharing of powers."
- (b) **David Easton:** "Political Science is concerned with the authoritative allocation of values for the society."
- (c) **Kindelberger:** "Politics exists when ends and means are controversial."
- (d) **Hillman:** "Politics is the science of who gets what, when and why?"

From the above definitions, we may conclude that Political Science is a social science which deals with the study of state, government, political institutions, political power, political behaviour and political dynamics, and it now deals with the study of nature and attitude of human beings, law, human relations, relationship between individual and the state, the extent of individual freedom and self-control.

## 1.4 NATURE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

There has been no agreement among thinkers as the scientific nature of Political Science. Aristotle calls it is the master science. Hobbes, Lord Bryce, Vicco, Hume, Fredrick Pollock and Seeley, etc. consider it as a science. While Maitland, Mosca, Burke, Burckle and Comte deny that Political Science is not a science. So, it is worth to have a debate on it.

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### Political Science is a Science

Before discussing the scientific nature of Political Science, it is necessary to know what really a science is. If science is a systematic reasoning, then we cannot deny the claim of Political Science to be a science. But if science involves exact conclusions and clearly defined subjects, then we may not regard Political Science as a science.

Political Science, on the other hand, is a science in my opinion. A science is a corpus of knowledge that has been organised. The task of science is to classify facts and recognize their relative significance and sequence, and from principles of general application. A science deals with experimentation, observation within a laboratory, and exact conclusion and absolute principles. The following arguments may be given to justify the claim of Political Science to a Science:

- (a) **Political science is a systematised body of knowledge:** Facts related to the State, Government and other political institutions are ascertained by employing methods that are systematical. Research in Political Science is conducted in systematic manner and the result reveals that political scientists acquire knowledge about political institutions and behaviours in every stage and phase without ignoring a single link and missing any vital step.
- (b) **Experimentation is also possible in political science:** The elements of Direct Democracy have been successfully experimented in the cantons of Switzerland. Political Scientists have been able to use several devices to experiment the views of the people for formation of government and the success and failure of the governmental policies. They have proved their predictions true in many cases.
- (c) **Several political norms have become universally accepted:** There are certain norms universally accepted in physical sciences. In Political Science also, we find that there are some principles such as the integrity of the judges, neutrality of the civil servants, and loyalty by the head of the state to the constitution which have formed the cardinal virtues of almost all the states. It proves that norms of Political Science also have universal acceptability.
- (d) **Micro study is also undertaken in political science:** In physical sciences like Physics and Chemistry, the students make detailed studies about the smallest and simplest parts of the substance or objects. So also, in Political Science, the students and the researchers make micro studies about the different aspects of political institutions including the study of the political behaviours of the groups and individuals.

For the above reasons, Aristotle, Bodin, Hobbes, Lord Bryce, Bluntschli, Jellineck and others hold Political Science as Science. However, political science principles derived from observation, analysis, and experiment are not as precise as physical science laws.

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### Political Science is Not a Science

Scholars like Buckle, Comte, Mosca and Maitland did not accept the claim of Political Science as a science for the following reasons:

- (a) Scholars disagree over the study's methods, principles, and results.
- (b) Political science principles are not uniformly accepted and applied. The principles and findings of Political Science lack exactness. They are mostly hypothetical. The findings cannot be regarded as true and universal.
- (c) It is difficult to apply scientific methods of investigation to the study political phenomena, because political events are characterised by uncertainty, variability, and a lack of adequate order
- (d) Laboratory experimentation is not possible in Political Science. In physical science, the students make experiments in laboratories. The experiment is conducted with the help of tools and equipments. In Political Science, such types of experiment is not possible because Political Science deals with man and his behaviour which is flexible and dynamic. Social phenomena are always changing and becoming more difficult to manage. Politics, according to Lowell, is "an observational rather than an experimental science."
- (e) Unlike physical disciplines, political science lacks universally applicable concepts or laws. Because of the complexity of social phenomena and the changeability of human behaviour, it is difficult to draw exact conclusions. As a result, it is referred to as an inexact science..
- (f) In Political Science, the researcher cannot make exact predictions as political behaviour of men is influenced by human passions, emotions and prejudices. Unlike physical disciplines, political science lacks universally applicable concepts or laws. Because of the complexity of social phenomena and the changeability of human behaviour, it is difficult to draw exact conclusions. As a result, it is referred to as an inexact science.
- (g) Objectivity which characterized the physical sciences is lacking in Political Science. As a result of the political observers' subjective bias, his judgement of political problems is skewed, and his conclusions are one-sided and partial.

As a result, Political Discipline, like Physics and Chemistry, cannot claim to be a precise science because socio-political connections are continually changing.. Meteorology is a science whose predictions are not exact. Therefore, Political Science follows scientific method of investigation for which it is called a science. Again, there is emerging some sort of agreement among scholars on various political issues and so qualified to be called a science.

### Political Science is an Art

Scholars such as Buckle, August Comte, and Maitland did not accept Political Science's claim to be a science. "When I see the examination questions with the

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heading Political Science, I regret not the subject but the label,” Maitland stated. Political Science is regarded as an art form by them. “Practical application of knowledge for the achievement of a particular aim” is what we understand by art. Art is significant because it makes practical use of the knowledge it acquires. It contributes to the achievement of this goal. Political Science provides students with information about the state and government. They might be able to deduce the steps that led to the state’s formation and the reasons for its continued existence. Knowledge concerning the state’s origins, nature, and growth is not only acquired; it is also used to define and construct the state’s purpose, as well as its governance.

The constitution of a state is drafted by application of this knowledge. This knowledge becomes the basis for administering the day-to-day affairs of the state. The purpose and objectives of the state are realised only through this knowledge. The students of Political Science develop a skill in them to shape the foreign policies of a state on which the diplomatic relations with other states can be maintained.

Researchers in Political Science use the fundamental concepts of the discipline to develop public opinion in order to ensure that society runs smoothly. The rules and regulations enacted by administrators and statesmen not only facilitate public engagement in administration, but they also open the door to expanding the scope of government activities.

The rigorous principles of physical and scientific sciences can never be used to govern a human society. It necessitates adaptability and flexibility. Political science provides the ability to alter rules and regulations to deal with situations in the best and most beneficial interests of the state. As a result, Political Science is a form of art.

### **Political Science is Both a Science and an Art**

On the basis of the analysis of the meaning and definitions of science, Political Science is essentially a science as it is a body of systematized knowledge and is studied methodically. It is not only capable of conducting tests and experiments of political phenomenon, but it also predicts results which comes true.

Political Science is an Art as well as Science. It has both theoretical and practical values. The accumulated theoretical knowledge about the political organizations, institutions and behaviours are very accurately and skillfully applied for the purpose of achieving one’s end in the society. It always provides ways and means for a better type of social living which is the real meaning of art.

Hence, Political Science is both a Science and an Art. According to William Esslinger, “Science and Art need not be antithesis.” An engineer who acquires knowledge about theories of civil constructions also applies it for building houses, roads and bridges. In that case, he is both a scientist as well as an artist.

## 1.5 SCOPE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

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The subject-matter of Political Science is implied by its scope. In other words, it provides information on its jurisdiction. Political science has a very broad and thorough scope. Its extent is rarely agreed upon by political scientists. In 1948, the International Political Science Association attempted to define the scope of political science in Paris. It divided the scope into four zones, viz., Political Theory, Political Institutions, Political Dynamics and International Relations. But the expanding frontier of political science goes beyond these limitations. It is increasing day by day. Political Science has now become an all-embracing subject. With the advent of the idea of welfare state and human welfare, the scope and importance of political science have expanded widely.

- 1. A study of the state and government:** Political Science is primarily concerned with the state and government. It discusses the problem and organization of the State and Government. The State is a group of people organised for the purpose of enforcing the law within a defined territory. It consists of four components: population, territory, government, and sovereignty. The government is a state organ. Political science is the study of the government's operations. It also explains the government's goals and objectives.
- 2. A study of political theory and political philosophy:** Political science is the study of political theory and philosophy. Political theory is concerned with the definition and interpretation of basic political ideas such as the state, government, law, liberty, equality, justice, sovereignty, separation of powers, political obligation, and other ideologies. A political science student must begin their studies with Political Theory.  
  
Political philosophy is the study of the underlying ideas used by political scientists from a theoretical and speculative standpoint. The study of famous political philosophers' political philosophies, such as Plato's, Aristotle's, Machiavelli's, Bodin's, Hobbes', Locke's, Rousseau's, Hegel's, Green's, J.S. Mill's, Karl Marx's, and Lenin's, is an important element of Political Science. Political theory defines political concepts based on the ideas of political philosophers.
- 3. A study of political institutions:** Political science is a rather broad field. It entails the investigation of political institutions. This incorporates the study of constitutions and comparative government. It studies the relative merits or demerits of different political institutions, constitutional laws and comparative Government. It helps in arriving at different conclusion of comparative basis. The state, political institutions and associations are studied in Political Science.
- 4. A study of public administration and local administration:** The scope of Political Science includes the study of public administration and local administration. The organisation, control, and coordination of administrative machinery, as well as personnel administration, financial administration, public relations, administrative law, and adjudication, are all aspects of public administration. It also examines local self-

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- government entities such as Panchayati Raj institutions, Corporations, Municipalities, and Notified Area Councils.
5. **A study of relation between the individual and the state:** The nature of the interaction between the individual and the state is included in the scope of Political Science. It investigates how a person should fit into society. Individuals have certain rights and liberties that the state guarantees and protects. At the same time, the state puts some restrictions on the enjoyment of those rights and liberties. The state also expects from the individuals to do some duties. Thus, the reconciliation between individual's freedom and state's restrictions is one of the moving studies of Political Science. Political Science also studies about man in his social relationships.
  6. **A study of international law and relations:** In 21st century, the isolated existence of the state is totally unthinking. So, the study of Political Science includes a study of international relations. It covers diplomacy, international politics, international law and organization. It aims at establishing a world government. The study of international relations, often known as international law or law among nations, is a corpus of basic concepts and particular laws that governs the interaction between states and international institutions in times of peace, security, harmony, and cooperation among nations.
  7. **A study of political dynamics:** The present forces at work in government and politics are referred to as political dynamics. It covers a broad range of topics. Political parties, public opinion, pressure groups, lobbyists, and other entities fall into this category. Individual and group political behaviour can be explained by a thorough examination of these forces. This is where the study of government and politics begins. These bring change in political administration, social order and cultural trend. These help in explaining economics also. Human mind is dynamic, not static. So, his ideas as to politics, sociology, economics change. Political studies keep abreast of these changes.
  8. **A study of political behaviour:** The study of people's political behaviour in the political process is another major component of Political Science's scope in modern times. The study of politics includes topics such as voting behaviour, political engagement, leadership, recruiting, elite behaviour, mass politics, and so on.
  9. **A study of political sociology:** Political Sociology is included in the scope of Political Science. Modern political scientists have coined terms such as political system, political culture, political socialisation, political development, political modernization, political power, authority, legitimacy, influence, and political involvement to examine it.
  10. **A study of environment of politics:** The study of politics necessitates an examination of the psychological, social, economic, and anthropological contexts in which every political system operates, in fact, the entire environment in which every political system operates. This study helps to explain and compare the functioning of various political systems of the world.



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Thus, the scope of Political Science has been expanding in recent times. It has now become very broad. It includes everything that falls within the fold of political activity and political process. It is dynamic and continuously developing subject of study. Its scope is ever expanding.

### Check Your Progress

#### I. Multiple Choice Questions

1. 'The Republic' is written by whom?  
(a) Socrates (b) Plato  
(c) Aristotle (d) Rousseau
2. Who is regarded as the father of Political Science?  
(a) Plato (b) Socrates  
(c) Aristotle (d) Machiavelli
3. Who said "Political Science begins and ends with state"?  
(a) Laski (b) Green  
(c) Seeley (d) Garner
4. Who regarded Political Science as master science?  
(a) Aristotle (b) Lord Bryce  
(c) Seeley (d) Hume
5. Who among the following does not consider Political Science as science?  
(a) Aristotle (b) Hobbes  
(c) Bryce (d) Maitland

#### II. True or False

1. Political Science is an exact science.
2. Plato is the Father of Political Science.
3. 'The Politics' is written by Aristotle.
4. Garner says 'Political Science begins and ends with state'.
5. Political Science is both science and art.

#### III. Match the Following

- |                                |                          |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Plato                       | (a) Social Science       |
| 2. Aristotle                   | (b) Both Science and Art |
| 3. Political Science           | (c) Subject-matter       |
| 4. Scope                       | (d) The Republic         |
| 5. Nature of Political Science | (e) The Politics         |

## 1.6 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

#### I. Multiple Choice Questions

1. (b)
2. (c)
3. (d)
4. (a)
5. (d)

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### II. True or False

1. False
2. False
3. True
4. True
5. True

### III. Match the Following

1. (d)
2. (e)
3. (a)
4. (c)
5. (b)

## 1.7 SUMMARY

Political Science is a social science which makes a systematic study of state, government, other political institutions, political powers, political dynamics, political process and political behaviour. It involves a systematic attempt to acquire scientific knowledge of the political phenomenon. It is a social science like Sociology and Economics not a natural science. The scope of Political Science has been continuously changing and expanding. It has evolved from a study of only state and government to a study of all political institutions, functions, and processes in all cultures. In recent years, the study of political science has grown in popularity and importance.

## 1.8 KEY TERMS

- **The Republic:** A famous book written by Plato.
- **The Politics:** A famous book written by Aristotle.
- **Lyceum:** An Athenian School founded by Aristotle.
- **Academy:** An educational institution founded in Polis city by Plato in Athens in 387 B.C.
- **Greek Word 'Polis':** Means City-states.

## 1.9 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

### Short Answer Questions

1. Meaning of Political Science.
2. Nature of Political Science.
3. Scope of Political Science.

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### Long Answer Questions

1. Define Political Science. Discuss its scope.
2. Discuss meaning and nature of Political Science.
3. "Political Science is both science and art." Explain.

### ACTIVITY

Provide two real-life examples to prove how:

1. 'State is the central concept of the study of Political Science'. Examine it by analyzing the traditional definitions.
2. 'Political Science is a science.' Justify it by citing the characteristics of science in Political Science.
3. 'Political Science is a misnomer.' Examine the statement.
4. 'The scope of Political Science is expanding day by day.' Prove it.
5. 'Political Science is both Science and Art.' Justify it.

### CASE STUDY

#### Scope of Political Science is Ever Expanding

The subject-matter in the study of Political Science is referred to as the scope of Political Science. Its scope is exceedingly broad and extensive as an emerging social science. Its extent is rarely agreed upon by political scientists. In the year 1948, the International Political Science Association attempted to define its scope in Paris. Political Theory, Political Institutions, Political Dynamics, and International Relations were divided into four categories. However, the increasing horizon of Political Science defies these constraints. Now, Political Science has become an all-embracing subject. With the advent of the idea of welfare state, the scope of Political Science have expanded widely. The study of political behaviour, political power, political process, political sociology, etc. are under the jurisdiction of Political Science. Thus, the scope of Political Science is expanding day by day.

#### Question:

1. Give your opinion regarding the scope of Political Science.

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# Relationship of Political Chapter 2 Science with History, Economics and Sociology

### Learning Objectives:

This chapter devotes the discussion on some important methods to study political science. After studying this chapter, you should be able to understand:

- The relationship between Political Science and History
- The relationship between Political Science and Sociology
- The relationship between Political Science and Economics

### Structure:

- 2.1 Introduction
- 2.2 Relationship between Political Science and History
- 2.3 Relationship between Political Science and Economics
- 2.4 Relationship between Political Science and Sociology
- 2.5 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 2.6 Summary
- 2.7 Key Terms
- 2.8 Self-Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 2.9 References

## 2.1 INTRODUCTION

Human society is studied by different social sciences, one of which is political science. Like other social sciences, political science is a humanistic social science. All social sciences, which have grown into autonomous disciplines, are bound together by a common string. Social sciences together cover the whole social life of man. Each of them deals with one specialized field or aspect of man's social behaviour. Hence, we have various social sciences, which may be regarded as the petals of the same flower 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.

Political science touches the other social sciences at various points. Therefore, for the proper understanding of political science, its relations with other social sciences have to be examined. Sharp, clear and definitive frontiers cannot be

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marked around political science. While collecting data or making a psychological or behavioural approach, the political scientist may find himself in the field of sociology or any other non-political field. It is very difficult to say at what point the political researcher crosses the boundaries of political science and strays into the field of other social sciences.

Scientific knowledge is an integrated whole, and artificial barriers between sciences cannot be erected. It is only for convenience and specialization that knowledge is brought under different subjects. The specialist cannot but realize the unity in social sciences and the connection between one discipline and another. The work done in one particular field has its repercussions on other fields as well.

Political science cannot be a self-sufficient discipline. Inevitably, it has to rely on other social sciences. The give-and-take principle prevails among all social sciences. We shall examine the relations between Political Science and Sociology, and History and Economics.

## 2.2 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLITICAL SCIENCE AND HISTORY

History is a chronological account of man's achievements and failures in his quest for civilization and culture. It is a story of the past, recording political, social, economic, religious and cultural progress made by man in various parts of the world. It is a social science closely related to political science. Both the disciplines are interrelated and mutually dependent.

History supplies raw material to the political scientist. One of the methods of studying political science is historical. The historian places at the disposal of the political scientist a very rich and useful fund of information about man's activities in the past in the various parts of the world in a chronological order. A part of this material is used by the political investigator for studying the origin and the growth of political institutions.

The scope of political science is narrower than that of history. The field of history is wider than that of political science, as the former is interested in the entire record of man's progress in all fields, while the latter is concerned only with political affairs of mankind. The political scientist has to select his material carefully from historical facts and data, as all matters provided by history may not be quite germane to the study of political science. While it is true that the debt political science owes to history is great, it is only partially correct to say that history is past politics. All history cannot be past politics, as such historical material does not deal with political activity, political principles and institutions, and is irrelevant to the study of political science.

Political Science and History are mutually dependent. Sir John Seeley speaks the truth through with some exaggeration when he says: "History without Political Science has no fruit; Political Science without History has no root." Undoubtedly, political institutions are the products of history. The historian provides the political

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scientist with rich source material for his study. The roots of political science lie in the historical material chronologically arranged by the historian. Lord Acton emphatically says: "The science of politics is the gold deposited by the stream of history." This explains how highly indebted the political scientist is, to the historian.

Similarly, the historian is indebted to the political scientist, who explains how the state and the government emerged, and made rich contribution to the evolution of culture and civilization. Political science deals with political activity, a very important part of human activity, which the historian cannot ignore.

History cannot enrich itself without the aid of political science. As regards their mutual indebtedness, Seeley aptly says: "Politics are vulgar when not liberalized by history, and history fades into mere literature when it loses sight of its relation to politics." But Freeman is not quite correct when he says that "history is past politics or that politics is present history." The interdependence of the two subjects is so great that they touch each other frequently. Burgess says with great emphasis: "Separate them (history and politics) and the one becomes a cripple, if not a corpse and the other a will-of-the-wisp." Both the subjects are complementary.

History covers part of the ground of human activity in the pre-political stage, and like sociology, enables the researcher to study the origin of society and the formation of state and government. The remaining background is furnished by subjects like anthropology, philosophy, ethics and psychology.

History and Political Science are distinct social sciences, but they are inseparable. History presents facts, but does not speculate. Political science speculates also while dealing with the objectives of state formation. But both the disciplines have the study of the state in common.

### 2.3 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLITICAL SCIENCE AND ECONOMICS

Economics is a social science "dealing with the production, distribution, exchange and consumption of wealth." (Webster's Unified Dictionary and Encyclopedia). It deals with satisfaction of human wants and material welfare. Political science deals with state and government, and problems connected with the exercise of coercive power.

The two social sciences are intimately connected. Till recent years, economics was regarded as a branch of political science. In most of the cases, economists were also social philosophers. The Greeks gave the title Political Economy to economics. Though today the two subjects have been separated, each with its own field, the two continue to be very closely connected. 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. If political science is detached from economics, it will become a mere skeleton.

The two disciplines came still closer to each other after the outbreak of the Industrial Revolution (1750-1850). The excessive concentration of wealth in the

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hands of a few industrial capitalists, and the merciless exploitation of workers and the poor urgently necessitated the state regulation of industry, finance, trade and commerce through legislation. Today, every state to a smaller or greater extent regulates and controls the production of wealth. Political action is required for solving economic problems. Political ideas and principles in a state shape economic conditions. Thus, political science and economics have common ground of functioning and have very much to do with each other.

In the modern state, the most important issues or problems of conflict are economic. Modern states have to strain their nerves for public welfare. In the promotion of welfare, both the social sciences work together in close collaboration. All over the world, whatever may be the basic principles of state control and regulation, the concept of the welfare state has been accepted. The state exists for the welfare of man, and politicians, administrators and economists coming together pool their energies for the promotion of the happiness and well-being of society.

Several examples can be given to illustrate that economic forces shape destinies of states, thus proving the intimacy between political science and economics. Revolutionary changes take place in the power structures of states owing to economic factors. Forms of government in Russia, China and other countries radically changed owing to revolutions having an economic background. The outbreak of the American Revolution and the birth of the USA had much to do with economic causes. In several countries, struggles break out to acquire political power for gaining economic control, which may be utilized either to promote economic welfare or to oppress the poor masses of people. No government, worth its salt, can afford to remain unconcerned without regulating economic activities.

Certain theories regarding the ends and functions of state and the sphere of state activity also establish a connection between political and economic principles. The combination is seen in the theories of Communism, Democratic Socialism, Fabianism, Fascism and Nazism.

Democracy becomes meaningless in a country, if a few continue to be rich and powerful leaving the masses of people in the jaws of poverty. Democracy becomes meaningful only when it penetrates into the economic field to reduce substantially the disparity between the rich and the poor. In several economically backward countries, political democracy goes ahead leaving economic democracy far behind. The dependence of political science on economics is shown by the fact that people do not enjoy the fruits of democracy fully without the necessary legislation for economic changes.

## 2.4 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLITICAL SCIENCE AND SOCIOLOGY

Sociology has just recently evolved as a distinct discipline. Auguste Comte (1798-1857), the man who invented the term “sociology” in 1839, strove to promote it and viewed it as a broad social science. Other researchers disagreed with Comte’s belief that sociology could become an all-encompassing social science,

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believing that one social science could not effectively cope with the highly complex and astonishingly large spectrum of social phenomena. Separate social sciences were needed to deal with diverse forms of man's activities in society, and as a result, autonomous disciplines such as political science arose. Sociology is the study of social life in all of its facets and complexities. It covers the origins, organisation, growth, and functions of social groupings, as well as the different sorts of social groups, laws, customs, and usages, and institutions. It investigates a wide spectrum of social interactions.

Webster's Unified Dictionary and Encyclopedia says that sociology is: "(a) The science of human relations, especially, those between the community and the individual, (b) That branch of science which treats of the origin and development of society." The scope of sociology is wider than that of political science. The former, which is the basic social science or the mother of all social sciences, has to conduct the study of the various aspects of man's social life and all agencies of social control. The latter, which covers a small field, is concerned with human political activity. Sociology can be considered a general social science because it analyses all types of human interactions and "related processes." Political science, which is considered a subset of social science, is a distinction. Sociology is concerned with man in all of his social relationships and in all forms of human organisations, whereas political science is concerned with only one of these aspects, namely the political one. Political science studies just an organised political society, i.e., the state, while sociology studies all communities and organisations, organised and disorganised. Sociology is the study of social institutions as they are, rather than how they should be. It takes an empirical rather than a philosophical approach. Political science examines political institutions in their current and ideal forms.

Political science is studied at a later period in life than sociology. While the study of political science began when man became a member of an organised political society, the study of sociology began when there was no such thing as a state or government. Political science does not focus on the pre-political period's human institutions.

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 a knowledge of sociology indispensable. As sociology deals with human customs, traditions and usages in the pre-political stage, it helps political science by presenting facts, which are useful in knowing the origin of social laws, state and political institutions. It is sociology which tells the political scientist the reasons of state formation. In the same way, political science helps sociology by furnishing the details about state and government, which are essential in understanding sociological problems.



### Check Your Progress

#### I. Multiple Choice Questions

1. \_\_\_\_\_ is regarded as mother of all social sciences.  
(a) Political Science (b) History  
(c) Sociology (d) Economics
2. \_\_\_\_\_ said, "History without Political Science has no fruit, Political Science without history has no roots."  
(a) Laski (b) Seeley  
(c) Freeman (d) Garners
3. \_\_\_\_\_ said, "History is past politics."  
(a) Lord Acton (b) Freeman  
(c) Laski (d) Seeley
4. \_\_\_\_\_ is known as Science of Wealth.  
(a) History (b) Economics  
(c) Political Science (d) Sociology

#### II. True or False

1. Sociology is the mother of all social sciences.
2. History without Political Science has no root.
3. Economics studies about wealth.
4. Laski said Politics is the present history.

#### III. Match the Following

- |                      |                               |
|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Sociology         | (a) Study of Wealth           |
| 2. History           | (b) State and Government      |
| 3. Economics         | (c) Mother of Social Sciences |
| 4. Political Science | (d) Past Politics             |

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## 2.5 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

#### I. Multiple Choice Questions

1. (c)
2. (b)
3. (b)
4. (b)

#### II. True or False

1. True
2. False
3. True
4. False

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### III. Match the Following

1. (c)
2. (d)
3. (a)
4. (b)

## 2.6 SUMMARY

The political scientist should know how political science is linked with other social sciences and how in many cases there is mutual reliance between this discipline and other disciplines.

As explained in the foregoing pages, the political researcher has to learn or borrow much from other disciplines. Robert E. Murphy says, “a political scientist cannot close any doors. He must use the historian’s evidence of past experience; the economist’s analysis of wealth, value and distribution; the sociologist’s explanation of status and group interrelations; the geographer’s comparative data on natural resources; the psychologist’s insights and findings about human behaviour; and the philosopher’s analysis of political ends.”

The link between political science and the other disciplines is reciprocal. In the study of modern politics and society, all the social sciences are interdependent findings for a better understanding of their own fields. Their narrow disciplinary boundaries either break down or become diluted when the political system and social system including the economic system require to be analyzed and explained.

The contemporary Political Scientists indubitably recognize this need, and hence, emphasize the interdisciplinary approach. S.M. Lipset points out there is, “almost no form of human behaviour which is not treated to some extent by each of the social sciences. Each varies only in its primary area of interest”. Therefore, as he says, we “have now reached the point where all social sciences must operate with common conceptual scheme and vocabulary.”

## 2.7 KEY TERMS

- **Social Science:** It is a scientific study of human society and social relationship.
- **Chronological:** Following order in which they occurred.
- **USA:** United States of America.
- **Communism:** Scientific socialism or Marxism is a political ideology.
- **Fascism:** It is an ideology or form of dictatorial Government profounded by Mussolini of Italy.

## 2.8 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

### Short Answer Questions

1. "Scope of Sociology is wider than Political Science." Examine.
2. "Political Science and History are dependent." Examine.

### Long Answer Questions

1. Discuss the relationship between Political Science and Sociology.
2. Examine the relationship between Political Science and History.
3. Examine the relationship between Political Science and Economics.

## ACTIVITY

Provide two real-life examples to prove how:

1. "Political Science and History are mutually dependent." Prove the truth.
2. "Political Science and Sociology are closely associated in the study of man's social life." Justify it by analyzing their dependency.
3. "Political Science and Economics are intimately connected." Prove it by citing examples.

## CASE STUDY

### Political Science Touches Other Social Sciences at Various Points

Political Science touches the other social sciences at various points. They collect data and information from other social sciences like Sociology, Economics, History, Ethics, Psychology, etc. But it is difficult to say at what point the political researcher crosses the boundaries of Political Science and strays into the field of other social sciences. As Social Sciences are interlinked, interrelated and interdependent, Political Science cannot be a self-sufficient discipline. Inevitably, it has to rely on other social sciences. The give-and-take principle prevails among all social sciences.

#### Question

1. "Political Science is not a self-sufficient discipline." Discuss.

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# **Chapter 3**

## **Methods of Political Science: Historical, Experimental, Comparative and Philosophical**

### **Learning Objectives:**

This chapter devotes the discussion on some important methods to study political science. After studying this chapter, you should be able to understand:

- The Historical Method to study Political Science
- The Experimental Method to study Political Science
- The Comparative Method to study Political Science
- The Philosophical Method to study Political Science

### **Structure:**

- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 The Historical Method
- 3.3 The Experimental Method
- 3.4 The Comparative Method
- 3.5 The Philosophical Method
- 3.6 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 3.7 Summary
- 3.8 Key Terms
- 3.9 Self-Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 3.10 References

## **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

Political science is concerned with the systematic study of politics, including political institutions, processes, and behaviour. For the scientific analysis of political phenomena and the development of systematic generalisations and hypotheses, a number of approaches have been proposed and employed by political scientists. The reason behind it, though political investigators have to agree that the realization of truth and achievement of human welfare should form the goal, there is no agreement on the tactics and approaches that should be used to get there. The methods employed for the study of political science can be classified broadly into

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two segments, i.e., (i) traditional methods and (ii) modern methods. The traditional methods employed for the study of political science are non-scientific and non-revolutionary in expression. They are philosophical, historical, comparative, observational, experimental, etc.

### 3.2 THE HISTORICAL METHOD

One of the traditional inductive procedures is the historical method. It could be considered an experimental method. It is based on the premise that history is a repository of information, and that studying history is a beneficial tool for political scientists. The researcher making a historical approach studies political science with the help of raw material supplied by history. On the basis of historical facts, he is able to establish some generalisations. He learns about the origins and expansion of the state, as well as numerous political institutions, from the past. As he proceeds with his studies from the past to the present, the whole pageant of political facts, institutions and developments comes before his mind. Historical analysis enables him to draw definite conclusions. This strategy not only clarifies the past, but also provides direction for the future.

Aristotle, Montesquieu, Burke, Seeley, Henry Maine, Freeman and Laski are some of the leading exponents of this method. Gilchrist aptly observes, “the source of experiment of political science is history, they rest on observation and experience”. He also observes, “History not only explains institutions, but it also helps to make certain deductions for future guidance. It is the pivot around which both the inductive and deductive processes of political science work.” For instance, the history of the USA has held out political and constitutional lessons to the makers of modern federal constitutions. “Seeking an explanation of what institutions are and are tending to be, more in the knowledge of what they have been and how they came to be what they are, than in the examination of them as they stand,” argues Sir Frederick Pollock. The method’s main benefit is that it allows the scholar to make specific conclusions based on hard data obtained from history.

#### Advantages

- (i) This strategy is essential for political researchers because it allows them to better comprehend political institutions and make generalisations based on data.
- (ii) It is from history that political scientists know about the contributions made by the philosophers.
- (iii) History has provided accounts of the emergence and development of political institutions. Without the right use of historical methodology, no study of political science can be completed.
- (iv) The researcher can widen his mental horizons by using the historical technique and have a proper perspective for the study of political science.

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### Shortcomings

- (i) It makes no mention of the principles and ideals that guide the operation of political institutions. As a result, the philosophical process must be augmented.
- (ii) Because this method is inductive, no ethical or moral principles are established. It is impossible to define the ultimate criterion of good and bad, right and wrong in political life when studying political institutions.
- (iii) All the problems facing the mankind cannot be solved by the historical methods.

Despite these disadvantages, the historical method's importance and benefits should not be overlooked. The best plan of action is to use the approach with caution.

### 3.3 THE EXPERIMENTAL METHOD

Limited experimentation is allowed in political science, which is an important method in the physical sciences like Physics and Chemistry. Auguste Comte favoured the use of the experimental, observational and comparative methods as the three principal methods of studying political science. Comte upholding the experimental method says that every political change, whether conscious or not, is a kind of experiment. Charles Merriam, R.N. Gilchrist and J.W. Garner also wrote in support of the experimental method.

While the term "scientific experimentation" is used in the physical sciences, it does not apply to political studies. Practical experiments are carried out on a regular basis, whether consciously or unconsciously. Governments are continually testing new ideas on the public. "Indeed, the entire life of the state involves a succession of actions that, in a sense, are experimental in nature," Garner argues. Every new law, every new policy, is experimental in the sense that it is only considered preliminary or tentative until the outcomes have proven its suitability for permanent implementation. Merriam acknowledges the possibility of political experimentation. "Certainly, the state, more than any other institution, has more material available for such inspection," he adds. The army, the schools, the police, police personnel, and an array of public institutions are directly under its managements, and may be utilized for the purpose of experiments if so desired.

In the post-colonial period, a number of Afro-Asian countries experimented with establishing western democratic institutions on their own. British power was gradually transferred to India on an experimental basis. After a successful trial in a few states, the government implemented the Panchayati Raj system in all states. Administrative improvements are being implemented in a trial mode.

### Advantages

- (i) A successful experiment encourages rulers in a state to continue a particular policy or institution.

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- (ii) The disastrous result of experiment make the rulers in a state change their policy.

### Drawbacks

The experimental method, which was criticized by Sir George Cornwall Lewis, J.S. Mill, A.L. Lowell, Lord Bryce and others has its own pitfalls:

- (i) No experiment can be conducted in political science with cent per cent success, as the subject is an inexact social science. Political experimentation can never enjoy favourably controlled conditions as in a scientific laboratory.
- (ii) Political science cannot be studied by the experimental method alone. It has to depend heavily on other methods.
- (iii) The political scientist conducting political experiments faces the problem of calculation.

The experimental method is useful for all social sciences. But a student of political science should make a limited use of this method as human beings are dynamic and as human nature is unstable. This method must be employed with care so that it is proved to be useful in arriving generalization.

## 3.4 THE COMPARATIVE METHOD

The comparative method is an inductive method which supplements the historical and other methods. It helps the scholars to make a study of comparison and contrast. The scholars following this method studies historical facts, political conditions and events on the basis of which he tries to mark resemblances and differences. It also aids scholars in connecting occurrences, determining causes and effects, and formulating general concepts. It collects a wide range of phenomena, arranges them in a logical order, considers similarities and contrasts, and picks the aspects that are common to all of them.

Aristotle was the first to apply this strategy, which was further developed by Montesquieu, De Tocqueville, and Bryce. Aristotle researched 158 constitutions for his rigorous and detailed comparative research in the 4th century B.C., and came up with several fundamental concepts. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Montesquieu used this method in his celebrated book 'The Spirit of Laws' (1748).

As discussed earlier, the investigators following this method studies historical facts, political conditions and events on the basis of which he tries to mark resemblances and differences. For example, someone might see striking parallels in the origins and expansion of democratic institutions in two countries. A comparative examination allows him to learn about the conditions that aided the establishment of these institutions and to make his own conclusions. A scholar following this method may know why democratic governments in the 20<sup>th</sup> century succeeded in certain Asian countries and why they miserably failed in other Asian countries at the same time. The members of the Constituent Assembly in India while preparing Constitution made a comparative study of all important



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constitutions in the world. The researcher may make a comparative study of various states or political systems with the purpose of establishing certain political conclusions and generalizations.

### Criticisms of the Comparative Method

Almond and Powell in their book 'Comparative Politics: An Developmental Approach' (1966) criticized the comparative method on the following grounds:

- (i) Scholars following this method showed their parochialism in covering the European area only.
- (ii) The configurative study of foreign government brings out the unique qualities of distinct political systems.
- (iii) Formalism dominated the approach, which focused on legal standards, regulations, political beliefs, and ideologies rather than performance, interaction, and behaviour.

Besides, a careless use of this method may result in erroneous and misleading conclusions.

Thus, with the comparative method alone, one cannot study political science, and even while using it, great care has to be exercised. The scope of the analysis must be broad enough to encompass the plethora of causes and forces that shape political events. So, to secure good results, this method may be cautiously used.

### 3.5 THE PHILOSOPHICAL METHOD

The philosophical method is another traditional or classical method of studying political science. It is deductive and speculative in nature. This method moves from the general to the particular. It is characterized by abstract theorizing. Conclusions are drawn on the basis of general universal principles, whose truth is taken for granted. The scholar using this method engages himself in abstract and laborious theorizing, and explains the nature of political phenomena on the basis of excogitated principles. The state's goals and objectives are defined from an ethical or philosophical standpoint. This method begins with a set of self-evident, non-variable universal statements, and then confirms or refutes the facts. It first identifies the nature and purpose of the state on philosophical and ethical grounds, and then formulates the concept of ideal state for the realisation of this purpose. The resulting inferences are then attempted to be reconciled with actual historical and political facts.

Political idealists such as Plato, Thomas More, Rousseau, Hegel, Bradley, Bosanquet, and Sidgwick advocated this strategy.

The philosophical method emphasises political science's ideal dimension. Practical reasons, as well as an excitement for principles, guide the political process. A useful antidote to pedestrianism is the philosophical method. The intelligence grows as a result of philosophical debate. It promotes mental elasticity and ingenuity.

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### Drawbacks of the Philosophical Method

- (i) The philosopher develops a wide set of principles that cannot be proven. Conclusions are based on assumptions that cannot be proven scientifically.
- (ii) The philosophers are unable to reach the universally accepted definitions of philosophy.
- (iii) Ethical or philosophical principles with all their merits may be incapable of being put into practice. As a result, political analysis becomes simply speculative and detached from reality.

Thus, this method should not be cast aside altogether. The smart researcher should employ the deductive technique with caution and only to a limited extent.

#### Check Your Progress

##### I. Multiple Choice Questions

1. \_\_\_\_\_ method of political science not only explains the past, but also gives guidance for the future.  
(a) Philosophical method (b) Comparative method  
(c) Historical method (d) Observational method
2. \_\_\_\_\_ among the following first used the comparative method.  
(a) Plato (b) Aristotle  
(c) Montesquieu (d) Laski
3. \_\_\_\_\_ among the following methods is deductive and speculative in nature.  
(a) Comparative method (b) Historical method  
(c) Experimental method (d) Philosophical method
4. \_\_\_\_\_ studied as many as 158 constitutions for his thorough and detailed comparative research.  
(a) Plato (b) Aristotle  
(c) Garner (d) Laski
5. 'The Spirit of Laws' is written by \_\_\_\_\_.  
(a) Bryce (b) Laski  
(c) Montesquieu (d) Gabriel Almond

##### II. True or False

1. The comparative method to the study of political science was first used by Plato.
2. The historical method is inductive in character.
3. The philosophical method is deductive and speculative in nature.
4. Political science does not admit limited experimentation.

##### III. Match the Following

- |                         |                   |
|-------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Experimental Method  | (a) Plato         |
| 2. Historical Method    | (b) Aristotle     |
| 3. Philosophical Method | (c) Auguste Comte |
| 4. Comparative Method   | (d) Machiavelli   |

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### 3.6 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

#### I. Multiple Choice Questions

1. (c)
2. (b)
3. (d)
4. (b)
5. (c)

#### II. True or False

1. False
2. True
3. True
4. False

#### III. Match the Following

1. (c)
2. (d)
3. (a)
4. (b)

### 3.7 SUMMARY

The political scientist cannot rely on one method only. He has to employ a plurality of methods. The type of methods to be employed depends upon the problem to be studied. The numerous ways cannot be divided into watertight compartments, and a clear distinction between two or three methods cannot be formed, which may have common features or may overlap each other. The methods adopted by political scientists come under two categories: deductive and inductive. Except in the case of philosophical method, the political scientists relies mostly on inductive reasoning.

### 3.8 KEY TERMS

- **Axioms:** Principle that most people believe to be true.
- **Pedestrianism:** A person working in the street.
- **Deductive:** From general to particular.
- **Inductive:** From particular to general.

### 3.9 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

#### Short Answer Questions

1. Comparative Method
2. Historical Method.
3. Experimental Method.

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### Long Answer Questions

1. Briefly discuss the Historical Method to the study of Political Science.
2. "Political Science admits limited experimentation." Justify.
3. Write briefly about comparative method used in Political Science.
4. "The philosophical method is deductive and speculative in nature." Examine.

### ACTIVITY

Provide two real-life examples to prove how:

1. "Historical method is based on observation and study of historical facts." Examine it.
2. "Political science uses limited experimentation." Justify it by citing examples.

### CASE STUDY

#### Political Science is Interdisciplinary in Nature

For the scientific analysis of political phenomena and the development of systematic generalisations and hypotheses, scientists and academics in political science have proposed and employed a variety of methodologies and methods. Political science is interdisciplinary in nature. This has enriched its quality and increased its capacity to deal with complex phenomena relating to conflicts, revolutions, social change, development, democracy and nation building.

#### Question

1. Give your opinion regarding traditional method.

### 3.10 REFERENCES

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### Chapter 4 The State

#### Learning Objectives:

This chapter devotes the discussion on meaning of the state and its elements, theories of origin the state and sphere of state activities After studying this chapter, you should be able to understand:

- Meaning of the State and its elements
- Meaning, character and types of sovereignty
- Theories of the origin of the State like divine origin, force theory, social contract theory and evolutionary theory
- Theories of the sphere of State activity like individualistic theory, socialistic theory and welfare State

#### Structure:

- 4.1 Modern State
  - 4.1.1 Introduction
  - 4.1.2 Meaning and Definition of the State
  - 4.1.3 Elements of State
- 4.2 Sovereignty
  - 4.2.1 Characteristics of Sovereignty
  - 4.2.2 Types of Sovereignty
- 4.3 Origins of the State
  - 4.3.1 Introduction
  - 4.3.2 The Theory of Divine Origin
  - 4.3.3 The Theory of Force
  - 4.3.4 The Social Contract Theory
  - 4.3.5 The Evolutionary Theory
- 4.4 Theories of the Sphere of State Activity
  - 4.4.1 Introduction
  - 4.4.2 The Individualistic Theory
  - 4.4.3 The Socialistic Theory
  - 4.4.4 Welfare State
- 4.5 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 4.6 Summary

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## 4.7 Key Terms

## 4.8 Self-Assessment Questions and Exercises

## 4.9 References

**4.1 MODERN STATE****4.1.1 Introduction**

Political science considers the state to be its major theme. All social structures are based on it, and it is the most ubiquitous and powerful of them all. It is a universal, natural, and necessary institution. It is organic because it is based on the truth of human nature. It is vital since it exists for the sake of living a “happy life.” Man requires the state to fulfil his various desires and to be who he wishes to be. He won’t be able to build his personality if he doesn’t have a state. In addition, the state is a worldwide institution. It has always existed whenever and wherever man has lived in a societal setting. Existing without a state is thought to be impossible. It is also the supreme organization in society which controls and coordinates the activities of individuals and associations within its territorial domain.

**4.1.2 Meaning and Definition of the State**

In ordinary parlance, the term ‘State’ is eased with a great deal of looseness and ambiguity. It has been misused as a synonym for “country,” “nation,” “society,” and “government.” The term ‘State,’ on the other hand, has a precise and scientific definition in political science. In its scientific definition, it refers to a group of people who live in a defined territory, are governed by a structured government, and are not subject to external influence.

The meaning and nomenclature of the State have undergone change from time to time. The name ‘Polis,’ which means city-state, was employed by the ancient Greeks. The name ‘Civitas’ was used by the ancient Romans to describe the state. The Teutons coined the phrase ‘Status,’ which literally means ‘existence.’ In the first part of the 16th century, it was Machiavelli who coined the phrase “La Stato” (State). As Sabine writes, “Machiavelli, more than any other thinker, created the meaning that has been attached to the state in modern political usage.” For the first term, he viewed the concept of the state as sovereign, secular and national institution.

The word ‘State’ comes from the Latin word ‘Status,’ which refers to a specific social position. To begin with, the term State came to be used for describing the status of the people of a society as citizens. Gradually, this term came to be used for the political institution/organization which exercised supreme power (sovereignty) over the people living in its territory.

Aristotle described the State as “A union of families and communities having for its purpose a perfect and self-sufficing life, by which we mean a pleasant and honourable life.”

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According to Burgess, State is a “particular portion of mankind viewed as an organized unit.”

Woodrow Wilson says that “The State is the people organized for law within a definite territory.”

According to Holland, a noted scholar on International Law, “The State is a numerous assemblage of human beings generally occupying a certain territory amongst whom the will of the majority of class is made to prevail against any of their number of who oppose it.”

Prof. Harold J. Laski described the State as “a territorial society separated into Government and subjects claiming primacy over all other institutions within its designated physical region.”

Robert Dahl said, “The political system, made up of the residents of territorial areas and government of area, is a state.”

According to Jean Bodin, “A State is an alliance of families and their shared properties controlled by a Supreme power and by reason.”

However, a very simple and clear meaning of the State has been given by J.W. Garner. He defined the State as “A community of humans, more or less populous constantly occupying a particular portion of land, independent, or nearly so, of external control and with an organised administration to which the great majority of inhabitants offer habitual obedience.”

Phillimore’s definition of the State seems comprehensive. According to him, “it is a people permanently occupying a fixed territory, bound together by common laws, habits and customs into one body politic, exercising through the medium of an organized government, independent sovereignty and control over all persons and things within its boundaries, capable of making war and peace and of entering into all international relations with the communities of the globe.”

All the definitions stated above indicate that the State has some characteristic features or elements:

**First use of the word “State”:** The word State came into political vocabulary in Renaissance Europe in the early part of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It was not used in the modern sense by the ancient Greco-Roman writers. To begin with, the term State was being used in Italy, where Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527) employed this term in his book ‘*The Prince*’ (1513) while dealing with republics and principalities or hereditary monarchies. In France, the term *etat* and in England the term *State* gained currency in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and in Germany, the term *State* in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Since then, it came to be applied universally to the body politic.

**Indiscriminate use of the term:** The term State is used by common people carelessly and indiscriminately as if it is equivalent to terms like nation, society, government, country and federal unit or part of a state (like Karnataka). Political scientists use it in their literature strictly in a technical sense with a precise connotation. Here again, some confusion has crept in because the term State does

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not have one universally accepted definition or meaning. In ordinary parlance, sometimes, the word State is used to indicate condition. We speak in terms of state of health or state of economy.

### 4.1.3 Elements of State

We find that the state has four fundamental constituent elements or traits after reviewing various important definitions:

1. Population,
2. Territory,
3. Government and
4. Sovereignty.

#### 1. Population

**(a) Most essential:** Population is a critical component of any state, and it is self-evident that there can be no state without it. Human beings are meant for the state, not the other way around. Population is an unavoidable requirement

**(b) Size of population:** There is no hard-and-fast rule on how many people 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 neither be too small nor too big. Plato put the ideal number at 5,040. This number constituted only citizens and non-citizens, and slaves did not figure in this. Aristotle striking a via media between too small a number and too big a number says that if few persons cannot make a good state, so also a hundred thousand cannot. Rousseau favoured a small population often thousand. The opinion of thinkers like Plato and Rousseau have 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.

**(c) Optimum population desirable:** Roughly, the size of population a state can sustain depends upon its area and resources. Sweeping variations in population may have evil effects on a state. Decimation of population by war or epidemics may weaken a State. So also, an alarming rise in population by influx of people from outside or some other reason taxes the resources of a State. Both overpopulation and underpopulation may become serious problems to state. In Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, gifts or bounties were given to mothers of many children. Similarly, in former Soviet Russia state, aid was given to encourage large families. Under Article 122 of the Soviet Constitution, mothers bearing 10 or more children are honoured by the title of Heroine Mother. On the other hand, in several modern countries including India, the rising population is a serious threat to the



resources. The picture is different in the West, where a few countries face the problem of underpopulation.

**(d) Contrast in figures:** A great contrast in population figures can be noted in modern states. While the states of Panama and San Marino have only a few lakhs, China and India have reached the staggering figures of nearly million and 600 million respectively.

**(e) Nature and character of people:** People's temperament and character can make or break a country. Healthy, physically strong, hardworking, clever, educated, disciplined, and energetic individuals may make a state truly great, while sick, easygoing, physically weak, illiterate, uneducated, mentally backward, and sluggish people can scarcely construct a flourishing state. Racial factors and climatic conditions have great influence on the population of a state. Only decent citizens make a good state, according to Aristotle, whereas bad citizens produce a bad state. India has a big population that outnumbers the country's resources. The disadvantages of large-scale planning are mitigated by the massive rise in population. Japanese, Germans, and Jews are examples of individuals who, despite overwhelming odds, made significant progress in many fields and garnered the admiration of people all over the world for their amazing intelligence and hard work.

## 2. Territory

**(a) Very essential:** Like population, fixed territory is a very essential element of state, though some authors like Sir John Seeley, Hall and Duguit do not think so. Obviously, a state cannot exist without its own territory, which is a fundamental prerequisite.

It is not enough to have political unity and a desire to build a state. People require physical space to live and organise themselves into a state. Until 1948, when Palestine was partitioned between the Jews and the Arabs, the former could not have a state of their own. The Jewish soul secured the body in the form of Israel, their cherished state. Territory is absolutely essential for citizenship and for marking the clear frontiers of the jurisdiction of a particular state. Nomadic tribes without any fixed territory cannot form a state.

**(b) Meaning:** The term territory refers to the ground surface, subsoil, lakes and rivers, as well as the air space above the land within clearly defined limits. There are some exceptions to the rule that territory means contiguous territory. Alaska, the 49th state, and Hawaii, the 50th state, are separated from the mainland of the United States. During the period 1947-1972, East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) was separated from West Pakistan by about a thousand miles of Indian territory. A state's territorial limits have traditionally extended three miles out to sea from its shore line. However, states have recently unilaterally extended their sovereignty much beyond the customary 3 mile limit. The sovereignty of a state extends to the airspace above it. The distance over which a state's sovereignty can extend on the sea and in the air has not been agreed upon by states.

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**(c) Size of territory:** As in the case of population, no rigid rule or standard can be prescribed regarding the size of territory of a state. Some states are very large in size, while there are states with incredibly small size. For example, the area of the USSR and the USA are 8,336,510 square miles and 3,570,982 square miles respectively, but those of San Marino and Monaco are 38 square miles and 8 square miles respectively. The Vatican City since 1929, over which the Pope exercises sovereignty in the centre of Rome, has an area of 109 acres only. Greek city-states including Athens, the School of Hellas (Greece), which was the greatest were small.

**(d) Optimum size:** With reference to the population, the natural resources and other factors, the optimum size of territory can be fixed roughly, though this is not easy by any means.

**(e) Basic factor of natural resources:** A country's progress is heavily reliant on its natural resources. A tiny region with plenty of water, diverse fauna and flora, abundant mineral wealth, and access to the sea is far superior to a huge but impoverished landlocked country. If the terrain is sandy, swampy, and arid, size means nothing.

**(f) Large states highly advantageous:** In modern times in the context of global politics and race for power and prestige among nations, large territorial states enjoy their own substantial advantages. Large states have adequate resources to maintain a high standard of living, and to promote the welfare and happiness of people in general. From the defence and strategic point of view too, a large size is always favoured. However, it should be noted that size alone does not make a state strong or prosperous, and good examples can be cited to prove this. A small country like England became a world power, whereas in India, many times, the size of England remained in the background. Japan, a small country in the Far East, became a great power highly advanced in industrialization and technology rising superior to many states much bigger than itself. As a rule, the large size of territory is an asset to the state. The USA and the USSR became superpowers in the 20<sup>th</sup> century owing to various factors, one of the large territories, while states like Guatemala and Monaco are tiny and insignificant, and their very existence is not widely known.

The argument that democracy has greater chances of success in small states than in the big ones does not hold water in the light of actual experience the world. Democracy has miserably failed in small states like the Latin American states, Iran, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Pakistan and Bangladesh, whereas it has succeeded well in big territorial states like the USA, where federalism, decentralization of power and local self-governing institutions have found great scope.

### 3. Government

**(a) Meaning:** The State's instrument or apparatus for expressing, enforcing, and acting is the government, which is the ruling or managing body. All members of a state's ruling body are prohibited from enforcing the state's will. Only a few people are entrusted with acting for and on behalf of the government. These people make up the government apparatus. The term government is derived from the Latin

phrase *gubernaculum*, which refers to a device used to steer a ship. The device of government steers the ship of state.

Governmental machinery is required for a state to function. Despotic, democratic, monarchical, republican, militarist, and other systems of government exist. The executive, legislative, and judicial branches make up the majority of a modern government.

**(b) Duties:** The functions of government include maintaining law and order, punishing lawbreakers and administering justice, safeguarding the law-abiding, and promoting the general welfare of the people.

**(c) Difference between State and Government:** The difference between the two terms, state and government, as used in political science should be understood. Many a times, the two are used as synonymous terms. People speak about state order, state regulation or control, state property and so on. By this, they only mean government order, government regulation or control, government property and so on.

The following are some of the differences between the state and the government:

- (i) The state is the whole, and the government is simply one of its parts or elements.
- (ii) Government refers to a group of people who are authorised to use legitimate coercive power on behalf of the state, whereas state refers to the entire community or complete population inside the territorial borders.
- (iii) The entire state has sovereignty, or supreme power. It is only derived from the state and exercised on behalf of the state by the government.
- (iv) State, on the other hand, is an abstract term; government, on the other hand, is a tangible entity. When compared to the more abstract terms State of India or Republic of India, the word Government of India is obviously more tangible.
- (v) Government is not permanent, although the state is. Governments are only temporary since they can change or fall due to election results or other factors. In contrast to governance, the state has continuity as long as it has sovereignty.

#### 4. Sovereignty

**(a) Meaning:** Sovereignty, which is one of the four constituent elements of state, means supreme power. It appears in both the interior and outward realms. Internally, it refers to the state's absolute ability to regulate, control, coerce, and punish any persons, groups of individuals, or associations inside the state's territorial boundaries. It represents complete independence from the outside. No foreign state or power can give directives to a state in the external realm. In the international arena, however, a state can be bound by treaties, accords, and other responsibilities. However, these are only taken on a voluntary basis.

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Full-fledged states with all four fundamental parts, including sovereignty, include the United States, Soviet Russia, and India or Bharat. California which is a part of the USA, or Karnataka which is a part of India is not a state in the same sense, as it has only three elements: people, territory and government, but not sovereignty, the most essential element. California is an autonomous state of the USA, a federation. Karnataka is an autonomous state of India, a federation. Thus, the unit or province of a state cannot be considered as a full-fledged state as it lacks sovereignty.

**(b) Comprehensive, exclusive and permanent:** Sovereignty can be defined as the state's comprehensive, exclusive, and permanent superior power. It might be considered the state's essence. When a state loses its sovereignty, it no longer qualifies as a state and is relegated to the status of other groups or associations within the state. Internally, there should be no rival or parallel organization wielding similar supreme power. There cannot be two states within the territorial limits of a state. A state does not share sovereignty either with any association within the state or with other states. A state has a will of its own and this remains unaffected by the will of any other state or any external organization.

**(c) Need of international recognition:** No state is completely isolated from the rest of the world. It has got to have dealings with other states in the world, which has become "small" owing to the elimination of time and distance by modern means of transport and communication, and technological developments. Besides the four essential elements or attributes, a state needs recognition as a state from other states. But it should be made very clear here that the failure to recognize a certain state by one or few states in the world does not deprive it of its statehood. Recognition cannot be regarded as an indispensable attribute. Israel continues to be a state, even though some states do not recognize it. Recognition was not given to the USSR by the USA and several other states for more than a decade since its birth after the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917. Similarly, the People's Republic of China had to wait for many years to secure recognition from several states like the USA since the completion of the Chinese Revolution in 1949.

## 4.2 SOVEREIGNTY

The most significant and exclusive aspect of the state is sovereignty. The State is distinct from all other organisations due to its sovereignty. The word "sovereignty" comes from the Latin word "*superamus*," which meaning "highest." As a result, sovereignty denotes the state's paramount power.

Internal and exterior sovereignty are the two dimensions of sovereignty. Sovereignty establishes a state's internal supremacy as well as its outward independence. The main features of sovereignty are absoluteness, universality, inalienability, permanence, indivisibility, exclusiveness, and imprescriptibility. Because the term "sovereignty" is used in a variety of ways, it can refer to a variety of things, including: (i) Titular and Real, (ii) Legal or Political, (iii) Popular and National, (iv) *De Facto* and *De Jure*, and (v) Internal and External. When it comes

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to state sovereignty, there are two opposing viewpoints. The first, known as 'Monism,' is a classic defence of state sovereignty's determinate, absolute, and indivisible character, whereas the second, known as 'Pluralism,' is an eloquent protest against the first and emphasises state sovereignty's limited nature, which must be shared between the state and a host of other associations.

### Meaning and Definitions

The word 'sovereignty' comes from the Latin word 'superanus,' which meaning superior or paramount. Sovereignty is a legal notion that refers to the state's superior, final, or ultimate power in both the internal and external domains. Some writers describe sovereignty as having two faces: one for internal affairs and the other for external affairs. With the rise of the modern nation state, the term "sovereign" was coined.

Important definitions can be found here.

Jean Bodin (1530-96) says that "sovereignty is the supreme power over citizens and subjects unrestrained by law."

Blackstone says that "sovereignty is the supreme irresistible, absolute, uncontrolled authority in which the supreme legal powers reside."

According to Hugo Grotius, "sovereignty is the supreme political power vested in him whose acts are not subject to any other and whose will cannot be overridden."

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

In the words of the American writer Burgess, "sovereignty is original absolute, unlimited power over the individual subject and over all associations of subjects."

W.F. Willoughby says that "sovereignty is the supreme will of the state."

#### 4.2.1 Characteristics or Features of Sovereignty

The following are the qualities of sovereignty. Absoluteness, permanence, universality, inalienability, exclusiveness, and indivisibility are all classical attributes of sovereignty:

- (a) **Absoluteness:** The state's sovereignty is absolute. It has no boundaries. Inside the state, there cannot be any power superior to sovereign power. The supremacy of the sovereign cannot be challenged. It is not bound by any legislative restrictions; rather, it is governed by external factors.
- (b) **Permanence:** Sovereignty is the permanent feature of the state. It will go on indefinitely as long as the state survives. Changes in government do not imply that sovereignty is lost. Governments come and go, but the state and its sovereignty remain constant. Sovereignty does not end when a bearer dies or is temporarily deprived of his or her possessions. When a state's sovereignty is terminated, the state as a whole is terminated.

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(c) **Universality:** Sovereignty is a universal concept. Everything is covered. Within its territorial borders, it applies to all individuals and organisations. The sovereign's command has binding effect on everybody. Modern states do not acknowledge the presence of any rivals within their borders. Sovereignty does not make any exceptions or provide any exemptions.

(d) **Inalienability:** The sovereignty of the state cannot be alienated. It is not transferable. As a man cannot live without his heart, so also the state without sovereignty. According to Barker, sovereignty cannot be alienated any more than a tree's right to grow or a man's life can be transferred without self-destruction. The state and sovereignty are inextricably linked. However, just because a state has lost some of its territory does not mean it has lost its sovereignty.

The attribute of sovereignty's imprescriptibility is closely linked to inalienability. This indicates that sovereign power cannot be lost over time as a result of its non-exercise.

(e) **Exclusiveness:** The sovereign authority is a one-of-a-kind power. There isn't anything that can match it. A state can only have one sovereign power. And the state has the legal authority to force the compliance of its citizens. State and sovereignty are inextricably linked. In the exercise of sovereignty, the state excludes any outside agency. No one, whether inside or outside a state, can wield sovereignty and be equivalent to the state.

(f) **Indivisibility:** The sovereignty of the state is indivisible. Legal sovereignty aims at its unity. Sovereignty is destroyed when sovereignty is divided. The concept of "split, fragmented, decreased limited, relative sovereignty," according to Jellineck, is the negation of sovereignty. If sovereignty is not absolute, no state exists; if sovereignty is divided, more than one state exists, according to Gettell. Thus, sovereignty is always full and indivisible.

Thus, sovereignty is the supreme characteristic of statehood.

#### 4.2.2 Types of Sovereignty

The term Sovereignty is used in different senses, and therefore, it is of various types. Political scientists have classified the kinds of sovereignty on different bases. These are:

- (i) Titular and Real,
- (ii) Legal and Political,
- (iii) Popular and National,
- (iv) *De Facto* and *De Jure*, and
- (v) Internal and External.

### (i) Titular Sovereignty and Real Sovereignty

We draw a line of distinction between titular sovereignty and real sovereignty on the basis of the manner in which sovereignty is exercised:

**Titular Sovereignty:** Titular sovereignty is nominal sovereignty, i.e., supreme power only in name and not in reality. A titular sovereign is theoretically mighty in power but in practice only a cipher. A monarch or a person who has sovereignty only in name is known as titular sovereign. He does not exercise real power but exercises it in a nominal capacity. He is like a shadow without substance, a mere ornamental head, who is unable to use to practical effect on what is given to him by a theoretical principle.

**Real Sovereignty:** Supreme power, which is actually or really exercised, is real sovereignty. An individual or group of individuals exercising real supreme power is known as real sovereign. Prime Minister of Britain or Prime Minister of India exercising sovereignty on behalf of the state and responsible to Parliament may be cited as an example of real sovereign.

### (ii) Legal Sovereignty and Political Sovereignty

On a legal basis, sovereignty can be divided into two types: Legal and Political.

**Legal Sovereignty:** Supreme power in a state which has a legal basis is legal sovereignty. Such sovereignty is valid from a legal standpoint or in accordance with the law. The legal sovereign is the supreme law-making power with the authority to put the state's highest orders into legal words. Legal sovereignty is the possession of legal sanctity or supreme power according to the law. In the legal sense, the legal sovereign is well-known and well-recognized by all. He is competent to issue final commands in legal terms. People appeal to him as the final source of authority. He is the only supreme authority recognized by lawyers and law courts. Nobody can disobey the orders of the legal sovereign. It may also be said that legal sovereignty is the lawyer's concept of sovereignty.

**Location of Legal Sovereignty:** In every state, legal sovereignty is located or vested in one person or in a group of persons, and is exercised on behalf of the state. In England, Parliament is legal sovereign.

**Political Sovereignty behind Legal Sovereignty:** Political sovereignty stands behind legal sovereignty. The people or the electorate expressing the will of the state behind the legislature constitute the political sovereign, who has the competence to elect the legal sovereign. The political sovereign is not recognized by lawyers and law courts, though he is the maker or creation of the legal sovereign. In a broad sense, the entire population represents the political sovereign, and in a narrow sense, only the electorate is the political sovereign.

**Difference between Legal and Political Sovereigns:** It's worth noting the distinction between the legal and political sovereigns:

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- (a) The legal sovereign is the highest legal authority that expresses the state's will in legal language. The political sovereign, who is behind the legal sovereign, cannot express his will in legal terms.
- (b) The legal sovereign is unmistakable, clear, and obvious. Unorganized is the political sovereign who is not determined and clear.
- (c) One individual or a group of people has legal sovereignty. The electorate is in charge of political sovereignty..
- (d) Lawyers acknowledge the legal sovereign. Lawyers do not recognise the political sovereign.
- (e) The legal sovereign is powerless to overthrow the political sovereign. (i.e., people or electorate) because in the ultimate analysis, the political sovereign controls the legal sovereign.
- (f) The concept of legal sovereignty is well-defined, whereas that of political sovereignty is less so.
- (g) In a democratic democracy, the political sovereign elects the legal sovereign. The people, often known as the electorate, are the political sovereign.
- (h) The legal and political sovereigns are not self-contained entities.

### (iii) Popular Sovereignty and National Sovereignty

**Sovereignty with Electorate:** Supreme power, which lies in the hands of the people, is popular sovereignty. The people means electorate, i.e., adults who are qualified to cast their vote at general elections in democratic countries. Popular sovereignty is grounded in the concept that ultimate power lies in the people in their aggregate capacity. The principle of popular sovereignty emerged and took shape in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.

**Governing or Expressing Will:** It is said that popular sovereignty prevails in Britain, the USA, India and other democratic states. Many writers have written much on popular sovereignty in modern times.

**Popular Sovereignty – A Great Force:** In the modern world, particularly from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, popular sovereignty as a concept has become very powerful. It speaks volumes of the people as a source of power and puts the people in the sun.

**National Sovereignty Not Synonymous with Popular Sovereignty:** The French revolutionaries established the notion of national sovereignty in their famous declaration, 'The Declaration of the Rights of Man.' This principle gives the nation sovereignty. But if the nation does not enjoy the principle of universal suffrage and a vast population has no right to vote at general elections, national sovereignty cannot be equated with popular sovereignty.

**National Sovereignty Concept of Little Use:** The expression National Sovereignty, as used by the French revolutionaries, perhaps drives home the point that the nation, not the absolute monarch, holds the power of sovereignty. The age of absolute monarch has gone and the concept is not of much use now.



**(iv) De Facto and De Jure Sovereignty**

**De Facto Sovereignty:** *De facto* sovereignty means sovereignty by fact, reality or actually. A *de facto* sovereign wields power and by virtue of his ability to force people to obey him and remain loyal to him, he commands obedience. He has the authority to exert power even though there is no legal basis for it.

**De Jure Sovereignty:** *De jure* sovereignty is sovereignty by law. A *de jure* sovereign is the legal sovereign, who has a lawful claim to obedience. He exercises power on the basis of law, i.e., legally, he has the right to rule and command loyalty. A king is the *de jure* ruler in a state. Law recognizes him as ruler, who commands obedience and loyalty.

**Coexistence of De Facto and De Jure Sovereigns:** In a kingdom, a *de facto* sovereign and a *de jure* sovereign may co-exist. Actual power may be exercised by the Diwan, who becomes the *de facto* ruler when the king the *de jure* sovereign does not take active interest in state affairs and remains in the background as a mere figurehead. If the king is strong and wields actual power taking great interest in governance, he is not only the *de jure* sovereign but also *de facto* sovereign.

**(v) Internal Sovereignty and External Sovereignty**

**Internal Sovereignty:** Internal sovereignty is the state's supreme power over all individuals and organisations.

**External Sovereignty:** J.W. Garner seriously objects to the use of expression external sovereignty, which he says is not the apt term to be used in international law. He prefers the use of the term Independence. By virtue of external sovereignty, a state is on an equal footing with other states. Treaties and agreements are made between states on the basis of equality. A state is not competent to issue orders to other states; but at the same time, it does not take orders from other states. All states, whether big or small, are independent and have an equal rank of status.

**4.3 ORIGINS OF THE STATE****4.3.1 Introduction**

The origin of the state is one of the controversial topics in Political Science which has given rise to much speculation by political scientists, who have expressed different view through their theories. We shall take up discussion on these theories regarding Origin of the State, the Theory of Divine Origin, the Theory of Force, the Social Contract Theory, the Kinship Theory and the Evolutionary Theory.

**4.3.2 The Theory of Divine Origin**

The Theory of Divine Origin is the oldest theory regarding the origin of the State. The Jews Old Testament contains the best defence in support of this theory. Prof. Gilchrist rightly observes, "The best repository of the theory of Divine Origin is the Old Testament." The state was nothing but a theocracy and the King in Jewish State was the agent of God.

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The early Church fathers of Christianity supported this theory. Robert Felmer in his book '*Patriarch*' popularized the Divine Origin Theory. Hindu mythologies and scriptures are replete with references to the divine origin of the State. The *Mahabharata* and *Manusmriti* contain allusions to God's will in the creation of the state. Kautilya, the celebrated political thinker of ancient India, appointed the institution of monarchy with all religious mysteries. As a matter of fact, in early society, religion and politics were blended into one and inseparable unit.

**Statement of the Divine Origin Theory:** The central idea of Divine Origin Theory is that the state is a divine institution. God had created the State. God created human beings on earth. So, he also created the State to live in. God is seen as the immediate source of royal authority. He appointed the king to rule on earth on behalf of him. Thus, it is the supreme will of God that went into the creation of the State. This theory states that the God, creator and ruler of the universe, created the State. The God also appointed the King to rule over the state. God is the only one who can hold the King accountable. Because the King is God's representative or incarnation, it is everyone's responsibility to obey him, and defiance of his power is wicked.

**The Theory of Divine Rights of Kingship:** As time rolled on, the Divine Origin Theory was converted into Theory of Divine Rights to Kingship. Medieval Kings claimed to rule as representatives of God. The Stuart King James I of England was the leading champion of the Divine Rights of Kings. His famous statement, "The kings are the breathing images of God upon earth," explains the theory in a nutshell. The French philosopher, Bousett also asserted that the king was an image of God. Louis XIV the Grand Monarch of France identified the State with his personage. He said "I am the State."

The following are the notable features of Divine Rights of Kingship:

1. Monarchy is divinely ordained. The king is the direct descendant of God on Earth.
2. The King derives his power from God and he is answerable to none except God.
3. Hereditary rights are unassailable. The Law of Primogeniture governs the succession to the throne.
4. It is the uppermost duty of subjects to obey the King. Resistance to the King's authority is a terrible sin.

**Evil Effects of the Theory:** The Theory of Kingly Divine Rights resulted in one of the darkest periods in world history. Kingship became hereditary. This theory was responsible for the monstrous growth of royal absolutism. The will of the Monarch was law. Kings ruled according to their whims and caprices. This established in era of oppression and exploitation on people.

**Decline of the Theory:** The Divine Origin Theory gradually lost its significance owing to the following causes:

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1. The first major challenge was offered by the social contractualists who said that the nation was a human concept. It is a human creation rather than a divine creation. The Social Contract Theory exaggerates the importance of the individual in comparison to God..
2. The growth of democratic ideals dealt a severe blow to Divine Rights of king. Democracy believes in individual value, freedom and equality. It opposes absolute monarchy.
3. The advent of secularism was another setback to Divine Theory. The separation of the Politics from the Church contributed to its decline.
4. The Renaissance's secular approach to modern man strives to separate religious and political conflicts. This attitude resulted in the separation of the Church from the State and the subordination of the Church to the State. The Divine Origin Theory's religious foundation for political authority was shattered by secular views.
5. Great revolutions gave further blows to the theory. The glorious revolution of the theory advocates of democracy convincingly debuted the Divine Origin Theory. People claimed the right to criticize kings and overthrow them if necessary.
6. The change in the mental outlook of the people with the rise of rationalism, the spirit of inquiry and the scientific investigation brought about a great setback to the theory.

**Criticisms of the Theory:** The Divine Origins Theory has been questioned from a variety of perspectives:

1. **Unhistorical:** There is no historical proof that the state is the result of God's creation. It defies logic and common sense to claim that God chooses the king.
2. **Anti-democratic:** This theory is against democracy and representative Government. Democracy is opposed to absolute rule. It upholds the principle of sharing of power and equality.
3. **Irrational:** The Theory of Divine Origin is against reason. As J.N. Figgis remarks, "The reason for the decline of the theory lies in the fact that today there is a general belief in the supreme role of reason and that faith has its proper place in matters as spirituals."
4. **Positively dangerous:** The theory is positively dangerous since it paves the way for autocracy and tyranny.
5. **Illogical:** The theory lacks logic because it justifies the rule of bad kings. To say that God personifies virtue and he cannot elect a bad person as his agent on earth, sounds illogical.
6. **Incredible:** This theory is incredible, as it is a myth for removed from reality.

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**7. Origin unexplained:** The origin of the state is not explained in a reasonable manner. The theory only explains the features and basis of political authority, and that too, in an unsatisfactory and dogmatic manner.

**Value of the Theory:** No doubt, the theory of Divine Origin has been attacked severely from many angles, yet it is not totally valueless. It served a useful purpose at a time when people were not accustomed to obedience and were just emerging out of semi-feudal conditions. The theory taught these people that law has a religious sanction and must be obeyed. It added morality into politics. Gilchrist remarks "It taught men to obey when they were not yet ready to govern themselves." Even in modern time, great leaders like Mahatma Gandhi upheld the ideal of moral politics. This theory invests the state with a moral status. It emphasises the rulers' moral obligation to be controlled, since they are accountable to God for how they utilise their power.

#### 4.3.3 The Theory of Force

One of the oldest hypotheses on the origins of the state is the theory of Force. The central concept of the theory is that the state arose as a result of force. The primitive society was tribes. In this way, the victorious clan or tribe established its authority and supremacy over the vanquished ones. After subjugating one tribe or clan, the successful tribe proceeded to bring other tribes or clans under its feet. In this process of one mightiest tribe absorbing other weakest tribes, the State came into existence.

In other words, 'might is right' was a governing principle of primitive society. The force theory believes that the State emerged through physical coercion or compulsion. To put in a nutshell, 'War begot the state.'

**Defence of the Force Theory:** Various political thinkers have lent their support to this theory. According to Machiavelli, the state originated and sustained by force. Force is the hallmark of the state. Jenks is the leading advocate of force theory. He holds "Historically speaking, there is not the slightest difficulty in providing all political communities of modern type owe their existence to successful warfare." Leacock writes "Historically, the force theory means that Government is the outcome of human aggression; that the beginning of the state is to be sought in the capital and enslavement of man by man in the conquest and subjugation of feeble tribes. The progressive growth from tribe to kingdom and from kingdom to empire is but a continuation of the same process."

Oppenheimer, Nietzsche and Treitschke are also the ardent supporters of force theory. Treitschke writes "State is power. It is sin for a state to be weak. State is the public power of offence and defence." He again writes "The grandeur of history lies in the perpetual conflict of nations and the appeal to arms will be valid until the end of history." In modern history, Bismarck, Hitler and Mussolini were believers in the policy of force.

**Various Uses of the Theory:** The force has been used in various ways and for varied purposes:

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1. The notion was utilised by Christian theologians to condemn the state and defend the Church's supreme privileges. The state is the outcome of brute force, but the Church is the divine institution. So, the State is inferior to the Church.
2. The individualist used the theory of force in support of individual freedom and rights. Those who want to minimize the functions of the state argue that as the state is the result of superior physical force, it curbs individuality. Therefore, they set that the individuals should be left free to develop their own self.
3. The Communists also have made the use of this theory. They believe in application force in the society. Lenin remarks "Great questions in the life of a nation are settled only by force." The Marxists keep faith of force that brings a new society into existence.

The Force Theory was followed widely by Hegel and Hitler. A host of German thinkers glorified war and considered it a virtue, and the statesmen exalted the state's power to a dizzy height. Force is essential as for maintenance of the state, and for conduct of law and order.

**Merits of the Theory:** The Force Theory stands on the following merits:

1. There is a grain of truth that war and conquest have been responsible for the building up of the state.
2. Force continues to be an indispensable element of the state. In fact, the state maintains huge army and forces to maintain its unity and integrity.
3. This theory supports a section of view of political scientists that law is obeyed because it is backed by force.

**Criticisms of the Theory:** The Force Theory has been criticized on the following grounds:

1. **Force is not only factor:** There is denying of the fact that force has played an important part in the maintenance of the state. But it is wrong to consider that force is the only element of the maintenance of state. More force cannot maintain the state for longer time.
2. **Danger of might is right:** The theory that might is right is fought with danger. It upholds subjugation of the weak by the strong. It has led to bitter national and international wars.
3. **Ignores noble qualities:** According to this theory, force is the basis of life. As such, it ignores the noble aspects of human life, kindness, love, gentleness, sympathy, etc.
4. **Anti-democratic:** The theory of force is an enemy of democracy. Force has no room in democracy. Democracy is a Government by discussion and consent. There is a clear-cut contrast between force theory and democracy. While the former believes in Might is Right, the latter in Right is Might. This theory lays the foundations of totalitarian rule and destroys democracy.

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5. **State is an evolution:** The state is not sudden creation, but an evolution. It is the product of political consciousness.
6. **No historical proof:** History does not produce evidence to the historicity of force theory. Nowhere in history, it is recognized that force alone contributed to the growth of the state.
7. **Will, not force, is the basis of the state:** Political theorist like T.H. Green observes, “Will, not force, is the basis of the state.” Might without right lasts only as large as the might lasts. Glorification of force will shake the foundation of the state. It is the will of the people that can preserve the foundation of the state.
8. **Against international relations:** Force is counterproductive to good international relations. Interstate relations cannot be ruled by force in the face of the emergence of international law and institutions.
9. **Encourages aggressive nationalism:** The theory encourages the growth of false national ego, aggressive nationalism and imperialism among powerful nations. It provokes them to attack small and weak nations for self-aggrandizement without any justification.

The theory has done more harm than good, and has endangered peace within states and in the world at large.

The importance of Force Theory, despite criticisms, has diminished, but not totally rejected. State that deals with law and order cannot function without some amount of force. So, it is suggested that force is one of the factors in origin of the state and it should be used only as a medicine, not as a daily diet.

### 4.3.4 The Social Contract Theory

Social Contract Hypothesis is the most influential speculative theory on the origins of the state. During the 17th and 18th centuries, it was the most popular and prominent theory relating to the origins of the state and the nature of political authority. It also contributed significantly to the formation of modern political thought. According to proponents of the view, the state arose through a deliberate and voluntary agreement (contract) amongst primordial men who had no administrative organisation at the time. “The state is a product of contract, a craftsmanship of the individuals, neither a creation of God nor the outcome of force,” according to this theory.

The concept of contract dates back to Plato’s and Sophists’ works in ancient Greece, as well as Kautilya’s ‘Arthashastra’ in the Middle Ages. The idea of contract was also mentioned by Hooker, a well-known political philosopher. However, the modern concept of the social compact may be found in the writings of Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Jean Jacques Rousseau from the 17th and 18th centuries. In response to the shifting circumstances of the 17th and 18th century, these three renowned political thinkers offered diverse interpretations of this thesis. Their analysis consists of five main points, namely:

1. Human nature
2. State of nature
3. Social contract
4. State and sovereignty, and
5. Relation of individuals and the state.

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### Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679)

In his book 'The Leviathan,' published in 1651, Hobbes, who was thought to be a product of the Civil War of 1642, presented a clear account of the Theory of Social Contract.

Hobbes' philosophy begins with an examination of human nature through the lens of egoistic psychology, which holds that self-interest is the driving force behind human behaviour. Hobbes painted a bleak image of man's state in the pre-social era. Men were ruthless, self-centered, egotistical, greedy, and illogical. He also portrayed nature as being in a constant state of war and strife. It was "pre-social" as well as "pre-political." It was a disaster, and "might is right" was the watchword. There was absence of law and justice in the state of nature. Men experienced total insecurity. Life in Hobbes' classic phrase was "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short." The state of nature was far too bleak and terrifying to last forever and indefinitely. There was perpetual anxiety and instability since every man was an adversary of every other man. In such a situation, no progress could be made in any field. Men realised that unless they banded together and agreed to submit to a universal authority, they would not be able to satisfy their need for a new order with guaranteed security. Through a contract of each with all and all with each, men emerged from the state of nature and established civil society. They unconditionally relinquished all their rights to their sovereign under this contract, who would "keep them in owe" and give them security. Only the right to self-preservation was retrained by every individual. The sovereign is not a contracting party, and law is the sovereign's command. He is the true ruler of society, and the state's supreme power is vested in him. He has absolute, unlimited and indivisible authority. People enjoy only those rights which the sovereign permits and those which have not been forbidden by law.

### Features of Hobbes' Social Contract:

1. The sovereign is the product of contract and secured a commanding position.
2. Because he did not engage into a contract with the subjects, the king was above the contract.
3. The theory of Hobbes gave an absolute power to the sovereignty. The supreme power of sovereign has no limits.
4. Sovereignty could be located in the hands of a few or many, but Hobbes favoured its location in the hands of one person.

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**Merits of Hobbes' Social Contract:** Hobbes was highly reputed for his brilliance as a student of the Oxford University, and as a great scholar, after he left its portals. The '*Leviathan*' has been ecologized as a great masterpiece in English political thought. Hobbes also gave the first clear and scientific exposition of sovereignty. Hobbes weakened the blind faith of Roman people when he criticized the Roman Catholic Church as "Kingdom of Darkness" or a "Confederacy of Deceivers."

**John Locke (1632-1704)**

While Hobbes' philosophy was used to defend absolute rule, Locke utilised it to explain the English Revolution of 1688 in his 'Two Treatises of Government' (1690). He was a staunch supporter of the rule of law and constitutional government. He put forth his social contract theory to justify the glorious revolution and to reduce the theory of absolute monarchy upheld the Hobbes, Filmer and others. He analyzed human nature in terms of essential social virtues and characterized the state of nature as a condition of "peace, goodwill, mutual assistance and preservation". Men were free and equal. Pre-political, but not pre-social, was the condition of nature. Men had natural rights to life, liberty, and property, but they were governed by natural laws. It was a state of liberty but not licence. Because of certain 'inconveniences' like absence of the legislature to make law, the executive to carry out law and the judiciary to interpret law, people decided to leave the state of nature and formed the civil society through contract. They simply gave up some of their rights to the government. The contract was amended by Locke to include the government as a party. The terms and conditions of the contract bind the government. It should be founded on the governed's consent. People can change a Government when it became arbitrary. Thus, Locke advocates limited Government or constitutional monarchy. The monarch is supposed to serve the people by giving them good government. He presents his thesis in a reasonable manner. He also renders a great service to mankind by giving the theory of natural rights. The doctrine of constitutional monarchy is a great contribution of Locke to political science. Locke foreshadowed the doctrine of separation of powers which had a great influence on the American constitution.

**Jean Jacques Rousseau (1717-1778)**

Rousseau, the celebrated thinker of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, gave a classic exposition to the theory of social contract in his work '*The Social Contract*' by the inspiration of the French Revolution of 1789. In his political philosophy, he seems to have combined the views of Hobbes and Locke. So far as state of nature is concerned, Rousseau began with Locke and ended with Hobbes. Rousseau believes that man is fundamentally decent and empathetic. The state of nature was a time of blissful bliss. Man was a "noble barbarian" who lived a simple, natural, and joyful life. But gradually, the "State of Nature" degenerated into a vicious circle. Men became selfish, greedy, and hostile as the population grew and the concept of private property was introduced. Human nature became increasingly complex with the emergence of reason, and conflicts and tensions in the later stages of the state of nature compelled men into a contract in which they gave up all of their natural



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rights to the community or the “General Will.” It is sovereign and nobody can oppose it. The “General Will” is supreme and all powerful in a state. That is why Rousseau said “Voice of the people is the voice of God.” This is otherwise known as popular sovereignty. Rousseau is immortal because of the doctrine of popular sovereignty and it is one of his outstanding contributions to political theory.

Rousseau’s theory can be given an important place in political theory and governmental organization. The concept of Rousseau that sovereignty lies in the people brought about a revolution in political thought. Political science is indebted to Rousseau for his concept that “Will, not force, is the creator of the state.” He gives the valuable concept of law as the expression of general will. His social contract espoused the cause of democracy, liberty and equality. The great philosopher became one of the most powerful advocates of popular sovereignty and people’s rights. The concept of general not only created a revolution in political thought but also prepared the ground for the French Revolution.

**Criticisms of the Social Contract Theory:** The Social Contract Theory has received a lot of scepticism. “One of the most successful and catastrophic political impostures,” Sir Frederick Pollock said. Green condemned it as a simple ‘fabrication,’ while Bentham denounced it as a ‘rattle’ for pleasure. Further, critics view that “the Social Contract Theory gives us neither a satisfactory due to history nor a sound political philosophy.” The main points of criticisms are as follows:

1. **Unhistorical:** Critics pointed that this theory is unhistorical because nowhere in the history we find the exact date or time when the state came into existence through social contract. Nowhere, in history, a solitary instance of a group of primitive men making a contract of governance can be found. Thus, the theory is historically false.
2. **No rights without state:** The idea of natural rights and natural liberty upon which the Social Contract Theory has been build up is fallacious. The question of rights arises only within state. Without the state, we cannot think of rights. Liberty, too, may not exist prior to the state.
3. **The state came into existence as a result of a long process of growth:** The basic assumption by means of a contract is erroneous from sociological point of view. The advocates of Evolutionary Theory pointed out that the state is not man’s creation nor an artificial entity; rather, it is the outcome of a protracted process of social evolution influenced by a variety of elements such as kinship, religion, coercion, and political consciousness.
4. **A mechanical, *a priori* and juristic theory:** It is a mechanical, *a priori* and juristic theory because the status is reduced to that of a machine or an instrument that exists to fulfil specific functions. The concepts of the state of nature and even contracts are *a priori* concepts that have been accepted without consideration.
5. **A bad history, bad law and bad philosophy:** It is historically incorrect since no evidence exists to support either the existence of a natural state

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or the development of a state by contract. It's a horrible law since it made contracts bind future generations. It's terrible philosophy because it sees the state as a man-made construct rather than a natural process and progression.

6. **No freedom of making contract for primitive men:** The contractualists say that the contract was a voluntary agreement made by the primitive men. The real position was quite contrary to this, as men had no free choice in primitive society. If custom determined that a person was slave, he remained a slave, and he as a slave could not make a contract to free himself.
7. **State not artificial:** The state emerged as a result of historical forces by a natural process of evolution. The contractualists have made the state artificial as something which is a product of a contract, which business men make. The effort made to reduce the state to a level of an artificial.
8. **State membership not voluntary:** Contractualists say that the state was formed as a result of a social contract and membership was based on voluntary. This can never be true, as all persons are compelled to be members of state, whether they want or not. They have no choice.
9. **Contract perpetual:** The contractualists make the social contract perpetual and eternally binding on succeeding generations. The contract hamper progress and acts as a deadweight. It denies freedom to every generation to act freely for itself according to new ideas.

**Value of the Theory:** Despite the aforesaid limitations and flaws, we cannot dismiss the Social Contract Philosophy's contribution to political theory:

1. By combining governmental power with "predicated individual rights to autonomous self-determination of action," as Willoughby puts it. Contractualists established the groundwork for democracy.
2. The philosophy emphasises the value of the individual as well as the human goals for which the state exists and the government exerts its power.
3. The thesis was chiefly responsible for discrediting the Theory of Divine Origin and, as a result, rejecting absolute kings and despots' claims.
4. Modern contractualists have made a significant contribution to the Theory of Sovereignty. Legal, political, and popular sovereignty were championed by Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau.
5. The theory emphasised the value of rights. It stated that right, not might, is the basis of the state.

However, with the growth of the historical and empirical methods of enquiry, the Social Contract Theory started to decline. Darwin's Theory of Biological Evolution, in particular, inspired other disciplines and contributed to the evolutionary theory of state formation, which viewed state formation as a product of long, incremental growth rather than a manufacture based on the Social Contract.

### 4.3.5 The Evolutionary Theory

In terms of the origin of the state, the Evolutionary or Historical Theory is the most important of all theories, well accepted and highly satisfactory. In rejecting the earlier speculative theories, the Evolutionary Theory has dominated the Political Theory till now. According to this theory, “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. It is the result of the long process of evolution for which many factors are responsible.” As Leacock has pointed out “The state is a growth, an evolution, the result of gradual process, running throughout all the known history of man and receding into remote and unknown past.” There was no single point that the state was founded. It is the result of a lengthy and sluggish process of historical evolution. Just as Rome was not built in a day, so also, the state was not built in a day. The state evolved from a simple to a complex political organisation of the current type slowly and imperceptibly..

The Historical School of Political Philosophy of the 18<sup>th</sup> century supported this theory. It was further influenced by Darwin’s Theory of Evolution which says that every organism has birth, growth and decay. The social scientists have tried to apply this idea in case of all social and political institutions including the state.

The Evolutionary Theory emphasises the origins and circumstances that contributed to the formation of the essential unity and structure in early social groups from which the state arose. The following factors and influences are thought to have played a role in the state’s formation and evolution:

1. **Kinship:** The earliest and greatest connection of unity is kinship or blood relationship. MacIver says, “Kinship creates society and society at length creates the state.” Belief in common descent dominance of a patriarch, respect for the rights and obligations among people of same blood strengthened the bonds of unity and contributed to the creation of early political organisations. The original family by virtue of inter-blood relationship developed into clan, tribe, and finally, the state. Thus, kinship or family is a primary and one of the factors in the process of evolution of the state.
2. **Religion:** Next to kinship, religion has played an important part in the emergence of the state. Religion is a strong unifying factor. Gettell says, “Kinship and religion were two aspects of the same theory.” Religion enhanced the sense of unity and respect for authority during the earliest and most difficult phases of political formation. Every idea, every custom and every habit of primitive man was governed by religion. Members of a particular religion were united together and performed worship. Even today, religion continues to play an important part in determining the nature of the state. Early society did differentiate between religion and politics.
3. **Force:** Force is one of the factors of the origin of the state. Ancient kingdoms were established and maintained by force. Strong king

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captured the weak and established his hegemony over that kingdom. Territorial expansion was development of the state. Even force was necessary to maintain peace and order when the tie of kinship wakened. Force is necessary for defence of the state. Thus, struggle, warfare and force are historically most important element in the formation of the state.

4. **Property or economic needs:** Private property or economic need also contributed to the rise of the state. In course of time, man gave up his nomadic life. He settled down at a particular place and took agriculture as profession. Thus developed the idea of private property. This necessitated protection of life and property. Again, man's economic needs became multifarious. This led to dependence of one another. Thus, interdependence and protection of private property and life were responsible for the evolution of the state.
5. **Political consciousness:** The last but the most potent factor, which is responsible for the growth of the state, is political consciousness. As soon as man emerged out from primitive conditions, he felt a number of needs. The need for order and protection of person and property, and the need for social, moral and intellectual improvement led man to recognize the necessity for creation of some agency to control the manifold relations of the individuals. The growth of population and increase in wealth made this need felt still more. The state at first came into existence merely as an idea. Later on, it became physical fact. Thus, the thinking on the part of the man for some form of organized life and controlling agency took the form of political consciousness which brought about the state.

The Evolutionary Theory is, thus, the widely accepted theory of origin of the state. It is said to be the correct theory as to origin of the state. In support of this theory, it may be said that the state is a growing phenomenon that knows no finality. The state from the most obscure origin has come to its present form in which we live. This also cannot be said to be crowning state of the state. It may develop into a still more clearer, visible complex and organized form than what it had been now.

The Evolutionary Theory is the most scientific theory of origin of the state. It does not give verdict on anyone factor as the sole creator of the state. It considers all the factors and says that all played their role in the evolution of the state. It is the best theory or origin of the state. We may conclude by quoting Gettell, "The state is gradual and natural historic evolution. It is neither the gift of divine power nor the deliberate work of man. Its beginnings are lost in that shadowy past in which social institutions were unconsciously arising and its development has followed the general law of evolutionary growth."

## 4.4 THEORIES OF THE SPHERE OF STATE ACTIVITY

### 4.4.1 Introduction

The proper functions of the state, or what is known as the domain of state action, are a source of much debate. The theories that have prevailed regarding the

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state's necessity and functions range from those that deny the state's necessity or utility altogether (Anarchism) and limit the state's functions to the bare minimum (Individualism), to those that invest in an enormous range of functions and refer to it as the indispensable agency through which all social, economic, artistic, literary, and scientific progress has been made (socialism and welfare state). Individualism and socialism are the two primary theories relating to state activity, whereas the welfare state concept has been represented in the ideology and practise of modern states around the world.

#### 4.4.2 The Individualistic Theory

In terms of state activities, the individualistic perspective falls under the liberal viewpoint. There are two major periods in the historical growth of this doctrine: traditional individualism and modern individualism. It has gone through modifications as a part of Liberal Political Theory, from classical or negative liberalism (Laissez-faire individualism) to positive or modern liberalism.

Individualism or laissez-faire was the prevalent view of the state's functions in the early nineteenth century. It's a result of the industrial revolution. John Locke, Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer and F.A. Hayek are the main exponents of this theory. This theory puts emphasis on individual happiness and prosperity. It considers state as a necessary evil. It advocates for individual liberty and state functions that are kept to a bare minimum. It backs up the notion that the optimum state is one that rules the least. It is beneficial for the individual if the state's functions are reduced. "Maximum possible individual freedom and minimum possible state action" is the motto of individualism. The individualism stands for a police state. As per individualistic theory, the main function of the state is to protect the individual from foreign aggression, robbery, physical injury, false contract and epidemics. The state should protect persons who are unfit to work. Thus, state should perform the role of a night watchman.

#### Arguments in Favour of Individualism

Individualists argue for their point of view from four different perspectives: ethical, economic, scientific, and political.

- (a) Individualism can be justified on moral or ethical grounds. It is believed that the state's non-interference is required for the harmonious development of all of an individual's powers. Individuals who are left alone develop qualities such as self-reliance, initiative, and uniqueness to their full potential. Any form of government meddling is likely to kill his initiative and make him uninterested in everything.
- (b) Individualist theorists contend that non-interference policies are founded on good economic considerations. From a purely economic standpoint, they presume that every guy is self-centered and just cares about his own interests. Free competition boosts output, improves efficiency, and boosts economic well-being.
- (c) Darwin's theory of evolution has an impact on the scientific defence of individualism. Individualist philosophers argue that free competition

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among individuals would assure the survival of the strong, efficient, and clever, while the poor, weak, unfit, and inefficient would be eliminated. Natural selection would be hampered if the government intervened.

- (d) Practical experience indicates that the government tries to achieve a lot of things but fails miserably. Red tape, waste, and corruption are the effects of government action.

### Arguments against Individualism

- (a) The assumption of individualism 'state is a necessary evil' is wrong. History provides witness to the advancement of civilization, which was aided in great part by well-directed government action.
- (b) Individualists' core assumption that the individual knows his own interests best and acts accordingly is erroneous. Individualism, selfishness, and egoism may work against society's best interests.
- (c) The economic argument of individualists is also not correct because uncontrolled production results in monopoly, waste, overproduction, unemployment, etc. It also divides society into poor and rich. Evils of capitalism are found in individualism.
- (d) Individualism encourages unfair competition, which enables politically, socially and economically strong individuals in society to crush the weak ones.
- (e) Herbert Spencer's support to the Darwinian principle of the survival of the fittest cannot justify itself. Survival of the fittest isn't always synonymous with survival of the best. Furthermore, the law of survival of the fittest, which governs lower creatures, cannot be applied to human society.
- (f) Because some governments have made mistakes in the past, it is incorrect to condemn all government policies and regulations. Despite this, many government measures have been beneficial to society rather than harmful.

Traditional individualism was fashionable in the 18th and 19th centuries, but it fell out of favour in the early twentieth century. It was unable to address the difficulties brought up by unfettered industrial capitalism. Despite acceptance of the contemporary state's expanding role and functions, a spirit of protest against excessive state regulation and control has given rise to what is known as "modern individualism." It puts the emphasis on the collective rather than the individual. Modern individualism has grown as a result of two factors: (i) realisation of modern society's varied nature, and (ii) resistance to the state's massive expansion of authority. Modern individualists advocate the autonomy of the groups and contest the claim of the modern state to a monopoly of supreme power.

### 4.4.3 The Socialistic Theory

In the early twentieth century, the socialistic theory developed as a reaction against individualistic thinking regarding the scope of governmental activities was popular. It is primarily an economic and political theory that arose as a reaction to

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the ills of unfettered capitalism. The evolution of socialism was fueled by gross social injustice, economic inequality, widespread exploitation, massive poverty, mass misery, and animosity between the “haves” and “have-nots.” Socialism is primarily an ethical reaction to the horrifying dehumanisation and pervasive alienation that characterise all capitalist organisations. Those who advocated socialism were Charles Fourier, Robert Owen, Saint Simon, Proudhon, Karl Marx, etc.

The revolutionary and evolutionary schools of thought can be used to categorise all types of socialist ideas. The former (communists and syndicalists) believe that revolution or direct action is the only effective way to bring the ideal society into being; the latter (collectivists, guild socialists, Fabian socialists, and democratic socialists) believe that evolutionary constitutional methods are preferable and have longer-term effects.

Socialism may be defined as a theory and a movement aimed at collective communal organisation in the interests of the masses through common ownership and control of the means of production and exchange. Socialism advocates that the state perform all functions that are important for the individual’s material and moral well-being. It regards the state as supreme and positive good, and assigns it extensive functions. The state should promote common economic, moral and intellectual interests of the people. Socialistic theory contends that the state stands for the maximum advancement of the material welfare of all. All means of production and distribution should be owned by the state, and it should control and regulate economic competition and eliminate profit motive. It aims at spontaneous integration of man with society.

The socialistic theory believes in abolition of exploitation, elimination of inequality and avoidance of wasteful expenditure and competition. It also holds that collective action is more productive than the individual action. The promotion of social good, social justice and economic equality are the essence of socialism.

### Arguments for Socialism

- (i) Socialism emphasises the importance of community and the common welfare. It considers each individual to be an intrinsic member of society, and social welfare considers everyone’s well-being. Paramountcy is given to the good of all rather than to that of a few.
- (ii) Through a planned economy, this idea aims to remove the negative effects of unfettered competition such as reduced wages, overproduction, waste, duplication of services, and unemployment. It argues for a more fair distribution of wealth and a narrowing of the wealth gap between the wealthy and the poor, as well as ensuring social justice and economic stability for all.
- (iii) It satisfies the economic part of democracy by ensuring that each individual has access to the fundamental necessities of life and is free from want and fear.

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- (iv) Socialism calls for a societal reorganisation through fundamental social and economic reforms.
- (v) Socialism emphasizes on social progress, cultivation of individual character, values and freedom.

### Arguments against Socialism

The socialistic theory has been criticized on the following grounds:

- (i) It is defective insofar as it kills individual initiative and interest. It believes in abolition of private property and emphasizes collective ownership which destroys individual initiative and interest. As all are treated equally, those having greater efficiency and skill do not feel interested to work for the state.
- (ii) It is not conducive to social progress because state-controlled enterprises do not function efficiently as private enterprises due to absence of profit motive.
- (iii) Socialism encourages greater bureaucratic control for which the bureaucrats become powerful and corrupt.
- (iv) Individual freedom is limited under socialism, and individual character is deteriorated.
- (v) The government in a modern state is already overburdened, and when it is accorded with the responsibility of managing the volume of economic activities, it results in inefficiency.

Despite socialism's flaws, most states pursue a gradual increase of government operations in order to bring social justice and economic stability to the masses.

### 4.4.4 Welfare State

#### Introduction

The modern state is thought to be a welfare state. The concept of a "welfare state" dates from the twentieth century. The state is viewed as a welfare or social service institution in modern liberalism. Individualistic and socialist philosophies have opposing viewpoints on the necessary scope of government activity. By adhering to the welfare state ideology, most modern states avoid both extremes and strike a moderate ground between individualism and socialism. A welfare state, then, is a compromise between individualism and socialism. It follows mixed-economy concepts (both public and private sector).

#### Welfare State: Meaning and Background

Welfare states are the norm in today's world. The terms "welfare" and "prosperity" are often used interchangeably. A welfare state is one that actively promotes people's socioeconomic well-being by developing and implementing development policies, plans, and programmes. It is a state that tries to promote the society's overall development and welfare while also safeguarding the people's rights and liberties. It must be understood that a totalitarian/dictatorship state



seeking to achieve quick socioeconomic development while paying little consideration to the people's rights and liberties is not a welfare state.

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There have been many different perspectives on the functions of the state. Individualists advocated for a position that emphasised the importance of the person and reduced the function of the state in society to nearly nothing. As an antidote to liberalism, socialists saw the state as the exclusive means of advancing social welfare. The identity of the individual was not given any consideration in this view. These two concepts are diametrically opposed. Neither of the theories could receive full approval from political intellectuals. They couldn't identify any opposition between the individual and the state, and they couldn't isolate the state from the individual or vice versa. The state's economic and political policies were altered as a result of World War I. The popularity of liberalism in the nineteenth century began to dwindle. Hedonism's standards bolstered the notion of "maximum good for the greatest number" and influenced political theorists greatly. The term 'Police State' or 'Negative State' began to lose favour. The concept of a 'Service State' or a 'Positive State' was established as a result of the new thinking. The concept of a welfare state arose as a result of this.

The benefits of liberalism and socialism are combined in a welfare state. A welfare state maintains a balance rather than tipping to one side or the other. It takes a moderate path, accepting the principles of 'Mixed Economy' and 'Planning' to ensure the wellbeing of its citizens. "The welfare state is a compromise between the two extremes, communism on one hand and uncontrolled individualism on the other," Hobman explains. It emphasises both the individual and society. A welfare state is a government agency tasked with transforming society for the common good. The state is a proactive agency in ensuring the people's well-being.

T.W. Kent describes a welfare state as "a state that provides a wide range of social services to its residents."

G.D.H. Cole defines a welfare state as "a society in which an assured minimum standard of living and opportunity becomes the possession of every citizen."

According to Abraham, a welfare state is "a community where state power is deliberately used to modify the normal play of economic forces so as to attain a more equal distribution of income for every citizen, a basic minimum irrespective of the market value of his work and his property."

All modern states are mostly welfare states. Each of these states wants to promote the common welfare of the society. It offers free medical care, financial support in the event of an accident, old-age and unemployment pensions, education, public transportation, and a variety of other amenities to its inhabitants. It not only provides economic security, but also undertakes development activities including reduction of economic inequality. It is said that, in a welfare state, the individual gets himself born and the rest of the things are taken care of by the state.

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The concept of welfare is associated with the ideas of charity and prosperity. Charity was taught to each individual by his religion. Religious institutions, and more particularly, the Christian churches were the embodiment of charity. These institutions take several steps for promoting well-being of the individuals at their own costs. Gradually, states entered into the domain of the religious endowments for looking after the welfare of the people in general and poor, destitute, sick, orphans aged, etc. in particular.

A form of social liberalism developed in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. It, however, wanted the state intervention in welfare and economic reform. Both the first and second world wars resulted in a slew of social and economic issues. Industrialization and urbanization added fuel to the fire. Countries in the western world started introducing social security schemes to overcome the problems of backwardness and poverty. The state wanted to reduce the gap between the rich and the poor, and to raise the standard of living of the less fortunates nearer to that of the more fortunates. The Great Economic Depression 1930 unveiled the flaws of capitalism. In England, the Beveridge Report of 1942 recommended for provision of “basic minimum” to every individual. It identified five major social evils – want, ignorance, idleness, squalor (insanitation) and disease, and wanted that the state must actively work to fight these evils out. “The New Deal Policy” in USA promoted the cause of welfarism. Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Canada, Australia and France also launched welfare schemes.

### Characteristics of Welfare State

The basic characteristics of a welfare state are as follows:

1. Welfare state stands between individualistic state and socialistic state.
2. State sees the absence of a paternal government.
3. State allows freedom of trade and commerce.
4. State power is exercised for political as well as economic ends.
5. State is regarded as the first condition of a civilized life.
6. State maintains internal peace, and prevents war and external aggression.
7. State works as the major agency to provide social insurance.
8. State's sacred duty is to promote the well-being of the people.
9. State takes up development programmes by proper planning.
10. State adopts 'Mixed Economy', i.e., both public and private sectors are allowed to work for a developed national economy.
11. State is a friend, philosopher and guide of the individual.
12. State is a prominent organization of socio-political thinking.
13. State is a regulator, a promoter and a manager, all in one.

### Functions of Welfare State

The functions of a Welfare State can be studied into two parts:

- (a) Protective functions and
- (b) Welfare functions.

These are otherwise known as Essential and Non-essential functions. Sometimes, the first category functions are called compulsory functions and the second category are optional functions.

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### Compulsory Functions of Welfare State

Compulsory functions are those functions without which the state cannot substantiate its existence. It is called essential because it provides a stronghold to the state. These functions are mostly protective functions which a police state normally performs. Minus these functions of the state, an individual will be allowed to fall prey to the uncivilized and brutal forces that devastates the very civic life of a man in the society.

1. **Protection from war and external aggression:** In order to uphold its sovereignty and to maintain the territorial integrity, the foremost function of the welfare state is to see that there is not even a threat of foreign attack on it. The state, therefore, takes up diplomatic measures with the neighbouring states so that there will be no discord at least. The state also maintains a powerful defence force to face the eventuality of foreign attack.
2. **Maintenance of internal security:** One of the basic reasons for bringing the state into existence was to release the man from the horrific conditions of state of nature. Man's primary concern was to live and to live without fear. State is to provide a condition of fearlessness by restoring discipline. Once the law and order situation goes wrong in the state, the life of the individual gets insecure. The state maintains peace and suppresses turmoil in order to allow individuals to live a secured life. A welfare state by means of provisions of internal security makes individual's life peaceful and blissful.
3. **Law-making:** Making laws both for municipal as well as international purposes is another important function of the state. Laws are made to regulate the relationship among the individuals inside the state and to shape its foreign policy to secure its position in the external front. All kinds of laws relating to civil, criminal, penal, contractual and property are made by the state. State also makes laws to determine the basic policies of the state towards other nations in the international community.
4. **Administration of justice:** The modern state cannot keep itself away from administering justice to its people. State is considered to be the embodiment of justice. Entire population and the territory comes within the judicial power of the state. The state is to administer social, economic and political justice to every person without any bias as per the provisions of law operating inside it. It respects the principles of Rule of Law to ensure the rights and liberties of the people.
5. **Minting money:** The state mints money. It issues currency notes and coins in order to maintain its own identity in the international community and to provide a standard value for the purpose of regulating exchanges

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in the economic market. It is one of the essential functions of the state that differentiates the state from other social associations.

6. **Collection of taxes:** The state levies taxes. It collects taxes. It punishes the tax evaders. The taxes so collected are spent for promoting welfare of the people. The payment of tax to the state is a duty of the citizen as it provides a moral and ethical right to participate in the activities of the state. By imposing and collecting taxes, the state does the real work of redistributing income.

### Optional Functions of Welfare State

The optional functions of the modern states are otherwise called non-essential functions or welfare functions. Of course, without these functions of the state, the life of the individual will not be at stake but can never be worth living. Life is not meant for just living but for a better living because the continuance of the state is justified as it provides a good life to the individuals. The conditions of good life are understanding each other in the society, tolerating each other, sacrificing one's individual interest for the greater interest of the society, living and allowing others to live, and opportunities for the prosperity of the individual as well as of the society. The state must ensure that all citizens have the right to work, a stable income, and a safe place to live.

1. **Social security measures:** The state takes a positive attitude towards its members by assuring them the basic minimum to get rid of the awkward situations of life. The state makes provision for pension and allowances to the old, invalid, destitute, sick and unemployed persons. It also makes means of livelihood available to the people. Retirement benefits, financial assistance to handicapped, distressed, poor and widows, relief operations at the time of natural calamities and victims of accidents are some social security measures taken up by the state.
2. **Development of personality of individual:** Modern states are attaching importance to the dignity of every individual. The fundamental principle of fraternity among the individuals is equality which is admired by the welfare state. The artificial barriers like caste, creed, colour, religion, etc. are to be demolished or else the conducive conditions for the development of the personality of individuals will not be made available. The state ensures rights and liberty to the people with the help of which individual himself prospers and also makes a meaningful contribution to the prosperity of the society.
3. **Spread of education:** Education lays the foundation of a civilized life. Unless the citizens are educated, their life cannot be cultured, nor can they develop their personalities well. Bad education is still more dangerous. The state, therefore, establishes schools and colleges to make the citizens educated from their childhood. It is said that universal education precedes universal franchise.

The state actually puts emphasis on compulsory education for all the children. Some states have made education a fundamental right.

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4. **Protection of public health:** To look after the health of the citizens is another function of the modern state. The states make provision for sanitation and supply of drinking water to the people. Establishment and running of hospitals, maternity centres and child care units come under the welfare functions of the state. Employees' State Insurance Scheme is also introduced by the state to look after the healthcare of the workers in factories and farms. Mobile medical service facilities are provided to the citizens. The state makes provision of free medical care in the hospitals for the indoor patients. Sometimes, the health services are made available to the patients at a subsidized rate. The state launches several programmes for eradication of diseases like Smallpox, Malaria, Filariasis, Tuberculosis and AIDS. The state takes preventive measures for not allowing epidemics to spread. No one by his personal effort and initiative could have been able to do all these.
5. **Development of agriculture:** Agriculture is the core occupation of the individuals. Permanent settlement with families by the individuals resulted out of agriculture. State in order to satisfy the needs of food, clothing and shelter of its citizens has to promote agriculture. In order to grow more food and to make the state self-reliant in foodstuff, it adopts scientific methods of agriculture through land reform measures and irrigation. Plantation of trees, maintenance of livestock, poultry, dairy, pisciculture, horticulture, etc. are taken up by the state. The state also makes scientific know-how available to the agriculturists to yield high with low expenses. The state tries to mechanize agriculture.
6. **Development of industry:** Industry is another sector in which the state plays its role. Heavy, medium-scale and small-scale industries are set up by the state directly or by the private individuals with the help of the state to produce several kinds of goods for the use of the people. Industries provide employment opportunities. A large number of people earn their livelihood from the industries. The state controls and regulates the production of the industries in order to keep the demand and supply in perfect balance. It regulates the price of the commodities and maintains a good distribution system. The state by making laws looks after the benefits of the workers engaged in industries.
7. **Spread of transport and communication:** State makes necessary arrangements for travel and conveyance of the people. It is an important service that the state renders to its people. The state introduces public transport system by means of several mechanized devices like bus, train, steamer, launcher and aeroplanes. For developing the system of communication, the state maintains communication through air like telephone, telegram, posts, wireless, cell phones, internet and

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computerized linking systems. This not only makes things mobile, but also saves time, money and energy of the people.

The welfare state does not ignore individual. It emphasizes upon the common welfare which includes the welfare of the individual too. It makes individual an indivisible part of the state. The welfare state makes effort to provide shelter to the people at a very lower cost. The state undertakes several schemes for housing the people. The state makes laws to restrict immoral and unethical works in the society. It encourages people to develop skill in creative literature and art. By some political activities like conduct of election and giving power to the people, the state safeguards the rights and liberty of the people.

The functions of the state are many. It cannot actually be listed out. It is also not wise to term some functions of the state as essential and some others as non-essential. All the functions of the state are rather essential functions.

### **Justification of Welfare State**

A welfare state is more justified than a state championing the cause of individualism. Individual's prosperity cannot be achieved only if he is left alone. State rather helps build the character and personality of the man.

**Man's liberty expanded and safeguarded:** State by its intervention in individual's affairs does not restrict human freedom. It rather expands the liberty of the people and provide safeguard measures against encroachment. An individual gets an expanded area to enjoy his rights and liberty. State makes freedom positive and broad.

**Economic management:** The state, instead of being entrusted with the police functions, performs a good deal of welfare functions. Unbridled capitalism gives rise to economic instability and unemployment. The workers are deprived of the basic minimum to live their lives. The welfare state by means of its economic management policy regulates the production and market. It maintains equilibrium, stability and certainty in the economic conditions of the people as a whole. The problem of unemployment instead of becoming acute is rather reduced to a considerable extent. It minimizes the economic disparity in the state and protects individuals from the evil effects of capitalism.

**Social regulation:** The state by making laws regulates the social activities of individuals. It develops social sense and makes social solidarity possible. As the state regulates the relationship between individual and the society and among individuals, the unethical and immoral activities of the individuals are curbed. This helps maintain social discipline and encourage the process of socialization.

**Fighting out social evils:** The Beveridge Report 1942 in England identified five social evils such as want, ignorance, idleness, squalor and disease. A liberalized state cannot fight these five giants out. It can rather make room for their breeding and expansion. A modern state not only identifies the evils, but also makes an all-out effort to fight them out through several new schemes. The

interference of the state in this respect is justified as it creates conditions conducive for individual's successful living.

**Political boon:** Welfare state is considered as a boon for political reasons. The state by extending its sphere of action creates several political organizations and institutions to safeguard individual's political rights. The state by empowering itself empowers its individuals in political activities. The local self-governing institutions not only solves local problems, but also increase political participation of the people. State allows political rights like right to vote and to be voted, right to freedom of speech and expression, right to form union and associations and even the right to revolt against the state. It encourages democratic traditions.

**Humanitarian outlook:** A welfare state is justified on humanitarian grounds. The modern state does not make an individual a self-centred and egoist animal. Individual is rather glorified as a human being accomplished with divine virtues like mercy, piety, compassion, tolerance and sacrifice. Including several social and economic security measures, the state makes a drive taking its people into confidence to render human services to the people in need at the time of natural calamities. In this effort, individuals forget their personal happiness and volunteer selfless service to the people who are in distress.

Welfare state becomes more justified for underdeveloped and developing countries in which the people in general are poor, illiterate, economically backward, politically unaware and socially disadvantaged and handicapped. Unless ample scope is given to the state to interfere in the affairs of the individuals, a great part of the population will die or suffer from malnutrition or render homeless, or will be without jobs and will ultimately perish.

### Shortcomings of Welfare State

In spite of strong arguments justifying the functioning of a welfare state, political scientists criticize it and point out its weaknesses.

- (a) **State becomes powerful:** Welfare state symbolizes state interference. Power of the state is increased. Individual is placed at the mercy of the state as the state imposes restriction at every point of individual's activity. So much of emphasis on the state reduces the position of the individual and varieties of associations made by individuals.
- (b) **Bureaucracy becomes powerful:** In a welfare state, the government for transacting its business depends on the bureaucracy. Bureaucracy consists of persons recruited permanently till they retire on attaining the age of superannuation. As the political authorities in the government departments do not have certainty in their tenure, the bureaucracy exercises an important role in the making and implementing the policies. The administration of the entire state is managed at the sweet will of the bureaucracy. Bureaucracy causes delay in doing things, encourages inefficiency and harasses common people.

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- (c) **Expensive:** Since the functions of the state are multiplied, agencies are created to perform specific jobs. A large number of persons are employed to transact the business of the state. All the persons so engaged are paid out of state fund. The employees do not behave rationally nor do they discharge their responsibilities well. It causes a loss of public money. The pay, TA, DA and other allowances paid to them puts a heavy burden on the state exchequer. The welfare activities undertaken by the state also involves a lot of money which is met out by imposing taxes on individuals.
- (d) **Increase in trade union activities:** As the state undertakes economic activities, the workers and wage earners get themselves organized. Thus, the Trade Unions are formed. These trade unions become so powerful that they can threaten to stop production and other public utility services unless their demands are conceded. They grow so powerful that the state has to yield. The state actually becomes helpless to their pressure.
- (e) **People are heavily taxed:** A welfare state is a service state. It undertakes many welfare programmes in order to cater to the needs of the people. Most of the times, the state provides benefits to its people either free of cost or at a subsidized rate. All these activities require heavy expenditure. The state imposes taxes on the people and employees, and rigorous methods to collect it. A man who does not even derive any benefit out of a scheme pays for the implementation of the scheme.
- (f) **People have become dependent:** Modern state pokes its nose in every aspect of individual's life. Individual not only loses his initiative, he rather starts depending fully on the state. It creates a dependency culture. For twenty-four hours, a state works and works for its people. Everything that a man needs is provided by the state. The state does for the people, and thinks for the people. Individual develops idleness and waits for everything as instruction from the state. Enterprising skill of the man gets destroyed in such a state.

Although a welfare state suffers from the above weaknesses, the modern states cannot withdraw themselves from the welfare activities for the people. A state cannot thrive only by performing police functions. It, for its survival, shall render services to the people.

## 4.5 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

### Check Your Progress

#### I. Multiple Choice Questions

1. \_\_\_\_\_ among the following first used the term state.
 

|            |                 |
|------------|-----------------|
| (a) Plato  | (b) Aristotle   |
| (c) Hobbes | (d) Machiavelli |



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2. \_\_\_\_\_ distinguishes the state from other associations.
  - (a) Population
  - (b) Government
  - (c) Sovereignty
  - (d) Law
3. \_\_\_\_\_ among the following is not an element of the state.
  - (a) Territory
  - (b) Government
  - (c) Sovereignty
  - (d) Membership of the UN
4. A state has \_\_\_\_\_ elements.
  - (a) one
  - (b) two
  - (c) three
  - (d) four
5. \_\_\_\_\_ among the following is not a social contractualist or advocate of social contract theory.
  - (a) T.H. Green
  - (b) Thomas Hobbes
  - (c) John Locke
  - (d) Rousseau
6. 'The Leviathan' is written by \_\_\_\_\_.
  - (a) Aristotle
  - (b) Machiavelli
  - (c) John Locke
  - (d) Hobbes
7. \_\_\_\_\_ said the life in the state of nature was solitary, nasty, brutish, poor and short.
  - (a) Thomas Hobbes
  - (b) John Locke
  - (c) Rousseau
  - (d) None of the above
8. 'The Two Treatise on Government' is written by \_\_\_\_\_.
  - (a) Machiavelli
  - (b) John Locke
  - (c) Rousseau
  - (d) Hobbes
9. 'The Social Contract' is a famous book of \_\_\_\_\_.
  - (a) Machiavelli
  - (b) Jeremy Bentham
  - (c) Rousseau
  - (d) John Locke
10. \_\_\_\_\_ among following supports absolute sovereignty.
  - (a) Lark Marx
  - (b) Hobbes
  - (c) John Locke
  - (d) Rousseau
11. The theory of popular sovereignty was advocated by \_\_\_\_\_.
  - (a) Hobbes
  - (b) Locke
  - (c) Rousseau
  - (d) Marx

**II. True or False**

1. State is a political association.
2. Aristotle first used the word state.
3. Sovereignty is an attribute or element of the state.
4. Thomas Hobbes explained State of Nature as social and pre-political.
5. Rousseau advocated for political limited sovereignty.
6. Evolutionary theory is also known as Historical Theory.

## NOTES

**III. Match the Following**

- |                         |                                 |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. State                | (a) Rousseau                    |
| 2. Government           | (b) Thomas Hobbes               |
| 3. Divine Origin Theory | (c) Sovereignty                 |
| 4. Popular Sovereignty  | (d) Brain of the state          |
| 5. The Leviathan        | (e) God is the creator of state |

**4.6 SUMMARY**

Most of the political scientists who defined and analyzed the meaning of the state are of the opinion that the state has three basic elements, i.e., population, territory and Government. But a very few political thinkers like Jean Bodin, J.W. Garner and Phillimore add the fourth one to the elements of the state, i.e., sovereignty. Nowadays, sovereignty is the most vital element of the state. Sovereignty is the element which distinguishes the state from all other associations.

None of the theories could explain unmistakably the origin and nature of state. One cannot say with precision as to when and at what point of time, the state emerged and what is the exact nature of state.

**4.7 KEY TERMS**

- **Polis:** Greek term means city-state.
- **Civitas:** Roman term means city-state.
- **La Stato:** Means state.
- **USA:** United State of America.
- **USSR:** Union of Soviet Social is Republics.
- **UN:** United Nations.
- **Sovereignty:** Means supreme power of the state.
- **Federation:** A state having dual government, i.e., Central and Provincial.
- **Divine:** God.
- **Louis XIV:** King of France.
- **Leviathan:** Book written by Thomas Hobbes.
- **State of Nature:** Condition before the state came into existence.
- **Arthasastra:** Book written by Kautilya.

**4.8 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES****Short Answer Questions**

1. What do you mean by State?
2. What do you mean by Government?
3. What is sovereignty?

4. Is UN a state?
5. What do you mean by State of Nature?
6. What is Social Contract?
7. What was Hobbes' views on Human Nature?
8. What was Locke's views on State of Nature?
9. What was Rousseau's views on sovereignty?

**NOTES****Long Answer Questions**

1. Define the state and discuss its elements.
2. Explain the meaning and types of sovereignty.
3. Explain the Social Contract Theory regarding origin of the State.
4. "State is a product of evolution." Examine.
5. Write an essay about individualistic theory of state activity.
6. What is welfare state? Discuss the functions of welfare state.

**4.9 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'****I. Multiple Choice Questions**

1. (d)
2. (c)
3. (d)
4. (d)
5. (a)
6. (d)
7. (a)
8. (b)
9. (c)
10. (b)
11. (c)

**II. True or False**

1. True
2. False
3. True
4. False
5. False
6. True

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### III. Match the Following

1. (c)
2. (d)
3. (e)
4. (a)
5. (b)

### 4.10 ACTIVITY

Provide two real-life examples to prove how:

1. State is an association of associations.” Prove it.
2. “Sovereignty is an essential element of the state. Justify it.
3. Prove that United Nations is not a state.
4. Make a comparison between Hobbes’, Locke’s and Rousseau’s state of nature.
5. “The social contract theory regarding origin of the state is speculative and imaginary in nature.” Prove it.
6. “State is a product of slow and steady process of evolution not a creation.” Prove it.

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## Unit III

Law, Liberty and Rights

### NOTES

## Chapter 5 Law, Liberty and Rights

### Learning Objectives:

Law, Liberty, Equality, Justice and Rights constitute the basic political concepts. This unit devotes the discussion on law, liberty, equality justice and rights. After studying this unit, you should be able to understand:

- Meaning, nature, sources and types of Law
- Meaning, types and safeguards of Liberty
- Meaning nature and types of Equality
- Meaning, sources, types and theories of Justice
- Relationship between Liberty and Equality
- Relationship between Equality and Authority
- Meaning, types, theories and safeguards of Rights
- Relationship between Rights and Duties

### Structure:

- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Law: Nature, Sources and Kinds
  - 5.2.1 Meaning and Definitions
  - 5.2.2 Features of Law
  - 5.2.3 Nature of Law
  - 5.2.4 Sources of Law
  - 5.2.5 Kinds of Law
- 5.3 Liberty
  - 5.3.1 Meaning of Liberty
  - 5.3.2 Negative and Positive Liberty
  - 5.3.3 Classification or Types of Liberty
  - 5.3.4 Safeguards of Liberty
- 5.4 Equality
  - 5.4.1 Meaning and Nature of Equality
  - 5.4.2 Kinds of Equality
  - 5.4.3 Liberty and Equality
- 5.5 Justice
  - 5.5.1 Meaning of Justice

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- 5.5.2 Sources of Justice
- 5.5.3 Theories of Justice
- 5.5.4 Dimensions of Justice or Types of Justice
- 5.6 Rights
  - 5.6.1 Introduction
  - 5.6.2 Meaning and Definition of Rights
  - 5.6.3 Features of the Rights
  - 5.6.4 Kinds of Rights/Classification of Rights
  - 5.6.5 Theories of Rights
- 5.7 Duties
  - 5.7.1 Meaning
  - 5.7.2 Important Duties
  - 5.7.3 Correlationship between Rights and Duties
- 5.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 5.9 Summary
- 5.10 Key Terms
- 5.11 Self-Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 5.12 References

## 5.1 INTRODUCTION

Law, liberty, equality, justice and rights constitute the political concepts. Law is the lifeblood of the state which regulates and controls human action in society. Liberty is the most important condition of human life which generally means freedom. Like liberty, equality is an important theme in political theory and is a cherished ideal in modern societies. It is also a cardinal principle of democracy. Similarly, justice is a key concept in philosophy, ethics, politics and jurisprudence. Human rights are essential for a healthy growth. These are the circumstances of human life, without which no one can achieve his full potential.

## 5.2 LAW: NATURE, SOURCES AND KINDS

Just as the idea of sovereignty is central to the idea of the state, so the idea of law is central to the idea of sovereignty. The hallmark of the state is law, which expresses and enforces its superior power. The state's lifeblood is law, which rules and controls human behaviour in society.

### 5.2.1 Meaning and Definitions

The term 'Law' comes from the old tectonic term 'Lag,' which refers to something that is fixed for a period of time. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, a law is a set of rules enforced by authority. Different scholars have

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defined law in their own way. 'A general rule of external action enforced by a sovereign political power,' according to Holland. Salmond defines "law as a body of principles recognized and applied by the state in the administration of justice." Green defines law as "the system of rights and obligations which the state enforces." Gettell says "Law is the command of an authorized public organ acting within the sphere of its legal competence."

### 5.2.2 Features of Law

The above definitions bring out the following distinguishing features of law:

- (a) Law is a general rule which is applicable to all the individuals and associations within the jurisdiction of the state and is not meant for any particular person.
- (b) It is concerned with external actions of the individual.
- (c) Law is impersonal and universal. It emanates from determinate authority.
- (d) Law is backed by the coercive authority of the state and violation of law follows coercive sanctions.

### 5.2.3 Nature of Law

Since the definition of law differs from scholar, it will be useful to study the nature of law in the light of various theories which would help us to know the diverse meanings of the term law.

1. **Natural Theory:** According to this theory, law is regarded as eternal, universal and constant. It is universally applicable for all times and circumstances. This law is based on right reason. Natural law command men to perform their duties and restricts them from doing wrong.

The idea of natural law prevailed during the medieval period, but with the advent of Christianity, natural law became divine law. But the utilitarians and analytical school of thinkers criticized the law of nature as vague.

2. **Analytical Theory:** According to this theory, 'law is regarded as the command of the sovereign.' Austin, Hobbes and Holland subscribe to this view. They believe that law, whether legislative or judicial, is something that is made purposefully by law givers. A sovereign political authority issues it, and a sovereign political authority enforces it. So, whosoever violates law is punished by the state.

This theory regards law as rigid and static. This theory is undemocratic and it ignores the force of customs, religion and public opinion.

3. **Historical Theory:** The Historical School, in contrast to the views of Analytical School, holds that law is the consequence of a complex, long-running social process, not the command of a lawmaker. Law is the result of historical forces and influences, and while this must be the official basis of law, the true source is the historical development process. The state does not create law but only recognizes the social customs,

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traditions and practices as law. The sanction behind law is the social pressure behind it.

4. **The Philosophical Theory:** This theory treats law as an abstraction and divorces it from the actual needs of a society.
5. **Sociological Theory:** According to the sociologists, law is related to social need. Laws are obeyed not because of coercive sanctions but because they are conditions of social living. Men obey laws out of a sense of right and justice.
6. **The Marxian Theory:** Law, according to Marx and his followers, is a tool of exploitation and oppression employed by the economically dominant class against the dispossessed. In a class divided society, it cannot be objective and/or impartial. The ruling class's will is reflected in legal forms, and it defends the ruling class's political and economic interests.

Thus, philosophers differ as to the true nature of law and none of the views discussed above can be exclusively right in explaining the true nature of law.

### 5.2.4 Sources of Law

Holland has mentioned six major sources of law which can be enumerated below:

1. **Customs:** In the civilized communities, the earliest form of law can be traced from the well-established customs and principles. The observance of these conventions was highly valued in primitive cultures, and customs, traditions, and well-established social practises continue to play an essential role in people's social lives today. In the past, social relations were simple and customs regulated the behaviour of men entirely. But as social relations became complex, customs failed to provide with the sufficient new rules to regulate the behaviour of individuals. Thus, customary rules were modified into laws. Most of the laws of the present age are based on customs. The Common Law of England is an illustration of customary laws.
2. **Religion:** Besides customs, religion also played an important role in the evolution of law. In the medieval period, individual life in the society was to the most extent regulated by religion and religious scriptures. The priests and religious leaders were the advisers to the king. Politics was a part and parcel of religion. Therefore, most of the laws of the modern age found their origin to the ancient religious books and principles.
3. **Judicial:** Decisions have been a prominent source of law these days. With the decline of customs and practices, judicial decisions assumed importance. The decisions given by highly qualified judges and their interpretation of laws constitute a source of law. The decisions taken by judges have evidentiary value for which they are regarded as precedents while adjudicating on a particular issue. The judges are regarded as the



wisest men of the community and their decisions are accorded the status of case law.

4. **Equity:** It is an informal process of enacting new laws or amending existing ones based on fairness, equality, or treatment equality. Equity is an extension of adjudication. While adjudication is limited to the interpretation of existing laws, equity breaks new ground and add to existing laws. Whenever the judges find no proper law to apply to a particular case, they apply their common sense impartially in a judicious manner and decide the dispute. This is called equity fairness, sense of justice, etc. With the progress of civilization, sometimes laws become unsuitable and inadequate, and the judges' absence of positive law decides the case on principles of fairness and reasonableness, and this is known as equity.
5. **Scientific commentaries:** The scientific commentaries, opinions and remarks of leading thinkers, jurists and statesmen are regarded as an important source of law. Jurists and statesmen offer their opinions on major legal issues, and when these are recognised, they are viewed as binding because they are the decisions of the community's wisest individuals. The works and opinions of Edward Coke, Hale, Littleton and Blackstone in England, and Kent and Storey in USA, etc. are regarded as a source of law. The writings of these people came to be looked upon with great respect and were often referred to by the judges while deciding the various cases coming to them. The opinions of the jurists become law only after receiving recognition of the court of law.
6. **Legislation:** It is the most vital source of law today. Legislation reflects the will of the state as declared by its law-making organs. With the growing complexity of modern life, legislation has come to play a significant role in the state administration. The elected representative in the legislature introduce and discuss bills, approve them and send it to the chief executive for assent. With his signature, the bill becomes a law. Over time, legislation has surpassed other traditional sources of law, such as customs and religion, as the most important source of law. Now, legislation has been able to satisfy the challenging needs and demands of the human society.

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### 5.2.5 Kinds of Law

Laws can be classified into various forms. MacIver, thus, classified the laws into:

1. National Law,
2. International Law,
3. Ordinary Law,
4. Constitutional Law,
5. Public Law,

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6. Private Law,
  7. Administrative Law, and
  8. General Law.
1. **National Law:** State is a legal institution. Law is the life of state. Without law, there is no question of state. Every state has the law of its own. The laws of one state which are called national laws differ from the laws of other states. This type of law is called national law. These laws are necessary for the internal administration of one state. In ancient period, these laws were called Municipal laws. National law is the weapon of sovereignty. These laws are applicable to individuals and associations in the state. It is also the medium of state administration.
  2. **International Law:** This is a modern law which took birth in 20<sup>th</sup> century. In modern world, no state can live alone. So, every state must have to keep the relationship to other states. This relationship is known as the international relationship. This relationships are of various kinds in different spheres. So, for the peaceful co-existence, mutual understanding and living, internal laws plays an important role. International laws is binding for every nation in the world. All the international disputes and problems are decided by international law. The UNO is regarded as the guardian of international law.
  3. **Ordinary Law:** The other kind of National Law is ordinary law which states about the daily maintenance of individual's life. But constitutional law is more important than ordinary law. Ordinary laws can be changed in simple process. It is one kind of national law.
  4. **Constitutional Law:** It is another kind of national law. It is the fundamental law of the state. It describe about the origin, organization, management, administration rights or duties of the individual, etc. Without constitution, no state can be organized and managed. The state, which is organized without constitution, is known as anarchical state. The constitution of one state differs from the constitution of another state. Constitution are of different kinds. From the point of view of written and unwritten form, constitution are classified into written and unwritten constitution. Again, from the point of view of changing or adding to the constitution, constitutions are classified into rigid or flexible.
  5. **Public Law:** Ordinary laws are classified into two types: (i) public law and (ii) private law. So, we will discuss about public law. State is the highest public institution. It does not have any body. State is organized by combined process. Government is the administrative element of the state. By the government, the wills of the state are fulfilled. Government is the administrative organ. Individual has the relationship with the state. By the process of law, government relates the individual with the state.
  6. **Private Law:** Except the constitutional law, there are private laws in the state. Where public laws are concerned with the internal administration of

state, the private laws are concerned with the maintenance of daily life and mutual relationship of the individual. It is purely private.

7. **Administration Law:** Public laws are classified into two categories: (i) administrative law and (ii) general law. We should first discuss Administrative Law. The main work of the government is to administer and manage the state. Administrative works include the enforce of laws and various development works. For this, laws are necessary. All these laws are called Administrative Laws. These laws are executed by executive organ of government.
8. **General Law:** It is the second branch of public law. Administrative laws are applicable for enforcement of laws, whereas the welfare, works and services of individual are conducted by general law. There are different kinds of law in accordance with the nature of government. These are the various kinds of laws.

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### 5.3 LIBERTY

The right to liberty, often known as the right to freedom, is the most respected of all the rights that are deemed important for the development of an individual's personality. In fact, there can be no true right available to the people without liberty, i.e., the freedom to exercise one's rights. Human beings value liberty as much as they value their souls. There can be no meaningful life without liberty. It can only be a state of being.

#### 5.3.1 Meaning of Liberty

The term "liberty" comes from the Latin word "*liber*," which meaning "free." In this context, liberty refers to the freedom from restrictions and the ability to behave as one wishes. In a civil society, however, such a definition of liberty is viewed as bad and detrimental. Only in the jungle do animals have complete freedom from limitations.

According to Seeley, "Liberty is the opposite of over-government."

MacKechnie writes "Freedom is not the absence of all restraints but rather the substitution of rational ones for the irrational."

Gettel says, "Liberty is the positive powers of doing and enjoying these things which are worthy of enjoyment and work."

According to G.D.H. Cole, "Liberty is the freedom of the individual to express without external hindrances to personality."

According to Laski, "Liberty is the existence of those conditions of social life without which no one can general be at his best self. Liberty is the eager maintenance of that atmosphere in which men have the opportunities to be their best selves."

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### 5.3.2 Negative and Positive Liberty

**Negative Concept of Liberty:** In a negative definition, liberty is interpreted as a lack of constraints and the ability to behave in any way. In this form, liberty is transformed into a licence. During its early stages, in the 17th and 18th centuries, liberal individualistic ideology emphasised the negative aspect of liberty. This notion of liberty was backed by thinkers such as Hobbes, Locke, Tocqueville, Jefferson, Burke, Adam Smith, J.S. Mill, Spencer, and Milton Friedman.

The negative element of liberty refers to an individual's ultimate freedom, or the freedom to do everything they want. Liberty, according to J.S. Mill, is the absence of restrictions. J.S. Mill split man's field of activity into "self-regarding" and "other regarding" activities, and state intervention is permissible only in the latter if his action involves an intrusion into the domain of his fellow beings' freedom. Isaiah Berlin, Milton Friedman, and Maurice Cranston have all expressed an unfavourable opinion of liberty. The absence of coercion, according to Berlin, is the foundation of liberty. He says, "By being free in this sense (negative), I mean not being interfered with by others. The wider the area of non-interference, the wider my freedom." He makes no logical connection between liberty and democracy or self-government. Milton Friedman is a proponent of negative liberty who believes that liberty and capitalism are inextricably linked. He argues that freedom requires a free capitalism economy. He maintains that "History suggests that capitalism is a necessary condition for political freedoms. He does not link liberty with human values like justice and equality."

**Positive Concept of Liberty:** The absence of excessive and arbitrary limitations, as well as the application of reasonable restraints, do not constitute liberty. It is something much more than such an interpretation. It has a more constructive, positive content and dimension. A positive vision of liberty emerged in the later half of the nineteenth century.

Liberty, in its positive definition, is defined as freedom subject to rational and logical restraints, as well as restraints that have survived the test of time. Positive liberty refers to freedom within the confines of the law, i.e. freedom subject to the rational and necessary constraints established by the law. These limitations are thought to be necessary for guaranteeing that everyone can enjoy their independence. In fact, people really need such a liberty and not a licence to act anyway. Only positive liberty can be available to the people in a cultured and civilised society. In reality, liberty entails two key concepts:

1. The lack of restrictions is not liberty. It is the process of replacing illogical restrictions with rational ones. Only irrational, arbitrary, illogical, and immoral restraints are prohibited, not all restraints.
2. Liberty entails providing all people with equal and adequate opportunities to exercise their freedom and rights.

Liberty is a word of negative meaning denoting absence of restraint. The man in the street regards liberty as the freedom to do whatever he likes, regardless of all consequences. Liberty in the absolute sense is not possible. Complete absence of

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law or restraint will lead not to liberty out of licence. What is freedom for the strong would be slavery for the weak. Liberty, in this sense, implies that each is free to encroach upon the freedom of others. Man is a social being and has to live among others. In order to achieve the benefits of social life, he accepts the need for some restraints on his freedom of action. Thus, liberty, in a positive way, means the power to do that which does not injure others. This means that there should be no oppressive restriction on the individual's freedom of action. All restraints which hamper his physical, mental and moral growth are incompatible with liberty. To summarise, liberty does not imply complete freedom from all limitations. It is the lack of unreasonable limitations on one's freedom.

### 5.3.3 Classification or Types of Liberty

Liberty is classified under the following heads:

1. **Natural Liberty:** The term "natural liberty" is commonly used to refer to man's unrestricted freedom to do as he pleases. It is said to have been enjoyed by man prior to the establishment of the state. It is a vague and ambiguous concept. It is associated with Rousseau. According to him, "man is born free but everywhere he is in chains." Liberty is natural to man as his birth. This view of liberty based on the law of the nature bears no significance in modern times.
2. **Civil Liberty:** Civil liberty refers to the freedom that individuals have as members of civil society. It consists of the rights guaranteed and protected by the state. This liberty includes freedom of speech, freedom of opinions, equality before law, freedom of religion, etc. Civil liberty has two aspects – freedom from encroachment by other individuals and freedom from encroachment on the part of the government. The nature of civil liberty varies from state to state.
3. **Political Liberty:** The right of free citizens to engage in the discussion and direction of the free state's common affairs is known as political liberty. In other terms, it denotes the ability to intervene in state matters. It refers to a person's right to vote in elections for representatives in the legislature. The right to vote, run for office, occupy public office, and give constructive critique of government policies are all examples of political liberty. Political liberty is practically synonymous with democracy. Adequate facility for education to all, and presence of an honest and free press are the conditions of political liberty.
4. **Economic Liberty:** Economic liberty, as has been well argued, must come before political liberty. Where hunger, starvation, and poverty abound, liberty is meaningless.

Economic liberty refers to those rights that are enjoyed by the citizens concerning their livelihood. It implies absence of exploitation, unemployment, unfair wages, substandard living, and gap between the rich and the poor. We define economic freedom as the ability to find acceptable meaning in the earning of one's daily bread. It is the absence

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of want and the absence of fear. Economic liberty makes political liberty possible and fruitful.

5. **National Liberty:** National liberty entails national sovereignty. When a country is internally independent and not subject to external authority, it is considered to be free. It is also called '*Swaraj*' which means the inherent right of the people to be free from foreign rule. It is the absence of the bondage of one nation to another. National liberty is opposed to imperialism and colonialism. Tilak's concept of National Liberty is best summarized in his slogan "*Swaraj* is my birth right."
6. **Domestic Liberty:** It refers to freedom of an individual in his family life. It implies that family is the most universal and independent of all associations in the state. It consists in rendering the wife of fully responsible individual capable of holding property, conducting business of his own account, enjoying full personal protection against her husband, establishing marital relationship, caring for children and imposing responsibilities for punishment in case of violation.
7. **International Liberty:** It is a unique concept that entails the abolition of war, the restriction of arms manufacturing, the avoidance of the use of force, and the peaceful resolution of problems. Reduction of military expenditure is a principle of international liberty.
8. **Moral Liberty:** Modern idealistics like Rousseau, Hegel, Kant and Green talk of moral liberty. Man's ability to act on his reasoning self is the source of moral liberty. Every person has a distinct personality, and he cannot be morally free unless he strives for the highest possible development of that personality. According the Hegel, moral liberty implies that an individual should recognize and fulfil the obligations of his action and its duties. Moral liberty is thus connected with man's self-realization.

### 5.3.4 Safeguards of Liberty

Liberty, we know, is the most valuable possession and the most cherished right of every man and woman. Naturally, each one of us wants to be sure that liberty be available to us in a proper way and in full measure. For this purpose, we need certain safeguards against the violation of liberty by our fellow men and women. The following stand universally recognized as the safeguards of liberty:

1. **Love for liberty:** The first major safeguard of liberty is the love for liberty. Only when people are mentally with love with liberty, they have a passion for liberty and they realize in full measure the absolute importance of liberty, that liberty can be really safeguarded.
2. **Constitution:** The Constitution is the state's fundamental laws and the legal foundation for government. The state administration runs in accordance with the constitution. The constitution grants certain fundamental rights which acts as an important safeguard of liberty. These

rights impose limitations on government authority and prevent it from making inroads into domain of freedom.

3. **Grant of equal rights to all:** Only by granting and guaranteeing equal rights to all classes of people without discrimination can liberty exist. Special privileges and rights for any group are always incompatible with the spirit of liberty.
4. **Provision of fundamental rights:** Incorporating a chapter of fundamental rights and freedoms into the state constitution is one of the most effective ways to protect liberty. These people should also be afforded legal protection.
5. **Separation of powers:** Separation of powers is another safeguard of liberty. Any concentration or combination of these authorities can jeopardise people's liberty because it can lead to a misuse of power by the powerful organ.
6. **Decentralization of powers:** It is critical to effect decentralisation of authorities in order to protect liberty from possible despotism. The powers of the government should be distributed among a number of organizations.
7. **Rule of law:** The concept of rule of law means equality before law and equal protection of law is the another safeguard of liberty. No one should be above the law.
8. **Economic equality:** Income, wealth, and resource distribution that is equitable and fair are fundamental safeguards of liberty. There can be no true enjoyment of liberty without economic equality.
9. **Organized party system:** Organized political parties are essential for safeguards of liberty. The existence of two well-organized political parties in England and USA help as a safeguard to individual liberty. The opposition party has to play a significant role in this direction. The parties keep a constant watch on the actions of government and prevents it from encroaching upon the authority of others.
10. **Well-organized pressure groups and NGOs:** The presence of interest groups and non-governmental organisations of volunteer social service organisations is an important guarantee of liberty.
11. **Eternal vigilance:** Liberty exists in a democratic state. Democracy is a government by the people. The alertness of people as to their freedom is the first and foremost safeguard of liberty. It is said "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." The people should have courage to protest, even resist the invasion on their liberty.
12. **Mutual cooperation:** The greatest way to ensure liberty is for the government and the people to work together. For this, the liberties of the people should be written in a large document.

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- 13. Impartial judiciary:** The Judiciary is the protector of individual liberty. An impartial judiciary protects fundamental rights. It also protects individuals from executive excesses and legislative tyranny.
- 14. Democratic form of government:** A democratic government is the most conducive to liberty. The people have political power in a democracy. The rulers are the representatives of the people. They stay in power as long as the public believe in them. This is a useful safeguard of liberty.
- 15. Absence of special privileges:** Freedom of the masses have no room where a handful of people enjoy special privileges. The privileged class misuse authority to their own advantage. As a result, liberty of other hampers. So, special privileges should be abolished in the interest of liberty.
- 16. Unbiased state:** When the government acts impartially, liberty is best safeguarded. It indicates that the state's machinery should not benefit some at the expense of others. It should be impartial in its treatment.

## 5.4 EQUALITY

Like liberty, equality also constitutes an important foundation of democracy. Both are very closely related to each other and essential for the development of personality. In the absence of equality, there can be no liberty. From the very beginning, the individuals have tried to attain the right to equality. There were many struggles for the attainment of right to equality. In the American Declaration of Independence (1776), it was declared that all the individuals are equal. In the French Declaration of Human Rights, it was said that "Men are born and always continue free and equal in respect of their rights." In the 19<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, almost all the states recognized the right to equality.

### 5.4.1 Meaning and Nature of Equality

The term 'equality' usually refers to the idea that all men are created equal and should be afforded the same opportunities and treatment. It implies a liveliness process in which chances are given to all for overall development of their potentialities. It also means that there are no special favours or prejudice.

According to Barker, "Equality means equal rights for all the people and the abolition of all special rights and privileges."

In the words of Laski, "Equality means no man shall be so placed in society that he can overreach his neighbour to the extent which constitutes a denial of the latter's citizenship."

Thus, negative equality entails the elimination of all special advantages, but positive equality entails the provision of equal rights to all persons without discrimination. It stands for absence of specially privileged classes in the society and abolition of unnatural and man-made inequalities.



Equality does not mean that all persons may be located equal in all respects. Nor does equality imply that all persons should be given identical treatment irrespective of their capacity and temperament.

According to Laski, equality implies three things:

- (a) Absence of special privileges,
- (b) Provision for adequate opportunities of development, and
- (c) Provision for minimum standard of living for every individual.

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### 5.4.2 Kinds of Equality

The following are the various types of equality that can be found in various political systems:

1. **Civil Equality:** All individuals enjoy civil equality. It refers to equality before law. All are subject to the same law. Under civil equality, no privilege is allowed and no one suffers because of his sex, race, place of birth, caste, religion or political belief. Civil equality is the very breath of a democracy.
2. **Political Equality:** Political equality refers to the enjoying of equal political rights such as the right to vote, run for office, and criticise the government, among others by all citizens. When adult suffrage is introduced, political equality prevails. All citizens in a democratic state enjoy political equality.
3. **Economic Equality:** Economic equality indicates that everyone should have access to the same amount of wealth. Poverty and exploitation must also be abolished. The aim of economic equality is to make all individuals equal in respect of wealth and income. This is a socialist idea. Political equality without economic equality is meaningless. The emphasis in communist countries has been on economic equality. In a modern democracy, reasonable economic equality among citizens is also emphasised.
4. **Social Equality:** The term “social equality” refers to the fact that all citizens are entitled to the same opportunities in society. It denotes a lack of social advantages. It also means that no distinction is made in people’s social position based on caste, colour, creed, sex, or place of birth. The principle of social equality is violated by untouchability.
5. **Natural Equality:** Another sort of equality is natural equality. It indicates that all men are born free and equal, with equal abilities and gifts. It also implies that the government should work to minimise inequality rather than to exacerbate it. It is more of an ideal than a current reality. As much as feasible, this goal should be realised in society.
6. **National Equality:** National equality means that all nations of the world are equal while dealing with other nations of the world.

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### 5.4.3 Liberty and Equality

Liberty and equality are the basic concepts of political theory. They are interrelated. They are co-existent as much as enjoyment of the liberty requires the presence of others. Hence, there exists a reciprocal relationship between liberty and equality. But there are two mutually opposing views as to nature of relationship between them.

Liberty and equality, according to Lord Acton and Tocqueville, are mutually exclusive. Lord Acton said, “the passion for equality makes vain the hope of freedom.” Equality destroys individual liberty. Men are by nature unequal. Some are strong, others are weak. Some are intelligent, some are dull.

Thus, there exists a well demarcated line of distinction between natural and human inequality. Inequality is an inescapable and natural fact. In the face of natural inequality, it is unfruitful to talk of socio-economic political equality. Equality is unfair to the more gifted and talented person. They make nobler and more valuable contribution than the dull and weak.

This view is totally misleading. Equality does not mean decline of liberty. Liberty means freedom. Equality is essential to it. There can be no enjoyment of freedom without equality. The price of liberty for me would be the denial of liberty for you if we didn't have equality. In claims to fundamental rights, liberty and equality go hand in hand.

For example, one is given the right to enter a government job. This is one's liberty. But if a man is denied the job and other man is given the job on the ground of being a schedule caste, it is not equality. Discrimination on grounds of birth, race, sex, caste, colour, etc. defeat the very purpose of liberty to all. So, liberty is best realized in the atmosphere of equality.

Liberty is meaningless without equality. Civil liberty can only be guaranteed when everyone is treated equally in the sight of the law. Political liberty ensures that all citizens are treated equally. Inequality in society cannot guarantee civil or political liberty. Liberty is based on the principle of reciprocity. There can be no camaraderie between persons with uneven living conditions, education, or culture. Even for servants who are recipients of instructions, there can be no liberty.

Property inequity leads to inequity in treatment and rights. In an uneven society, there is no justice for the poor. The rich seldom make friendship with the poor.

The second view is that political liberty and economic equality are not contradictory. Without equality, liberty would be hollow, and equality would be worthless without liberty. Political liberty and economic equality co-exist. Poverty and wealth make unequal bed-fellows in democracy. A man cannot enjoy his right to freedom if he is placed in an unequal position in relation to others.

As a result, liberty and equality are not mutually exclusive. Equality is the true basis of liberty. It is a libertarian help. “A large level of equality, far from being antagonistic to liberty, is vital to it,” Tawney accurately stated. Even Lord Acton

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did not believe that equality and liberty were incompatible. The zeal for equality, on the other hand, he considered incongruous. Liberty and equality are, therefore, correlated. Both contribute to the stability of the community and progress of the society.

## 5.5 JUSTICE

Justice is a key concept in philosophy, ethics, politics and jurisprudence. Its existence is as ancient as human society. Justice has been defined in various ways in history. At times, it was associated with the belief “as you sow, so shall you reap,” and at times, it was thought to be result of the actions in previous birth of the will of God. Plato has discussed ‘justice’ in detail, and termed it as something spiritual and truthful. Plato’s analysis of justice included all the elements of political philosophy.

### 5.5.1 Meaning of Justice

The term “justice,” like many other fundamental notions in political science, is derived from the Latin word “*jungere*,” which meaning “joining” or “fitting together.” Generally, justice means righteousness or virtue.

According to Salmond, “Justice means to give every individual his due share.”

According to J.S. Mill, “Justice is the name for certain classes of moral values, which concern the essentials of human well-being more clearly and are, therefore, of more absolute obligations, than any other rules for the guidance of life.”

Generally, the term justice is used in two senses. On the one hand, it means faithful realization of existing law as against arbitrary dealings. On the other hand, it means the ideal element in law; a thing to which a good law should aspire for. In the latter sense, the idea of justice is more related to morality than law.

“Let right to be done” is the motto of justice. It is often defined as “charity in conformance with wisdom.” Justice can be realized by the destruction of arbitrary or discriminatory social order. It is generally used in the sense of sourness, equality and impartiality.

### 5.5.2 Sources of Justice

According to Barker, the concept of justice has four sources – religion, nature, economics and ethics.

1. **Religion:** Religion prescribes standards and quality of behaviour that motivate individuals and groups for harmony and order. Barker uses four types of law “matching to four forms of reason enunciated by St. Thomas Aquinas” to show that religion is the source of the concept of justice. These laws were dubbed the Eternal Law, Natural Law, Divine Law, and Human Law by him. God’s reason is equivalent to eternal law. It is the plan of divine wisdom which regulates the whole universe. Natural law is God’s will for man’s behaviour. It is the manifestation of divine reason in the world around us. The profound revelation of God’s reason through

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the scriptures is known as divine law. These three laws set standards for human beings to follow. All human laws should derive their value from the principles of divine and natural laws.

2. **Nature:** Stoics equated 'Nature' with God and Reason. Men who live in conformity with nature share a fragment of nature and God. Three conclusions, Barker writes, follow: Men, being rational in their nature, should all be regarded as free and self-governing in their actions. This was the conclusion of liberty. The second conclusion was that, being all in their nature rational, should all be regarded as equal in status. This was the conclusion of equality. The third conclusion was that men, being united to one another by the common factor of reason, should all be linked together in the solidarity of a world-society—under the control of a common law in conformity with their common nature. This was the conclusion of fraternity. The Stoic premises and its three conclusions formed a current of thought which have flowed on to our times, and "this current of thought carries in its course an idea of justice, professing and claiming to be drawn from nature, which is a synthesis of the three values of liberty, equality and fraternity."
3. **Economics:** As per Marxist, the origin of justice lies in economics. The concept of justice and its meaning fluctuates depending on the ruling class's economic objectives. Only when the state itself withers away and when law disappears with the state, can a form of society be attained which is common and equal for all and true justice can reign supreme which has no economic origin.
4. **Ethics:** Ethics is the another source of law. Law must possess both validity and value. If the validity of law derives from being made by a duly constituted authority, its value consists in being in conformity with the principles of moral conscience. According to Barker, law is related to ethics in that it aims to guarantee the external conditions required for moral conduct, or the overall framework of external order within which the moral conscience can operate and determine itself most readily and freely.

### 5.5.3 Theories of Justice

There are four main theories of justice:

1. **Philosophical Theory:** This theory takes a broad approach to the understanding of justice. In India, for example, justice has been linked to 'Dharma' means 'righteousness'. The Platonic concept of justice has a philosophical character inasmuch as it enjoins upon individuals to conform to the rule of functional specialisation and to stick to the proper station of life. All are kept within proper bounds. Aristotle gave an empirical orientation to the idea of justice and spoke in terms of 'distributive' and 'corrective' justice, the former requiring equal distribution among the equals, the latter demanding a remedy for a wrong

done. The philosophical theory views justice as the principle of right order which provides each man his due and promotes social harmony.

2. **Natural Theory:** Justice was seen as the ultimate goal or ideal in natural thought. The stoic interpretation of 'nature' was that 'reason' was the universe's governing force; laws of nature were formulated as rational principles governing the conduct of men at all times and in all places. They were eternal, universal and immutable justice consisted in acting in conformity with such natural laws. The concept of 'natural justice' was combined with state positive law by Roman attorneys. Civil law and national law were to be in accordance with natural law. With the advent of Christianity, Church fathers identified 'nature' with God. St. Augustine connected the concept of justice to Christian religious teachings. Despite its abstract nature, the principles of natural justice – equity, fairplay and righteousness are followed by judges in modern times within certain limits.
3. **Legal Theory:** According to this theory, justice consists on enforcing the state's laws. It is justice as understood in common parlance. Law must serve as a tool for achieving justice. The overall purpose of law is the attainment of justice in society and When there is no element of justice in the law, it becomes a tool of oppression. As a result, justice requires that: (a) the accused be informed of the charges levelled against him, (b) that he be given a reasonable opportunity to defend himself, either directly or through his lawyer, (c) the court or courts hearing his case be fair, independent, and unbiased, and (d) the trial should be conducted in an open and transparent manner. This theory has the great merit of precision and clarity. Most people mean by justice the guarantee of their rights by an elaborate legal system, and free and impartial judicial system.
4. **Marxist Theory:** Marxists look upon justice as a 'class' concept. The nature of justice is linked with the system of production and its corresponding political structure. The concept of private property, as well as the capitalist economic system that it underpins, are nonsensical and unjust as a result in the exploitation of the toiling masses by the few property owners. In a class-divided state, law and justice protect and promote the interests of the ruling class. Justice, thus, becomes partial and partisan. Marxists advocate the elimination of the capitalist state by revolution and the establishment of a classless and stateless communist society. In the transitional phase of the dictatorship of the proletariat (socialist state), judiciary is "committed" to implement the ideology of scientific socialism. This is necessary to eliminate all vestige of capitalism and to usher in the era of communism. True justice is realized, according to Marxists, in a communist society, when all forms of class domination and exploitation are eliminated with the withering of the state and the abolition of the institution of private property.

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### 5.5.4 Dimensions of Justice or Types of Justice

There are four main dimensions of justice – legal, political, social and economic.

1. **Legal Justice:** It means justice is realized through the eyes of law. Good and proper laws are based on the idea of justice. They represent moral, social and political values accepted in society. Justice realized through the legal and judicial system is known as legal justice. It has two broad elements: (1) Laws should be reasonable, fair and proper. (2) Every individual should get justice according to the rule of law as opposed to the arbitrary will of men.

Laws should be reasonable and fair. They should be equal for all and not be discriminatory. This implies equality before law. Any discrimination in the application of laws must be justified on rational grounds. A democratically constituted legislature is most likely to make rational and just laws.

Legal justice also ensures that everyone should be able to obtain impartial justice from the judicial system. It means that every one is entitled to equal protection of laws. To realize this objective, the judicial process for obtaining justice should be simple, cheap and speedy; and secondly, the courts of law should be independent and impartial in interpreting laws to deliver justice to parties in a dispute.

2. **Political Justice:** It refers to free and fair participation of the people in political affairs. Political equality is the essence of political justice. It prevails when there is no unreasonable restriction on political liberty. Political justice does not mean absolute political equality. But differences in political rights of individuals must be justified on rational grounds. The exercise of power by the people's representatives in a democracy also involves their responsibility to the people. Political justice requires certain objective conditions for its realization: (a) Each adult member of the community must be given fair chance to exercise his right to vote. (b) Elections must be free, fair and regular. (c) Rule of law as opposed to the arbitrary will of men provides the foundation for political justice. (d) Freedom of speech, of assembly, of petition and of criticism are essential for political justice. (e) An independent and impartial judiciary is indispensable for guaranteeing equal political rights to people. (f) Free and fearless press and an articulate public opinion are necessary safeguards against arbitrary exercise of power. (g) Political justice is possible in a liberal democratic order which limits authority and guarantees liberty to individuals. (h) Without national independence, political justice is inconceivable.

3. **Social Justice:** Positively, social justice implies giving everyone their due in society. In a negative sense, it means that there is no discrimination based on caste, colour, creed, race, class, or sex. The terms "social justice" and "social equality" are often used interchangeably, and

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these are dependent on economic equality and rights. Social justice aims at removing exploitation, oppression and discrimination in society. Social justice is absent from a society in which the privileges of the few are built upon the miseries of the many. It speaks for the specific protection of society's weaker members. It has been regarded as the welfare state's guiding philosophy.

4. **Economic Justice:** Economic justice is a modern concept. It is the result of growth of socialism in society. It cannot exist without economic equality. It also implies abolition of unemployment, poverty, inequality, etc. It stands against any form of economic exploitation. Economic justice can be achieved by increasing the material resources of society, by providing for a fair system of distribution of material resources among all sections of the society, equal pay for equal works and equal economic opportunities to all citizens. The modern welfare state is viewed as an agency of socio-economic justice. The Constitution of India provides for many elements of economic justice in Directive Principles of State Policy and Fundamental Rights.

## 5.6 RIGHTS

### 5.6.1 Introduction

Law, rights, liberty and justice constitute the basic concepts of political science. These concepts are essential for every individual for a civilized, happy and productive living. It is only when a human being gets appropriate conditions that he can develop his personality and contribute claims which are recognized as essential for every person living in a society are called rights. Without rights, his personality would be stunted. As Harold Laski has rightly said, "Rights are those conditions of social life without which no man can be his best self."

Human rights are essential for a healthy growth. Rights are the societal conditions that prevent a person from being his or her best self. These are nothing but the opportunities available in society which ensure the fulfilment of individual personality. In every society, it is the duty of the state to protect the rights of the state only when it grants and grants all those persons. Laski rightly observes "Every state is known by the system of rights that it maintains."

### 5.6.2 Meaning and Definition of Rights

In general, rights are people's demands for development that every civilised society recognises as universal to everyone, and that the state enforces.

Accordingly to Laski, "Rights are those conditions of social life without which no one can seek in general, to be himself at his best."

In the words of Bosanquet, "A right is a reasonable claim recognized by the society and enforced by the state."

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T.H. Green observes “Rights are powers necessary for the fulfilment of man’s vocation as a moral being. A right is a power claimed and and recognized as contribution to common good.”

### 5.6.3 Features of the Rights

There are several features of rights as a concept of political theory. Some important features which reflect nature of rights are:

1. Only in a community or a state do people have rights. These are the outcomes of social interaction.
2. Individual claims for the development of their individuality in society are known as rights.
3. The state or society recognises rights as shared claims of the people.
4. People’s claims on their state/society are logical, rational, and moral claims.
5. Because rights exist in the state, they cannot be used against it..
6. Citizens must exercise their rights for their own development as well as the advancement of societal good.
7. All persons have equal access to rights, which are common claims for progress.
8. The state guarantees and protects individual rights.
9. There are no absolute rights. Rights are subject to restrictions that are deemed necessary for safeguarding public health, security, order, and morality.
10. With the passage of time, the content of rights changes.
11. The concepts of rights and responsibilities are intertwined. Every right entails a responsibility. ‘No duties no rights, No rights no duties,’ proves that rights are inseparably bound up with duties.
12. Rights are viewed in the sense of liberty. Even right is a liberty. Rights are guaranteed in a democratic state where liberty and equality co-exist.
13. Rights ought to have a moral basis. They are the products of common consciousness for the common good.
14. State creates, recognizes, maintains and co-ordinates rights.

### 5.6.4 Kinds of Rights/Classification of Rights

1. **Natural Rights:** In 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, some scholars viewed that individuals enjoyed certain natural rights. Individuals used to live in a state of nature and had certain natural rights before they came to live in civilization, according to them. Thomas Hobbes held that, in the state of nature, every man had the right to use his power according to his will. In the state of nature, John Locke felt that individuals have various inherent rights, including the right to life, liberty, and property. Natural rights are not given to man by the society or state but are in tune with man’s nature.



However, the notion of natural rights is faulty because the present nation states that rights are the products of society or state.

2. **Moral Rights:** Moral and legal rights are the two broad categories of rights. Moral rights are those that are based on a person's awareness. They are underpinned by the moral force of the human intellect and founded on societal ethical sanction. Moral rights are sanctioned by a sense of goodness and public opinion. These aren't backed up by the law. No legal action can be taken against someone who violates a moral right. These rights are not recognised by the courts. Old parents, for example, have a moral right to be cared for by their offspring, but if they are not, they cannot move any court of law to enforce such rights.
3. **Legal Rights:** Legal rights are those that are protected by state laws and can be enforced in a court of law. Citizens can take their case to a court of law to have it enforced. Violations of such rights invites punishment by the state. Again, the rights are universal in nature. They are enjoyed by all irrespective of caste, colour, creed, sex and class. Legal rights can further be classified as civil, political and economic rights.
  - (a) **Civil Rights:** Civil rights are those rights which man enjoys in the civil society as a social animal. These are indispensable condition of civil living basic needs of human life. Civil rights include the right to life, liberty, freedom of thought and expression, freedom of religion, the right to organise associations and unions, and the right to education, among others.
  - (b) **Political Rights:** Political rights are those that allow a citizen to participate in the country's political process. These rights ensure full and active participation of citizens in politics. The use of rights promotes a sense of dignity and self-respect among citizens. These rights include the right to vote, the right to run for office, the right to criticise and oppose the government, and the right to criticise and oppose the government.
  - (c) **Economic Rights:** Economic rights are those that guarantee people's economic security. These enable all citizens to exercise their civic and political rights effectively. No one can truly enjoy his social and political life unless his basic material requirements are met. These rights include the right to work, the right to be paid, the right to own property, the right to relaxation and recreation, and the right to economic and social security, among others.

Besides the above rights, the following are the different aspects of life in modern time.

- (a) **Bill of Rights:** The bill of rights forms a very important part in the history of rights of man and the origin of the bill of rights can be traced to the famous Magna Carta (1295) in Britain. The bill of rights in general and Magna Carta in particular is a statement of rights of man. The real

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origin of the bill of rights is the Act of Parliament of Britain which was passed in 1689 and with which John Locke was closely associated. The bill of rights enacted by the British Parliament was primarily concerned with the curtailment of royal prerogatives and assenting the right of legislature. It was also concerned with certain rights of the individuals. After the passing of Human Rights in French (1789), the constitution of America was subjected to ten amendments to provide bill of rights to American citizens. The bill of rights sought to protect certain basic rights for the individuals.

- (b) **Fundamental Rights:** After the World War II, many countries have incorporated the rights of American Constitution and the rights contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the UNO. These rights are commonly declared as fundamental rights. These rights are called fundamental as these are linked with fundamental laws of the land and available to all equally. These are the basic rights which cannot be violated simply to satisfy the wishes of the ruler. These rights are generally guaranteed and protected by the Constitution. The Part III of the Constitution of India contains the provision of fundamental rights.
- (c) **Human Rights:** Besides fundamental rights, natural rights and bill of rights, there is another right which is called human rights was adopted by The United Declaration of Human Rights in Paris on 10th December, 1948. The rights which are essential for a human being to lead a happy and prosperous life and to develop his personality are called as human rights. These are the fundamental rights that every individual must have just by virtue of being a part of human society, regardless of their circumstances. These are related to the human life, their identity, dignity, development of personality and his concern of the entire humanity. As a result, these are the fundamental and inalienable rights that a person has merely by virtue of being human. Human rights believe that each individual has potentiality of his own.

### 5.6.5 Theories of Rights

Rights are as old as human civilization. In different ages, they have acquired different meanings. The changing social situations, coupled with various interpretations of the scholars, have given rise to following theories of rights:

1. **Theory of Natural Rights:** This is the earliest and most ancient form of legal thought. It dates back to the period of the Greeks. It asserts that rights are inherent in man and have universal application, regardless of time, place, or environment. In the moral nature of associated men, rights are inherent and innate. Their existence is sanctioned not by state law, but by society's moral will. They are pre-civil. The concept is basically non-juristic.

The notion of innate equality of mankind was proclaimed in ancient Greece through myths. The modern social contractualists like Natural

rights, as defined by Hobbes and Locke, are rights that exist in the 'state of nature.'

#### Criticisms:

- (i) It is difficult to define the term natural. These are ambiguous as to what these rights are.
- (ii) The various natural rights conflict with one another. Total liberty and absolute equality have no place in any logical system. Inequality and social conflict are caused by the right to own property.
- (iii) Supporters of the theory imply that state and society in general are artificial and that they have stripped human beings of certain inherent rights that they had in a natural condition. It is antagonistic to the states and leads to extreme individualism.
- (iv) This theory assumes that men have rights and obligations independently of society. But actually, society is the creature of rights.
- (v) Without social relationships and social recognition, rights become meaningless and ineffective.

2. **Legal Theory of Rights:** Rights, according to this theory, are the state's inventions, and the state is the sole source of rights. The state defines and formulates the rights to be enjoyed by the individuals. Rights are not inherent in man at all. They undergo changes with the changes in the contents of law. There are no absolute rights. They are restricted and subject to the legislation of the land. This theory contradicts the natural rights theory. Thomas Hobbes, Jeremy Bentham, Austin, Ritchie and Salmon are the prominent exponents of this theory.

#### Criticisms:

- (i) The state does not create right. It recognize and protect them.
- (ii) To assert that the state is the exclusive creator of rights is to say that the state has absolute power. We may be prepared to give a high position to the state but we cannot go that far.
- (iii) To suggest that the state is the exclusive creator of rights is to make it absolute, robbing people of their right to resist in times of need.
- (iv) Some of the exponents of the legal theory of rights say that state is the sole creator of rights. But here, we may remember that rights are the result of evolution and custom.

Despite these criticisms, the legal theory contains an important element of truth. Rights are only effective if the state backs them up. According to Barker, the state is the primary source of rights. Again, a right should have both a legal and moral aspect.

3. **Historical Theory of Rights:** History, according to this notion, creates rights. It asserts that rights are the result of the growth of custom. We are

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familiar with many customs that grow in the society. Customs develop from practice adopted for the sake of convenience. Custom is a primitive law. In course of time, popular customs and traditions assume the form of rights due to their practical social utility. Edmund Burke, Ranke, Maine and Burgess maintained that as the character of laws was historical so also was the character of rights.

### Criticisms:

- (i) A substantial number of rights are unquestionably dependent on custom. However, it is incorrect to claim that all rights can be traced back to customs.
- (ii) As Hobbes and Austin say that rights are the command of the sovereign, if there is no sovereign authority above the subjects, rights will lack authenticity.
- (iii) Many rights based on customs have been rejected.
- (iv) This theory ignores the dynamic nature of rights. Reform is difficult if right is constantly in reference to custom.

4. **Social Welfare Theory:** Rights, according to this notion, are a condition of social well-being. Rights are created by society and the state upholds rights as conditions of social welfare. In other words, rights are those conditions which promote social welfare of man both in his individual and collective capacity. Rights have no meaning without social utility. To this theory, rights and liberty of the individual were seen in the overall context of social welfare. Roscoe Pound and Chale, the exponents of the theory, would like natural rights, laws and customs to promote welfare of society. According to Jeremy Bentham, John Stuart Mill and other utilitarian thinkers, the state creates rights, which arise only in a social context. No doubt, this theory upheld the principle of the welfare state.

### Criticisms:

- (i) The term 'social welfare' is vague and not easily amenable to precise definition.
- (ii) The principles put forward by the theory are also vague because it is not clearly stated what happiness is, and what are the principles of the greatest happiness of greatest number.
- (iii) The promotion of social welfare can be made good excuse for increasing the power of the state and eroding the rights of the individual.

5. **Idealist Theory of Rights:** This theory states that rights are the external conditions, essential for man's inner development. Right of personality is the supreme right of everyone. Every other right is derived from this supreme right. Rousseau, Kant and Green are the main advocates of this theory. T.H. Green, the greatest idealist thinker, says that rights are powers necessary to be fulfilment of man's vocation as a moral being.

Kant and Green also speak in terms of the growth of the individual's personality and the common good of all.

### Criticisms:

- (i) The theory is vague, and objective standards cannot be applied. While one accepts the principle of the development of the individual's personality as a good ideal, going to the practical field, we find it rather ambiguous.
- (ii) Extreme idealists do great harm to the liberty of the individual by asking him to obey the state implicitly without giving him even the right to criticize the state or resist laws, which are bad and harmful to him.

However, the chief merit of the theory is that it furnishes a safe test of rights which can be applied at all times.

6. **Economic Theory of Rights:** Karl Marx and his followers have interpreted rights in terms of the economic system obtaining at a particular period of history. The economic system determines the legal system which conditions the rights of citizens. To this theory, rights are certain privileges guaranteed by laws in the interest of the dominant class. Rights have a class bias. This theory exposes the gross disparities in income and wealth prevalent in capitalist societies and highlights the need for eliminating such inequalities. It puts stress on certain economic rights like right to work, adequate wage, leisure, participation in economic decision-making, etc. It adds new dimension to our understanding of rights by exposing the inadequacy of the liberal theory which merely stresses civil and political rights. However, this theory exaggerates the role of the economic factor because the legal framework that sustains a system of rights is not determined by the multiple forces which constitute the complex social whole.

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## 5.7 DUTIES

### 5.7.1 Meaning

Rights imply duties. Rights and responsibilities are mutually exclusive. They're the two halves of the same coin. Both are a result of man's social character. Citizens have certain fundamental rights that are guaranteed by the state. It also expects them to fulfil specific responsibilities or commitments. A duty implies an obligation to do or not to do something. Rights are not absolute. Rights are limited in the sense that they impose on the individual the duty to see that he does not interfere in any way with the enjoyment of similar rights of others. Every right involves an obligation to use it properly.

Duties may be moral and legal. A moral duty is recognized and enforced by our sense of morality and justice. Non-performance of legal duties entails punishment by the state.

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### 5.7.2 Important Duties

1. **Allegiance/loyalty to the state:** It is the supreme duty of the citizen to become loyal to the state. He must identify his own interests with those of his state. He must not betray his country's interests. He must stand by the state and defend it against foreign aggression. He should help the authorities during internal disturbances so as to maintain law and order.
2. **To respect the constitution and obey the laws:** It is the social duty of every citizen to respect the constitution which embodies the fundamental principles for the governance of the country. Again, a citizen must be law-abiding. He should obey and respect laws made by the duly-constituted authority. This is necessary in the interest of the general welfare and maintenance of law and order.
3. **Payment of taxes:** No government can run without necessary amount of money. Money must come from the people through the collection of taxes and duties. This money is utilized by the government for its maintenance and public welfare. The citizens should pay their taxes honestly and readily. Tax evasion is an offence in all states.
4. **Honest exercise of franchise:** Right to vote is the most fundamental political right of the citizens in a democratic state. It enables them to constitute and control the government. Citizens should exercise this right honestly and sincerely. Bad and dishonest choice results in the election of corrupt and dishonest representatives for which the citizens are to blame themselves.
5. **Willingness to render public service:** Every citizen has a duty to render public service when called upon to do so. He should take active part in the civic affairs of the village, town and various local self-governing bodies. Likewise, those who are elected or appointed to various public offices should render their services honestly and efficiently without fear or favour.
6. **Other duties:** Similarly, it is the responsibility of people to serve as jurymen or assessors when called upon. Citizens should participate actively in the administration of public affairs. The price of liberty is eternal vigilance. Every citizen should cultivate a sense of civic responsibility and social consciousness. A good citizen is always dutiful. "A good citizen makes a good state." After all, "a state is what its citizens make it."

### 5.7.3 Correlationship between Rights and Duties

The linkage and interdependence of rights and duties has been one of the most significant implications of collective life. The rights that a state provides to its inhabitants define it. The state is in charge of upholding and enforcing rights. The exercise of rights necessitates the fulfilment of certain obligations. Every right comes with the responsibility of appropriately exercising it. This has led to the formulation of the "functional theory of rights." In Laski's words, this theory

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means that “one is given powers that one may so act as to add to the richness of our social heritage. We have rights, not that we may receive but that we may do.” Our social existence has resulted in this link of rights and responsibilities. Every individual owes society as much as he asks in terms of rights from it.

Laski suggests a four-fold relationship between rights and duties.

1. One's right implies other's duty. The enjoyment of rights by a person implies corresponding duty of others to honour and not to infringe upon such rights. For instance, my right to life involves the duty of others to protect and not to harm me.
2. One's right implies one's duty to admit similar rights of others. Every right is a duty in itself. The rights one enjoys are precisely the rights which others require for realizing their best selves. Unless individuals mutually respect their rights, society will be thrown into chaos and no one will be able to enjoy his rights.
3. One should exercise one's rights to promote social good. Rights have a social character. They must be related to the performance of socially useful functions. Enjoyment of rights thus involve the obligation to contribute, as far as one can, to the common good of the community.
4. Since the state protects and maintains one's rights, one has a duty to support and serve the state. The state aims at the greatest possible happiness for its members. They are under an obligation to perform certain duties. The citizen should remain faithful and loyal to the state and stand by it in times of crisis.

Thus, rights and duties go hand in hand. They are interdependent and correlative. A good citizen is equally conscious of his rights and duties. After all, a state is what its citizens make it.

### Check Your Progress

#### I. Multiple Choice Questions

1. What are the sources of law?
 

|                 |                  |
|-----------------|------------------|
| (a) Custom      | (b) Religion     |
| (c) Legislation | (d) All of these |
2. Rights are guaranteed and protected by the \_\_\_\_\_.
 

|               |                |
|---------------|----------------|
| (a) State     | (b) Government |
| (c) Tradition | (d) Custom     |
3. Right to vote is a \_\_\_\_\_ right.
 

|             |               |
|-------------|---------------|
| (a) Natural | (b) Moral     |
| (c) Civil   | (d) Political |
4. The term 'Liberty' has been derived from \_\_\_\_\_ word 'Liber'.
 

|             |             |
|-------------|-------------|
| (a) French  | (b) English |
| (c) Spanish | (d) Latin   |

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5. Universal Adult Franchise is an example of \_\_\_\_\_ equality.  
(a) Social (b) Political  
(c) Economical (d) Legal
6. \_\_\_\_\_ means absence of special privileges.  
(a) Liberty (b) Equality  
(c) Justice (d) Right
7. \_\_\_\_\_ means fairness.  
(a) Right (b) Equality  
(c) Justice (d) Law
8. \_\_\_\_\_ among the following is not a safeguard of liberty and rights.  
(a) Rule of Law (b) Fundamental Rights  
(c) Authoritarian Ruler (d) Independent Judiciary

### (II) True or False

1. Custom is the earliest source of law.
2. National Laws regulate the conduct of sovereign states.
3. Liberty in negative sense means absolute freedom.
4. One man one vote is a example of social equality.
5. Rights and duties are opposite to each other.

### (III) Match the Following

- | A                  | B                         |
|--------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Liberty         | (a) Fairness              |
| 2. Law             | (b) Right to Vote         |
| 3. Equality        | (c) Duty                  |
| 4. Justice         | (d) Freedom               |
| 5. Political Right | (e) Body of Rules         |
| 6. Obeying laws    | (f) Absence of Privileges |

## 5.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

### I. Multiple Choice Questions

1. (d)
2. (a)
3. (d)
4. (d)
5. (b)
6. (b)
7. (c)
8. (c)



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**II. True or False**

1. True
2. False
3. True
4. False
5. False

**III. Match the Following**

1. (d)
2. (e)
3. (f)
4. (a)
5. (b)
6. (c)

**5.9 SUMMARY**

Law, liberty, equality and justice are the four important concepts in political science. These are essential for the development of the personality of the individuals in the state. Every democratic state provides law, liberty, equality and justice to its citizens.

Liberty, negatively speaking, consists in removing hindrances to it, while in a positive sense, enjoyment of liberty demands the presence of some positive conditions. Like Liberty, equality is an important theme in normative political theory. Along with rights, liberty, justice and equality is a cherished ideal in modern societies. It is a cardinal principle of democracy and arises out of the imperfections of the social order. Justice provides a broad norm that harmonizes the relations among men, among communities and values such as law, liberty and equality.

Rights help an individual lead a life with dignity. Without rights, enforceable by state, no individual can attain self-development. These are the essential conditions for a civilized, happy and productive living. As a result, rights are those aspects of social life without which no one can be his or her best self. These are necessary for the formation of an individual's personality.

**5.10 KEY TERMS**

- **Teutonic word 'Lag':** Something that lies fixed.
- **Latin word 'Liber':** Means free.
- **Stoic:** One who controls feelings and passions in adversity.
- **American War of Independence, 1776:** Freedom movement in America.

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- **French Revolution, 1789:** The Revolution launched for rights of the individuals.
- **Contractualists:** It means the advocates of social contract theory of the origin of the state, i.e., Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau.
- **State of Nature:** The conditions prevailed before the state came into existence.
- **Magna Carta:** A great charter signed by the British King in the year 1295.
- **Bill of Rights:** The Rights guaranteed by the American Constitution.
- **UN:** United Nations.

## 5.11 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

### Short Answer Questions

1. Meaning of Law.
2. Negative Liberty.
3. Positive Liberty.
4. Safeguards of Liberty.
5. Social Justice.
6. Natural Rights.

### Long Answer Questions

1. Discuss the meaning and sources of Law.
2. What is Law? Discuss the various types of Law.
3. Discuss the meaning and types of liberty.
4. What is Liberty? What are the different types of liberty?
5. Discuss the relationship between liberty and equality.
6. Define justice. Explain the different types of justice.
7. Explain the meaning and types of rights.
8. Discuss relationship between rights and duties.

## ACTIVITY

Provide two real-life examples to prove how:

1. "Liberty is a positive thing; it does not mean absence of restraints." Examine.
2. "Liberty and Equality are complementary." Examine.
3. "Justice means to give everyone his due in society." Examine.
4. "Rights are essential for personality development." Explain.
5. "Moral Rights are not justifiable." Justify.
6. "State is the creator of rights." Justify.

## CASE STUDY

### Constitution of India Provides Liberty, Equality and Justice to Indians

The Indian Constitution's Preamble defines the country to be a sovereign, socialist, secular, and democratic republic. The Preamble's declared goals are to provide all citizens with justice, liberty, and equality. Its goals include ensuring social, economic, and political justice, as well as freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, and worship, as well as equality of status and opportunity.

## NOTES

## 5.12 REFERENCES

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## Unit IV

### Chapter 6 Political Ideologies

#### Learning Objectives:

This unit devotes the discussion on political theories like liberalism, conservatism, constitutionalism, communism, Fascism and Nazism. After studying this unit, you should be able to understand:

- Meaning of Liberalism, its growth as a political ideology and types
- Constitutionalism and Democracy
- Totalitarian Dictatorship, Communism, Fascism and Nazism

#### Structure:

- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Liberalism
  - 6.2.1 Meaning and Definitions of Liberalism
  - 6.2.2 Evolution of Liberalism
  - 6.2.3 Basic Principles of Liberalism
  - 6.2.4 Classical Liberalism
  - 6.2.5 Modern Liberalism
  - 6.2.6 Criticisms of Liberalism
  - 6.2.7 Decline of Liberalism
- 6.3 Conservatism
  - 6.3.1 Principles of Conservatism
  - 6.3.2 Characteristics or Features of Conservatism
- 6.4 Constitutionalism and Democracy
- 6.5 Totalitarian Dictatorship
- 6.6 Communism/Marxism
  - 6.6.1 Definition and Meaning of Communism
  - 6.6.2 History of Communism/Marxism
  - 6.6.3 Basic Principles of Communism or Marxism
  - 6.6.4 Merits of Communism/Marxism
  - 6.6.5 Demerits of Communism/Marxism
  - 6.6.6 Communism and Fascism

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## 6.7 Fascism

## 6.7.1 Introduction

## 6.7.2 Definition and Meaning of Fascism

## 6.7.3 Origin, Growth and Decline of Fascism

## 6.7.4 Salient Features of Fascism

## 6.7.5 Merits of Fascism

## 6.7.6 Demerits of Fascism

## 6.8 Nazism

## 6.8.1 Salient Features of Nazism

## 6.8.2 Merits of Nazism

## 6.8.3 Demerits of Nazism

## 6.9 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'

## 6.10 Summary

## 6.11 Key Terms

## 6.12 Self-Assessment Questions and Exercises

## 6.13 References

## 6.1 INTRODUCTION

Ideology refers to 'a set of ideas'. It has been described as the science of 'ideas'. It refers to the process of how ideas are used to attain the predetermined goals of a group. The ideas and ideologies have been playing influential role in shaping society since the dawn of human civilization. Men must live in some form of a political organization and should choose an ideology. To some extent, we are all influenced by one ideology. Ideology is not theory. Theory is the ideas of an individual thinker. But ideology is a group phenomenon. It represents the views, desires and goals of a group.

A French philosopher named Destutt de Tracy was the first to use the word 'ideology'. He meant by ideology the science of ideas. According to Carl J. Friedrich, "Ideology refers to an action related system of political ideas." Robert A. Dahl says "Ideology is an instrument whereby the leaders motivate the people to take part in political actions."

The people accord the character of legitimacy to their political system. Political ideology is a systematic pattern of political thinking. It is a persuasive argument, self-contained and self-sufficient. It may be ideal or pragmatic, empirical or normative, individualistic or collectivistic, static or dynamic, and conservative or revolutionary. Thus, political ideology is a political phenomenon which is based on a sort of belief and action that tries to link the ruler and the ruled. Liberalism,

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Socialism, Marxism or Communism, Conservatism, Fascism, Nazism, Gandhism, Nationalism, Internationalism, etc. are the different types of political ideologies.

## 6.2 LIBERALISM

Liberalism is a political ideology that emphasises individual “liberty.” A liberal regime aims to ensure that all people have the freedom to move around and voice their opinions. Negative and positive liberalism are the two forms of liberalism. State intervention is opposed by negative liberalism. It advocates as little state control and regulation of individuals as feasible. A welfare state is favoured by positive liberalism. It is in favour of the government using a variety of socioeconomic actions to improve the individual’s well-being.

### 6.2.1 Meaning and Definitions of Liberalism

Giving a definite definition and meaning to the term ‘liberalism’ is quite challenging. Liberalism derives its name from the Latin word “liber,” which meaning “freedom” or “liberty.” Liberalism is defined as “an philosophy committed to freedom as a method and policy in government, as an organising principle in society, and as a way of life for individuals and communities” in general. Liberalism is “the philosophy and practise of individual liberty, judicial defence, and the constitutional state,” according to Satori.

Liberalism is largely an individualistic philosophy. It believes in the person and prefers reason and tolerance to dogma and force. It believes in absolute human dignity and man’s inherent goodness. It considers freedom to be a human right and supports for limited government. It also promotes free enterprise and competitiveness. It sees government action as a threat to liberty and a barrier to the development of individual personalities. Its purpose is to free people from the shackles of dictatorship and authoritarianism.

Liberalism has a significant impact on three key areas: social, economic, and political. It stands for secularism in the social realm, i.e., man’s freedom in respect to religion and morals. It is a proponent of free trade in the economic realm. It emphasises political liberty in the political realm, which is seen as an essential guarantee of an open society. Liberalism opposes government intervention and aims to transform the state apparatus into a tool for advancing individual and social liberties.

Liberalism’s proponents include Grotius, John Locke, Herbert Spencer, Bentham, J.S. Mill, Garner, and others.

With the passage of time, liberalism has seen significant transformations. It can be divided into two types: Classical liberalism and Modern or Contemporary liberalism are two types of liberalism.

### 6.2.2 Evolution of Liberalism

**Origin in Greece:** It took a long time for liberal ideas to emerge. Gilbert Murray believes that the Greeks were the first to develop the two ideas of classical

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liberalism, namely, Freedom of Thought and Political Freedom; nevertheless, in Greece, liberal values could only be enjoyed by a small percentage of inhabitants. The benefits of liberal principles were denied to women and slaves.

**Emergence of Liberal Ideas during Protestant Reformation:** The emergence of liberal ideas could be seen in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when there was a widespread revolt against the Catholic Church headed by the Pope. When the Protestant Reformation divided Christians into Roman Catholics and Protestants, and almost everywhere religious freedom was in jeopardy, the writers with liberal views advocated the cause of religious toleration and freedom.

**Nineteenth Century Movement for Liberalism in England, Holland and Spain.** Political liberalism rose in Western Europe and the USA in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, it only achieved significant progress in England, Holland, and Spain. The liberal movement was successful particularly in countries having a strong middle class. Spanish liberals were the first to coin the name “liberalism” and defend the values that it represented.

**Liberalism Opposed to Power of Barons and Clergy:** Liberalism arose as a reaction against feudal nobles’ authority, aristocratic rule, and church dominance. Liberals lay great stress on man’s goodness and rationality, and desired reforms to be introduced in every field for a better future.

**Liberal Principles of J.S. Mill:** Among the liberals, J.S. Mill was the foremost. He upheld the principles advocated by James Mill and Jeremy Bentham. The basic ideas put forward by J.S. Mill are: (1) extension of civil rights to all classes and women; (2) *laissez-faire* or free trade; (3) wide freedom of thought and expression; and (4) freedom of organization.

### 6.2.3 Basic Principles of Liberalism

Liberalism has some basic features or principles. The following are some of the basic principles of liberalism.

1. **Civil Liberty:** Civil liberty advocates that government which is based on the consent of people should be found by law. Government should not deprive the individual of his right to life, liberty and property.
2. **Fiscal Liberty:** “No taxation without representation” was the slogan of the American Revolution. This slogan indicates the fiscal freedom which should be the guiding principle in any society. It views property as a sacred institution. Without due process of law or compensation, no one should be stripped of their property.
3. **Social Liberty:** Social liberty implies equality in all spheres of life. There should be no distinction on account of birth, race, language, sex or caste. It is rightly said that liberty is impossible without equality.
4. **Political Liberty:** Liberalism advocates “one man, one vote.” It also includes right to form political parties and contest in elections. Political liberty also advocates popular sovereignty. The government should be

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based on the consent of the people. Rousseau's idea of "voice of the people is voice of the God" is the best expression of popular sovereignty. Liberalism believes in it.

5. **Racial Liberty:** Racial liberty defends the racial equality and self-determination. Its main objective is to check the state interference in the life of the individual.
6. **Personal Liberty:** Personal liberty implies various rights like right to freedom of speech, right to freedom of discussion, right to freedom of thought, etc. These rights are necessary for the development of individual personality.
7. **Economic Liberty:** A distinction is often made between fiscal and economic liberty. Economic liberty means freedom in trade, commerce and profession. There should be free competition in society. Hence, there should be no restraint in economic field. This has helped for the rise of capitalism, and as such, liberalism is often identified with capitalism.
8. **Domestic Liberty:** Domestic freedom is one of the principles of classical liberalism which advocates equal rights for women with men in the spheres of social relations. According to this principle, protection is to be given to the children against any kind of exploitation.
9. **International Liberty:** The liberals go to the extent of advocating liberty in international sphere. They are opposed to use of force as an instrument of national policy. They are against war and aggression. They advocate international peace, cooperation and good will for all.

Liberalism is not a systematic philosophy and does not have a consistent and coherent body of ideas.

### 6.2.4 Classical Liberalism

Classical liberalism was the first and oldest type of liberalism. Negative liberalism, individualist liberalism, laissez-faire liberalism, and original liberalism are some of the terms used to describe it. Individualism was another name for individualism, which advocated for a minimal government based on popular consent. Their philosophy was promoted by scholars like as John Locke, Adam Smith, Herbert Spencer, and others. The individual was seen as the centre of the system by classical liberals, who desired maximum liberty for him. It upheld the notion of individual inherent rights and viewed society as a collection of individuals. It aimed for the state to exert the bare minimum of control over individuals. In the economic realm, it advocated for "laissez-faire," or the government interfering as little as possible in people's economic lives. In the realm of trade, it likewise encouraged open competition.



## Assumptions of Classical Liberalism

The following attitudes and assumptions underpin classical liberalism:

1. Belief in the inestimable worth of human personality and in the spiritual equality of all people.
2. Belief in the freedom of the individual's will.
3. A belief in man's inherent rationality and kindness.
4. A conviction in certain fundamental rights, such as the right to life, liberty, and property.
5. A conviction that the state was formed by mutual agreement with the sole goal of safeguarding and protecting these rights.
6. A notion that the state-individual relationship is a contractual one, and that when the contract's terms are broken, individuals have the right to revolt and form a new government.
7. As a result of the view that law is better to command as a social contract instrument, government under the law is the liberal ideal.
8. A view that government's negative functions are limited and that the best government is the one that rules the least.
9. A view that an individual is and should be free in all aspects of life, including politics, economics, social issues, intellectual pursuits, and religion.
10. Individual thinking and conscience can acquire a belief in the existence of a transcendent truth based on reason.

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## Principles of Classical Liberalism

L.T. Hobhouse in his book "Liberalism" evolved the following principles of classical liberalism.

1. **Civil Liberty:** It is government by laws, not by arbitrary will of men. It was advanced to counteract the evil oppression either by kings or feudal barons or churchmen.
2. **Fiscal Liberty:** It implies the principle of no taxation without representation. Property is a sacred institution and no one should be deprived of it without due process of law.
3. **Personal Liberty:** It includes freedom of speech, discussion, expression, etc. In Great Britain, the Petition of Rights, Bill of Rights and the Habeas Corpus Act secured all these freedoms.
4. **Social Liberty:** It implies equality. There should be no discrimination on grounds of birth, colour, race, sex or economic position.
5. **Economic Liberty:** It includes the right of property contract and profession. It frees the individual from restraints in the economic sphere and enables him to form partnership or association.

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6. **Domestic Freedom:** It means equal rights for women as regards property and marriage, and protects children against any form of exploitation.
7. **Administrative, Local and Racial Liberty:** There should be administrative decentralization and local autonomy. It is against concentration of authority in a single centre. Liberalism safeguards racial equality and the right of different races nationalities to national self-determination.
8. **International Liberty:** It puts stress on peace, international cooperation and the formation of a world federation of states. It is opposed to the use of force as an instrument of national policy.
9. **Political Liberty and Popular Sovereignty:** These are the “crown and glory” of liberalism. People enjoy the supreme power to constitute and control government.

However, classical liberalism underwent revision in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century by utilitarians like J.S. Mill and idealists like T.H. Green. It was subjected to further modification by a host of progressive writers in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This revised and modified version of liberalism goes by the name of modern liberalism.

### 6.2.5 Modern Liberalism

Scholars such as Laski, Barker, G.D.H. Cole, MacIver, and Hobhouse attempted to bring more modifications into the liberal fold during the twentieth century. They aimed to link liberalism to the entire welfare state paradigm. They believed that the only way to alter social and political conditions was for the state to intervene actively. They blended social welfare into liberalism's theory and gave it a more practical structure. This revised and modified version of liberalism goes by the name of modern liberalism, new liberalism, positive liberalism, welfare liberalism, etc. The other supporters of modern liberalism are J.M. Robertson, D.G. Ritchie, J.A. Hobson, A.D. Lindsay, J.M. Keynes, etc. Statesman like F.D. Roosevelt in the USA and Joseph Chamberlain in the UK put the theory of welfare state into practice.

### Features of Modern Liberalism

The main features of modern liberalism are as follows:

1. **Faith in the rights of individual:** Modern liberalism has faith in the rights and liberty of the individuals enjoyed in a free and open society. However, liberty should be adjusted to social needs and utility. Adjustment of individual liberty with social goods is its final objective. Hence, some limits may be put on individual freedom in the interests of the whole community.
2. **Positive character of state:** State has a positive character. It can be instrumental in the development of human personality through social reforms and welfare measures. It is merely a servant of the community and is a means to achieve the social goals.

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3. **Faith in positive liberty:** Liberty is positive in characters and has a social function. Modern liberals believe in the principle of “freedom through the state” rather than “freedom from the state.” A democratic welfare state is conducive to positive liberty. According to modern liberalism, government interference does not represent a threat to the freedom of the individual because governments have become beneficial.
4. **Believe in regulated and planned economy:** Modern liberals advocate regulated and planned economy in the overall interests of the society. Unregulated free economy perpetuates privilege and accelerate inequality. State action can check the capitalists and the men of property by collecting money for social welfare measures through progressive taxation.
5. **Believe in liberty and equality:** As per modern liberalism, liberty and equality are complementary to each other. Liberty without equality degenerates into the license of the few to exploit the many. “The ultimate aim of the public policy,” the contemporary liberals believe, “is the protection and promotion of each person’s equal opportunity to develop his potentialities as fully as possible.”
6. **Believe in welfare democracy:** Democracy and socialism are complementary to each other. Without socialism, democracy is reduced to oligarchy, and without democracy, socialism becomes authoritarian. Modern liberalism believes in welfare democracy. The modern democratic, liberal state perform a vast array of economic functions to achieve the basic goals of socialism – equality and social justice.
7. **Emphasis on Groups:** Modern liberalism has shifted emphasis from individuals to groups. The state recognizes the competing claims of different associations and groups. It has to coordinate the different interests and classes in the community. The state is regarded as a federation of groups, a union of guilds and a community of communities.
8. **Believe in gradual change:** Modern liberalism advocates change, which is gradual, evolutionary, piecemeal and incremental. It believes that through social controls, economic regulations and widespread reforms, the socio-economic and political problems created by capitalism will be solved without infringing on the domain of individual freedom and those values which have remained central to the liberal philosophy. It is opposed to class struggle and revolutionary change.
9. **Believe in constitutional methods:** Modern liberals believe in the efficiency of constitutional democratic and parliamentary methods and institutions to bring about desired changes in the society.

Thus, modern liberalism is the socio-economic and political philosophy of the present western liberal democratic societies. It stands for an open, secular,

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pluralistic society in which freedom, equality, fraternity, and above all, justice will be realized.

**6.2.6 Criticisms of Liberalism**

1. Liberals are incorrect in claiming that every individual knows and acts in accordance with his or her interests. Few people in any community are educated, knowledgeable, and capable of fully comprehending everything. Even their true hobbies are unknown to the majority of people. Second, the majority of people are merely aware of their immediate interests. Socialists believe that only the state can accurately assess a person's medical, psychological, social, and economic requirements.
2. It is not true, as liberals believe, that each individual is a unit independent from society. The notion that society is nothing more than a collection of individuals is incorrect. Individual goals and individualism do not have the same character or scope as society's goals and objectives. Outside of civilization, an individual has no sense of self and identity.
3. Liberalism is a difficult topic to define. It's a bit hazy and confusing. It incorporates a variety of different types of viewpoints and ideas from other experts. It's been changing its colours far too frequently. On the one hand, it promotes individualism, while on the other, it forces individuals into a capitalist economic system, complete with all of its exploitation.
4. Liberalism places an excessive amount of faith in the intellect and rationality of individuals. A common guy frequently lacks the intellectual capacity to comprehend and solve all of life's problems. A common man is so preoccupied with his own concerns and the lives of those around him that he rarely has the opportunity to use his knowledge to tackle social and global issues.
5. It is unacceptable to believe that the State is a man-made entity. The state is a natural institution that has developed over time and has been influenced by a variety of causes. It is not an unavoidable evil.
6. The traditional understanding of a person's basic rights is flawed. It is incorrect to assert that certain rights enjoyed by man in his primitive condition of nature are inviolable. The state is the defender of rights, which are inherent in society. The State can put some restrictions on rights in the wider interests of society.
7. The liberal view of liberty is thought to be incorrect. It is incorrect to assert that expanding the scope of government activities erodes individual liberty. The lack of restrictions does not imply liberty. In a positive sense, liberty entails the proper and equitable imposition of constraints so that all persons can work well within society. Individual liberty limits imposed by state laws are primarily intended to protect the liberty of all people in society.

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8. In the economic sphere, liberals promote open competition. Open competition leads to a point where capitalists become extremely powerful while the poor are exploited. The wealthy become wealthier, while the poor become poorer. In today's society, there is malnutrition, hunger, disease, and unemployment. Open competition is beneficial to capitalists but not to the general public.
9. Liberals believe that society may be changed through peaceful means. It is opposed by Marxist socialists and communists. They contend that people who control the means of production and distribution cannot be removed from their privileged position in a peaceful manner. The wealthy are obligated to fight any change with all their strength. As a result, communists legitimise the use of violence and force, i.e., revolution, to bring about changes in the present socioeconomic system.

Liberalism is criticised by Socialists and Communitarians because it places less emphasis on society and social demands. It places complete trust in the individual while ignoring society.

10. The detractors point out that liberalism's ideology is a middle-class mindset. It lays a higher emphasis on sustaining the present order's stability and balance. The liberal proposals for the general good actually promote the interests of the wealthy class. It does little to further workers' and impoverished people's interests. Liberalism, according to critics, can never result in active social and economic revolution.

### 6.2.7 Decline of Liberalism

Certain factors were responsible for the decline of orthodox liberalism in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, though it continued to exert its influence till the end of World War I. In the inter-war period (1919-1939), liberal parties all over Europe were considerably weakened. The following factors were responsible for the rapid decline of liberalism:

1. **Common ground of individualism and liberalism:** The great intimacy between individualism and liberalism discredited liberalism. When individualism brought great suffering to the common man all over the world and was thrown overboard, its close friend and ally liberalism was also rejected.
2. **Criticism by marxists and anarchists:** Liberalism upheld *laissez-faire* (free trade), and hence, it became unpopular among the critics of capitalism. Marxists and anarchists vehemently criticized liberalism, and regarded it as synonymous with capitalism.
3. **No systematic theory:** Liberalism did not have a compact and systematic theory, and as a result, there was much confusion.
4. **Liberal principles upheld by various parties:** The rise of socialist parties, which met the needs of a vast majority of people, the acceptance of liberal principles by various democratic parties and the rise of

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totalitarian ideologies were powerful factors leading to the rapid decline of liberalism.

- 5. Emergence of new liberalism:** The emergence of a new type of liberalism in the 20<sup>th</sup> century brought about a serious setback to orthodox liberalism. Two currents of thought merged during the period 1920-40 to constitute modern liberalism, viz., the modern current of democracy and the social current of labour movement. Twentieth-century liberalism stands for a world free from all forms of tyranny and exploitation, and thus, it is different from the nineteenth-century liberalism. Thinkers, who call themselves new liberals, say that they have changed their ideas according to the needs of the time. According to the new liberalism, governmental interference does not represent a threat to the freedom of the individual because governments have become beneficial. In this assumption, the doctrine differs fundamentally from orthodox liberalism, which asserts that the government can and often does constitute a threat to the freedom of the individual. The new liberals changed with the times and favoured giving recognition to trade unions and political equality to workers.

## 6.3 CONSERVATISM

Conservatism stands for preservation. It favours maintenance of status quo. As a theory, it believes in defending the present values and traditions, and pleads for maintenance of existing situations. While liberalism is in favour of change in the present order, conservatism stands for defence and preservation.

Conservatism is opposed to any kind of radical change. It is against revolution. It is critical of radical and extreme values. Edmund Burke, a prominent conservative philosopher, attacked the French revolution for its excess. He argued in support of slow and gradual change. Hegel is another conservative philosopher whose ideas were used to defend the old order like feudalism.

### 6.3.1 Principles of Conservatism

De Kirk has summed up the following principles of conservatism.

1. It believes in set of national laws ruling the society and conscience.
2. It believes in the variety and differences of human existence, and opposes narrowness, uniformity, egalitarianism and utilitarianism.
3. It believes in inseparability of freedom and judgement.
4. It believes that prescription, customs, conventions and old customs are a virtual check upon anarchy and man's lust for power.
5. It is against change as change may not be good for the society.
6. It gives more value to the state/society than to the individual. Existing institutions should not be hastily tampered with.

### 6.3.2 Characteristics or Features of Conservatism

The following are the characteristics or features of conservatism:

1. **Defence of the traditions and values:** Conservatism stands for the preservation of traditions, customs and values. The primacy of the history and traditions are found in almost all types of the conservatism. It believes in defending present values and traditions. It also believes that traditions represent history and traditions are important components of the history.
2. **Faith in human imperfection, prejudice and reason:** The idea of human imperfection and preference for prejudice over reason is another feature of the conservatism. Unlike liberalism which has faith over the reason and in the moral, rational and social beings of the man, conservatism considers man as imperfect and dependent upon the society and traditions for their very existence.
3. **Believes in the organic view of the society:** Conservatism rejects the liberal view of the state which regards it as a creation of human will, and society as a collection of individuals. It regards society as an organic whole structure by natural necessity, with its various institutions, all of which contribute to the health and stability of the society.
4. **Full faith in the wisdom of ages and historical inheritance:** Traditions, customs and institutions of historical importance are regarded as the pillars of wisdom and experience of the ages. Conservatism upholds faith in wisdom of ages and social inheritance.
5. **Rejection of abstract principles and ideologies:** Conservatism distracts abstract principles and radical ideas. It believes in the virtue and wisdom of historical experience, traditions, customs, values and institutions.
6. **Respect to traditions:** Respect for and adherence to traditions, customs and values ensure peace, order and stability.
7. **Acceptance of Reforms:** Acceptance of reforms and a pragmatic approach towards reforms and the process of reforms.
8. **Pessimistic view of Human Nature:** Conservatism holds a pessimistic view of human nature and projects man as a security seeking, dependent and limited person who longs for a peaceful, orderly and stable life.
9. **Believes in Social Hierarchy:** Conservatism considers social hierarchy, inequality and aristocracy as the natural features of social life.
10. **Opposition to Revolution:** Conservatism opposes to revolution, revolutionary change and radical reforms.
11. **Respect to Customs:** Conservatism stands for respect for the time-tested historical traditions, values, customs, institutions and practices of the society.

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- 12. Upholds the need for Authority:** Conservatism upholds the need for authority working from above for securing peace, order, security and stability of society.

**Edmund Burke on Conservatism**

After French Revolution of 1789, Edmund Burke was the first political philosopher who explained, adopted and justified conservatism as a political theory. As a conservative philosopher, he strongly criticized the French Revolution because it broke the ancient French traditions and inherited values of political continuity, stability and respect for established political institutions. Burke was a political conservative philosopher. He accepted the need for reforms but was totally opposed to both revolution and revolutionary changes or radical reforms in society and politics.

**Features of Burke's Conservatism**

1. Burke laid emphasis on traditions, values and traditional, social and political institutions of the society. He greatly respected the wisdom and value of the age old and time-tested traditions and institutions.
2. Burke in his book '*Reflections on French Revolution*' strongly criticized French Revolution of 1789. He strongly condemned the destruction of ancient social, economical, political and religious institutions and established order of France.
3. Burke's views on state also reflected his conservatism. To him, the state was not a creation of human will or social contract. It was the result of growth. It was an organic growth.
4. Burke accepted the need for reforms but was not a revolutionary reformer.
5. As a conservative philosopher, Burke was a strong supporter of Aristocracy. He was convinced that the stability and greatness of a nation depended upon the existence of a strong and powerful aristocracy.
6. Burke was against equal political rights of all. He upheld the value of monarchy. He opposed the French attempts at the adoption of republicanism.
7. Burke strongly defended and expressed full respect for the traditions, values and institutions of British society, state government and politics.

Burke was a conservative philosopher but his conservatism had a good dose of liberalism. He was an elite conservative who admitted the value and importance of all need for progress and reform.

As a political theory, conservatism stands for respect for the time-tested historical traditions, values, customs, institutions and practices of the society. It is opposed to all revolutionary changes, radical reforms and revolutions. It accepts inequality and presence of aristocracy as natural features of the society. The society must continuously evolve and develop along with its traditions, values, customs and practices. Reforms and changes have to be gradual and based upon social necessity and their utility for the people.



## 6.4 CONSTITUTIONALISM AND DEMOCRACY

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Constitutionalism is the belief, often associated with John Locke's Political Theories and the Founders of the American Republic, that the government can and should be legally limited in its powers, and that the government's authority or legitimacy is contingent on the government's adherence to these limitations. Constitutionalism is the practise of limited governance brought about by the existence of a constitution in a narrow sense. When government institutions and political processes are successfully restricted by constitutional rules, the term "constitutionalism" is used. In a broader sense, it refers to a collection of political beliefs and goals that express a desire to safeguard freedom by establishing internal and external checks on government power. Constitutionalism is a collection of beliefs, attitudes, and patterns of behaviour that elaborate on the notion that political authority is derived from and limited by a corpus of fundamental law.

### Definitions and Meaning

"Constitutionalism is a difficult idea profoundly established in historical experience, which subjects individuals who employ governmental authorities to the restrictions of a higher law," writes David Fellman. It declares that the rule of law is preferable than the rule of arbitrary judgement.

"Constitutionalism has both descriptive and prescriptive aspects," says **Gerhard Casper**. It is most commonly used to describe the historical struggle for constitutional acknowledgment of the people's right to consent, as well as other rights, freedoms, and advantages. When used in a prescriptive sense, it refers to aspects of government that are considered fundamental to the Constitution..

Canadian Philosopher **Wel Waluchow** says, "Constitutionalism embodies the idea that government can and should be legally limited in its powers and that its authority depends on its observing these limitations".

As a result, constitutionalism denotes restricted governance, which is the polar opposite of arbitrary power. It recognises the need for a government with powers, but requires that those powers be limited. Despotism is the polar opposite of constitutionalism.

Constitutionalism is a normative political theory that states that all government power exercises, whether expressing the will of a single individual, an elite, or a large majority of citizens, are subject to significant substantive constraints. Constitutionalism is a political concept in which the functions of a state's government must be in compliance with the constitution's requirements, and the government's acts must represent legality.

The main purpose of Constitutionalism is to prevent arbitrary government. Thus, the antithesis of Constitutionalism is despotism. It is a doctrine that governs the legitimacy of governmental action.

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**Features/Principles of Constitutionalism**

The main features of principles of constitutionalism are:

**(a) Sovereignty**

Sovereignty, which is an important element of the state, is also a basic principle of constitutionalism. Sovereignty means the supreme power of the state which makes the state internally supreme and externally independent. Internal sovereignty means the state exercises full and complete control over the people and different organisations. No person or group or association can go against its rules and regulations. If anyone goes against it, the state has the right to use force against the person or association. Now, Constitutionalism accepts popular sovereignty.

**(b) Separation of Powers**

Separation of powers is another aspect of constitutionalism. Separation of powers, in general, indicates that all three branches of government, i.e., the legislature, executive branch, and judiciary, should exercise their respective tasks, i.e., making laws, enforcing laws, and interpreting laws, separately and independently of one another. The separation of powers principle is used in the presidential system. The political executive cannot be fired by the legislature. The legislative body cannot be dissolved by the political executive. The executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government are the coordinating branches in this system, with each exercising checks on the other two to maintain power balance.

**(c) Rule of Law**

Constitutionalism ensures that the rule of law is upheld. The term “rule of law” refers to the supremacy or domination of the law. It also refers to equality in the eyes of the law. There is no one who is above the law. The rule of law is now considered essential in all democracies around the world. It fosters good governance and democracy in a country by allowing for the essential checks and balances on the government’s excessive use of power.

**(d) Recognition of Fundamental Rights and Freedoms**

Constitutionalism recognises citizens’ Fundamental Rights and Freedoms, which are necessary for the development of citizens’ personalities. Even since the enactment of the US constitution, it has become customary for all democratic countries to incorporate a chapter on Fundamental Rights of its citizens. The modern democratic constitutions not only provided fundamental rights and freedoms but also made necessary arrangements for the protection of rights.

**(e) Supremacy of Constitution**

The supremacy of the constitution is another feature of the constitutionalism. The constitution determines the fundamental laws of the land and legitimacy of Government. The laws of the constitution stand at the top of the hierarchy of all laws – both national and state. The government has to operate within the limits prescribed by the Constitution. The legitimacy of the Government is determined by the Constitution.

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**(f) Political Democracy**

Constitutionalism is one of liberalism's core political values and a vital component of liberal democracy. It is a form of limited governance made possible by the existence of a constitution. Constitutionalism acknowledges that constitutional principles must properly regulate government institutions and political processes. It also ensures that the powers of the Government should be exercised by the persons elected by the people and responsible before the people.

**(g) Responsible Government**

Constitutionalism believes in responsibility and accountability of the Government. The Government should be accountable and responsible before the people for the acts of omission and commission. Responsible government checks the arbitrary attitude of the government.

**(h) Independent Judiciary**

Independence of judiciary is another feature of Constitutionalism. Independence of judiciary is the concept that Judiciary should be independent from the other branches of government. The courts shall not be influenced in any way by the other arms of government, or by private or party interests. A free society and a constituent democracy require an independent judiciary. It ensures the rule of law and the realisation of human rights, as well as the society's wealth and stability.

**(i) Judicial Review**

Constitutionalism gives importance to the principle of Judicial Review. Judicial review refers to a country's courts' ability to analyse the activities of the government's legislative, executive, and administrative arms, as well as their constitutional legality. Actions that are found to be unconstitutional and so null and void are deemed unconstitutional.

**(j) Civil Society**

Civil society, as opposed to families, the state, and profit-seeking institutions, is an arena of voluntary collective activity around shared interests, objectives, and values. Constitutionalism, at present, gives importance to the role of civil society.

Loewenstein mentions the following functional principles of Constitutionalism.

1. For the sake of power distribution, differentiating state functions and assigning them to different state organs or political organisations.
2. Checks and balances, as in the American political system, are a planned method for achieving agreement among several powerholders.
3. Frictions and deadlocks between or among two or more powerholders can be avoided with this mechanism.
4. A means for adapting the constitution to changing socio-political circumstances without resorting to illegality, violence, or revolution.
5. Incorporation of essential liberties and freedoms, as well as the means of ensuring their protection.

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## Types of Constitutionalism

**1. Liberal Democratic Constitutions:** Separation of powers, rule of law, an independent judiciary, and a system of checks and balances between the arms of government are all emphasised in liberal democratic constitutions. Liberal democracies are multi-party systems with at least two enduring, changeable political parties.

**2. Liberal Non-democratic Constitutions:** A government that does not follow democratic principles is known as a non-democratic government. A monarchy, oligarchy, aristocracy, anarchy, feudalism, democracy, or any other system of government might be considered non-democratic. When a liberal non-democratic constitution guarantees some rights and liberties to its citizens, that is called liberal non-democratic constitutions.

**3. Non-liberal Democratic Constitutions:** A non-liberal democratic constitution is a governmental system in which, despite the fact that elections are held, citizens are kept in the dark about the activities of those in power due to a lack of civil rights. As a result, it is not a free society. The rulers of a non-liberal democracy have the ability to ignore or circumvent constitutional restrictions on their power. They also have a tendency to disregard the wishes of minorities, which is what makes democracy non-liberal. Electoral authoritarianism is the name given to non-liberal democracy since it is intrinsically undemocratic.

**4. The Social or Welfare State Constitutions:** The social or welfare state constitutions are those that guarantee a minimum standard of living for all of their residents and provide a comprehensive range of social services. These constitutions are designed to improve people's socioeconomic well-being by establishing and implementing development policies, plans, and programmes. This constitution sets a pattern for a human and progressive society.

**5. The Socialistic Constitutions:** The constitutions which aim to establish an egalitarian social order through the rule of law are known as socialistic constitutions. The aim of these constitutions is to attain substantial degree of social, economic and political equality. Government in this system regulates the ownership of land and industry to reduce socio-economic inequalities.

The Father of Modern Constitutionalism is Niccolo Machiavelli. Constitutionalism began with the study of ancient republics in the modern world, and it was Machiavelli who reintroduced this rejuvenated science of politics. Modern constitutionalism is the belief that a government's authority is determined by the constitution's body of laws. For example, in addition to its legislative power, the Legislature is not permitted to undertake executive functions, and the court is not permitted to carry out the laws it interprets. These two functions are reserved for their respective organs, namely the executive and the judiciary.

Thus, Constitutionalism as a theory and in practise stands for the notion that in a properly governed state, people who use government powers are subject to limits written out in a body of higher law that is enforceable in a variety of ways, including political and judicial. Constitutionalism enhances the protection of the

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citizens' fundamental human rights. Constitutionalism usually refers to support for constitutional elements that build a democratic system, such as a co-defined constitution, a Bill of Rights, separation of powers, bicameralism, and federalism or decentralisation.

### Significance in Democracy

Constitutionalism is one of liberalism's core political values and a vital component of liberal democracy. Its significance stems from the underlying fear that government would always be prone to becoming a tyrant against the individual due to power's inherent corruption. As a result, constitutionalism is a critical safeguard for liberty. Nonetheless, the forms it takes may differ significantly. Liberal constitutionalism is typically linked with a written or codified constitution, a system of checks and balances between the government and formal institutions, and civil liberty guarantees. Despite the fact that the UK system of government has traditionally lacked each of these three criteria, it is often seen as constitutional.

Constitutionalism's critics have pointed out that it focuses solely on the formal, and typically legal, structure of governance. Constitutions and institutional fragmentation, for example, may be less significant than party competition and democracy in preserving individual liberty. Socialists have criticised constitutionalism as a technique of limiting government power and, as a result, impeding serious reform of the capitalist system.

## 6.5 TOTALITARIANISM DICTATORSHIP

Totalitarianism is a political ideology which puts emphasis on maximum state interference. It believes in authoritarian political system. It advocates for a dictatorial rule in which the state controls all aspects of individuals life. The governments in totalitarianism are based on force and fear, and do not tolerate activities of individuals or groups which appose the authority. Totalitarianism may again be subdivided into totalitarianism of the right and totalitarianism of the left. The former includes socialism and communism.

Totalitarianism may be defined as a coherent body of ideas which aims at totally changing or constricting a society by force or violence. The belief that the society is seriously flawed or in deep crisis becomes the source of strong desire of a group or organization which would want to change or rebuild it in the light of its ideals and values. However, there is another view of totalitarian ideology. In the second conception, totalitarianism seeks to save a political system from total destruction and to permit it with the ideals and values it exposes. While Marxism represents the first conception of totalitarianism, Fascism, keen to preserve the status quo, treats communism as its bitter enemy. However, according to Carl Popper, both stand for a ruthless and uniform system which makes them the enemies of a free and open society. Fascism and Communism are both inherently action-oriented ideologies. They usually provide a programme and a strategy for implementing it, and their primary goal is to bring together organisations that are created around them.

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Communism, which is the totalitarianism of left, has ambiguous view of state. Marx and Engels viewed state as the instrument of realizing class and said that ultimately it wither away. However, Stalin was firm that the state in communist Russia could not wither away until socialism won victory all over the world. But Fascism, the totalitarianism of the right stands for “an all-powerful state and irresistible government.”

As a result, totalitarianism is a form of government that seeks ultimate control over its inhabitants' lives. It is characterised by a strong central rule that uses force and repression to try to control and guide all elements of individual life. Totalitarianism is the opposite of democracy. In a totalitarian society, a dictator is usually in charge, and there is little or no freedom. The government controls practically every area of life in totalitarianism. It is a form of governance that forbids opposition parties, limits individual dissent to the state and its claims, and maintains a high level of control over both public and private life. It is thought to be the most comprehensive and ultimate form of authoritarianism. Extensive political repression, a complete lack of democracy, absolute control over the economy, vast censorship, mass monitoring, limited freedom of movement, and widespread use of state terrorism are all characteristics. In totalitarianism, the government has complete control over practically every element of social life.

## 6.6 COMMUNISM/MARXISM

Marxian Socialism is otherwise known as Communism or Scientific Socialism or Marxism. It stands primarily associated with the name of Karl Marx. However, it also involves the ideas of Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao. Initially, Marx and Engels had used the term ‘Scientific Socialism’ in their work ‘*The Communist Manifesto*’ (1848). Later on, in order to distinguish their ideology from the ideas of utopian socialists, social reformers, bourgeoisie socialists and others, they decided to adopt the term ‘Communism’ in place of Scientific Socialism. As communism is basically based on political philosophy of Karl Marx, it is known as Marxism.

### 6.6.1 Definition and Meaning of Communism

**Socialism and Communism:** At the outset itself, it may be stated that communism is a form of socialism. (We have noted earlier that socialism itself cannot be defined precisely). While all communists are socialists, all socialists are not communists. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the terms ‘socialism’ and ‘communism’ were more or less regarded as synonymous; the term ‘communism’ was not widely used during the period 1848-1918.

**Socialism Prelude to Communism:** In Soviet Russia, Lenin’s revolutionary followers called themselves communists and broke away from socialists. Soviet Russia is called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; the term ‘communist’ has been avoided. It is believed that socialism is a prelude to communism. It seems theoretically that Russia will become communist in the future, when the state will wither away. “The ideology of communism favours state ownership of the means of production and equal distribution of wealth.”

## 6.6.2 History of Communism/Marxism

### Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels

**Founders of Communism:** High priests of proletarian socialism and communism, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels are revered.

**Marx Not the First Socialist Thinker:** Marx and Engels were hardly the first people to advocate for socialism. As stated in connection with capitalism and democratic socialism, communism can be found in Plato's Republic, and in modern times, socialist ideas can be seen in the works of St. Simon, Fourier and Owen. Marx and Engels introduced revolutionary socialism or communism, which must be clearly distinguished from democratic-socialism.

**Lassalle:** Another writer in whose works the doctrines of "proletariat" socialism can be found was Ferdinand Lassalle (1815-64) who gave the principles of "iron law of wages."

**Utopian and Scientific Socialism:** It is necessary to note here the difference between socialism as preached by Owen and others on one side and socialism as taught by Marx and Engels on the other. The former was dubbed Utopian Socialism, while the latter was dubbed Scientific Socialism. Scientific Socialism or Communism is aggressive and revolutionary, whereas Utopian Socialism is peaceful and evolutionary.

The term 'Utopian Socialist' is applied chiefly to thinkers like Count Henri de Saint Simon, Charles Fourier and Etienne Cabet in France and Robert Owen in Britain. In England, Charles Kingsley, Frederick Denison Maurice and J.M. Ludlow applied Christian ethics to the socialist movement and thus the Christian socialist movement began. Christian socialists rendered constructive and meritorious service in the field of education.

**Thinkers before Marx:** F.W. Coker says on page 222 in *Recent Political Thought* (1957) that though socialism "has its definite origin principally in the work of Karl Marx, many of the basic economic doctrines of Marxian socialism, however, are to be found in writings several decades earlier, notably in the works of William Thompson, Thomas Hodgskin, John Gray, John Francis Bray and other British writers."

### 1. Karl Marx (1818-1883)

**Early Days in Prussia:** Karl Heinrich Marx was born to Jewish parents (who had become Christians) on 5<sup>th</sup> May, 1818, in Trier in the Rhineland Province of Prussia. He was educated at Bonn, Berlin and Jena, where in 1841, he got a doctorate degree in philosophy.

**Influence of Hegel and Feuerbach:** Marx was deeply influenced by the thought of Hegel (1770-1831) and Feuerbach (1804-72). From the former, he learnt the dialectic, and from the latter, the principle that man makes religion (God) and religion (God) does not make man.

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**The Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels:** During 1843-49, Marx was in France and Belgium. The year 1848 is significant in world history because it saw Marx and Engels issue a joint 'Communist Manifesto' to the world's workers in January, urging them to "unite, because you have nothing to lose but the chains of your slavery." These two inseparable allies created the ideology for violent and deadly revolutions in Russia and China in the twentieth century, expressing themselves in unequivocal and clear-cut language against the faults of capitalism.

**First International:** Marx played an important part in establishing in London in September 1864 the International Workingmen's Association. This came to be called the First International. It met annually till 1872, when it came to an end after its headquarters were shifted to New York in the same year.

**In Exile:** For about 34 years, Marx was in exile in England. He spent his time in reading and writing.

**Das Capital:** Marx wrote several pamphlets and treatises on socialism. But 'Das Capital' was his greatest work, which brought about a turning point in the history of the world. Only the first volume of his 'Das Capital' was published, and the following two volumes were published some years after his death thanks to Engels' efforts.

## 2. Friedrich Engels (1820-1895)

**Capitalist with Sympathy:** Friedrich Engels was a capitalist with sympathy for the poor and downtrodden workers. He was born in 1820 in a rich family in Britain, where his father was a cotton manufacturer. Being in his father's business, he had opportunities to know the social condition in England. He was deeply interested in writing and published 'The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1845', which brought him great fame in Europe.

**Friendship and collaboration with Marx:** In 1844, he came in contact with Karl Marx in Paris, and became his great friend and sympathizer. As a result of their fruitful collaboration, they could jointly release 'The Communist Manifesto' in January 1948.

In the study of communism, we assign Engels a place second to that of Marx. L.W. Lancaster says on page 161 in *Masters of Political Thought, Vol. III* (1959): "The friendship and collaboration of Marx and Engels is almost if not quite unique in literary history. Marx was by no means easy to get on with, and Engels' devotion was often sorely tried by the former's importunities concerning money matters and his callous disregard of Engel's feelings; his willingness to forgive much and to play second fiddle to Marx can only be explained by his complete devotion to communism." Engels wrote several books in collaboration with Marx and himself wrote separately books like 'The Origin of the Family', *Private Property and the State*, and 'Socialism, Utopian and Scientific'.

**Theorists after Engels:** After Engels' death in 1895, theorists such as August Babel, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Jules Guesde, and Karl Kautsky defended Marxism for



a while. Kautsky (1854-1938), who spent much of his life in Austria and Germany, was a staunch supporter of Marxism's essential concepts.

### 6.6.3 Basic Principles of Communism or Marxism

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The teaching of Marx move around a few basic principles: (1) dialectical materialism; (2) materialistic interpretation of history; (3) theory of surplus value; (4) class war; (5) concentration of capital; (6) dictatorship of the proletariat; (7) withering of the state; (8) religion, the opium of the people; and (9) inevitability of revolution.

#### 1. Dialectical Materialism

**Study of contradictions:** Dialectical materialism is one of the basic principles of Marx. But he has nowhere explained very clearly its meaning. "Dialectic is nothing more than the science of the general laws of motion and development of nature, human society and thought." Materialism is the principle, which says that mind is the derivative product of matter and it does not have an independent existence. Dialectic literally means discussion. Eddy Asirvatham says on page 222 in *Political Theory* (1957): "Dialectic is the study of contradictions, which lie at the very heart of existence. Development is the struggle of opposites."

**Matter primary and mind secondary:** Though they opposed to and rejected Hegel's idealistic interpretation, Marx and Engels learned the general character of the dialectic from him. They did not believe that external reality was merely a mirror of something that existed within the human mind. Materialists believed that nature or matter existed independently of and outside of the mind, unlike idealists who believed in the existence of the mind. Matter, the source of sensations and ideas, is primary, and thought, the mirror of matter, is secondary, according to them. Matter is active; it moves and decides for itself. It never takes a back seat. It has the necessary energy within it to modify itself. Marx says: "With me, the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind and translated into forms of thought."

**Theory of philosophical materialism:** Marx developed the philosophical materialism theory. There are powers of self-sufficiency, self-creation, and self-perpetuation in the universe. The world is material by nature, and the various occurrences in it are distinct types of matter in motion. As a result, society's worldly life is paramount, while spiritual life is secondary. The method of securing means of subsistence and the process of producing material values are both important aspects of society's material life. Evolution is development of matter from within. The evolutionary process is helped or retarded by environment, though the process is not originated by environment. Similarly, environment cannot stop the process from attaining its goal.

**Process of action and reaction between forces:** The dialectical materialism thesis claims that history is driven by opposing forces that are constantly present. E.M. Burns says on page 148 in *Ideas in Conflict* (1950): "Marx had a conception of progressive evolution or historical dynamics operating in response to economic forces. This he derived from the German idealist Hegel, who conceived of history

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as a dialectical process or struggle of opposites, in which the dominant ideas of each age assumed the role of thesis. The thesis was soon confronted and eventually defeated by an antithesis or opposite. This contest finally resulted in the production of a synthesis, which incorporated the more valuable elements of both thesis and antithesis.” In society, opposing forces never balance one other; on the contrary, one is always stronger than the other. The process of action and reaction between the forces is depicted in history. The thesis is capital, which represents one force, and the antithesis is labour. This leads to class struggle. Motion or mode of existence of matter is rendered possible by conflict of opposites. Every stage of history that falls short of perfection contains the seeds of its own demise. In the conflict of opposites (thesis and antithesis) a new synthesis is formed by what is true in thesis and antithesis.

### 2. Materialistic Interpretation of History

**Historical phenomena determined by economic conditions:** Another fundamental concept of Marxism is the materialistic interpretation of history, sometimes known as historical materialism. The principle of dialectical materialism was applied to the interpretation of history by Marx. According to Marx, historical events are determined by economic conditions. Man must eat to live and his life depends upon the measure of success, with which he produces what he needs. Production of wealth is the most important human activity. L.W. Lancaster says on page 169 in *Masters of Political Thought, Vol. III* (1959): “The materialistic conception of history starts from the principle that production and with production the exchange of its products, is the basis of every social order; that in every society which has appeared in history the distribution of the products, and with it the division of society into classes or estates is determined by what is produced and how it is produced, and how the product is exchanged.”

**Primitive, ancient, feudal and capitalist stages:** Marx speaks of four stages through which production passes:

1. **Primitive Communist Stage:** The community owns the means of production at this level, and they are limited.
2. **Ancient Stage:** Owners of slaves and means of production acquire everything substantial at this point, while the poor and slaves get very little from the exploited lot.
3. **Feudal Stage:** In this stage, the feudal baron owns land, the most important means of production and exploits the serfs.
4. **Capitalist Stage:** The capitalist owns all of the essential means of production at this point, and the employees are wage slaves or tools.

The organisation of society is determined by production conditions in the Ancient, Feudal, and Capitalist periods. Life’s material situations are so significant that they shape political and economic circumstances. As a result of economic conditions, society develops a distinct worldview. People’s mental attitudes are a result of their living conditions. Religion and law are both influenced by the same

factors. Society progresses through these stages until it reaches a stage where it is no longer divided into classes. Each stage improves on the previous one.

**War between classes:** According to Marx, a specific class owns and controls the means of production, exploiting the rest of the population as a result of this constant rule of history. The state is used by the capitalist class as a tool of oppression and exploitation. As a result, there are roughly two classes at each step. On one hand, there are the owners of means of production and exploiters, while on the other, there are the exploited. History is nothing more than a record of a class struggle. At each step, every exploiting class gives birth to an opposing class. As a result, thesis and antithesis can be identified. The thesis is feudal barons and capitalists, while the antithesis is serfs and proletariats.

**Proletariat overthrow capitalists:** Marx says that capitalism carries with it the seeds of its own destruction. Capitalism will be destroyed by capitalists themselves and not by professional revolutionaries. The relentless laws of social development which overthrew the old systems will also pull down capitalism. Big Business, the thesis created, Big Labour, the antithesis. The thesis of capitalism will be got rid of by the antithesis of organized workers. Capitalism will be overthrown by the proletariat, and there will emerge a state of proletariat socialism, which is only transitional.

The dictatorship of the proletariat will make use of the state to crush the capitalists and their friends, and enemies of the proletariat. Ultimately, a stage will come when there will be no state at all. The state will wither away.

### 3. The Theory of Surplus Value

**Economic value created by labour only:** The value of a commodity depends upon the quantity or amount of labour put in to produce it. Human labour alone is the creator of all real economic values. Factors other than labour are insignificant and unessential. Though the labourer is the real creator of value, the capitalist does not pay him his full due, but only a part of it. Labour generates two types of values: essential and surplus. The wage paid to the labourer is the same as the required amount. The surplus, the remaining large portion of the worker's due, is taken away by the capitalist employer.

**Surplus value stolen by capitalist:** Surplus value is the difference between the market value of an item and the actual payment paid to the labourer, which is misappropriated or stolen by capitalists. This illegal income of the capitalist is called profit. The greater the exploitation of the worker, the higher is the surplus value. Surplus is called "congealed labour" by Marx. "Capital creates nothing, but is itself created by labour. However, the worker does not receive a just share of the value his drudgery or skill creates."

### 4. Theory of Class War

**War between exploiters and exploited:** The theories of dialectical materialism, materialistic interpretation of history, and surplus value give rise to the concept of class conflict. At every point in history, there has been a class conflict.

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The manufacturing owner exploits the workers, and the landowner exploits the landless. There is animosity and resentment between the classes.

**Marx – Prophet of Russian and Chinese revolutions:** Referred to the French Revolution (1789) as a reaction against exploiting feudalism, it was, according to him, a bourgeois revolution calculated to overthrow the privileged class, which was robbing the underprivileged class of its legitimate dues. While Marx spoke of the French Revolution like a historian, he became the prophet of the great revolutions of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Marx himself did not launch any revolution, but provided the theoretical combustible matter for the Russian and Chinese revolutions.

### 5. Law of Concentration of Capital

**Wealth concentrated and multiplied in a few hands:** Capital is concentrated in the hands of a few people. As the community's wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few people, the rich become richer and the poor become poorer. The rich, the owners of the means of production, easily multiply their capital. In the capitalist system, capital which is in the hands of a few goes on increasing rapidly, while the have-nots are progressively pauperized.

**Capitalists decrease but workers multiply:** The rise of trusts, cartels and monopolies, which fall into the hands of a few capitalists is a danger to capitalism itself. This is because the number of capitalists, in whose hands wealth is concentrated, goes on diminishing, while the ranks of the proletariat go on swelling. Wealth is concentrated not just in the hands of industrial capitalists, but also in the hands of landowners. Both landlords and industrial capitalists will be overthrown by the proletariat.

### 6. Dictatorship of the Proletariat

**Capture of power by proletariat:** Marx also speaks of the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., the landless and propertyless masses of people. The proletariat will seize power from the capitalists through a violent revolution and establish its dictatorship. "The proletariat is that class of society, whose means of livelihood entirely depend on the sale of its labour and not on the profits derived from capital, whose weal and woe, whose life and death, whose whole existence depend upon the demand for labour, depend upon the alterations of good times and bad, upon the fluctuations, which are the outcome of unbridled competition."

**Ultimately a classless society:** The ultimate aim will be to bring about a classless society. In the transitional period, the dictatorship of the proletariat will seize all capitalist property, abolish all rights of inheritance and centralize means of transport and communication. Labor will be compensated according to the actual job done during the interim period, with the ultimate goal of realising the principle "from everyone according to his ability and to each according to his need."

### 7. Withering of State

**Bourgeois reactionaries to be crushed:** According to Marx, the state will eventually fade away. During the transitional period, the state will be employed by

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the proletariat to crush any bourgeois resistance. There can be no free popular democracy since all authority must be used to crush the reactionaries from the bourgeoisie. There will be no thesis, antithesis, or class struggle under a proletariat dictatorship since social and economic justice will be achieved. One individual will not take advantage of another, and one class will not take advantage of another. As a result, the groundwork for the state's demise will be laid.

**Disappearance of state:** The process of state withering will begin as soon as the proletariat dictatorship is established. The apex of Marxian socialism is the full annihilation of the state.

## 8. Religion the Opium of the People

**Religion as tool for exploitation:** Marxism is against religion. Karl Marx was convinced that religion acted as opium on the minds of the people. To speak against religion, which had a powerful grip on the minds of the people all over the world, required unusual courage. He linked religion with capitalist exploitation. Capitalist exploiters use religion as a cover to conceal their methods of exploitation. Religion, according to Marx, is the capitalist tool to deceive the masses of people.

## 9. Inevitability of Revolution

**Peculiar complex of capitalists:** Marx explained through his '*The Communist Manifesto*' how revolution cannot be avoided. The owners of the means of production do not allow historical forces to have their normal course. Revolution becomes absolutely essential owing to the peculiar complex of capitalists. William Ebenstein says on page 10 in *Today's Isms* (1958): "Since the ideology of the ruling class reflects the existing economic system, the owners of the means of production sincerely believe that the existing system, is economically the most efficient, socially the most equitable, and basically the most harmonious with the laws of nature and the will of whatever good they venerate."

### 6.6.4 Merits of Communism/Marxism

The following are the merits of Marxism:

1. **Great impact on mankind:** Whether one agrees with Karl Marx or not, one has to recognize the tremendous impact of Marxism on mankind. Millions of people all over the world have felt the effect of his teachings, which have changed the course of history. It is strange yet true that Marx was unwillingly supported by exploiting capitalists themselves through their obduracy and refusal to change their track. Had capitalists in the 19<sup>th</sup> century followed the enlightened and benevolent path chalked out by Robert Owen, Marxism would not have grown so very rapidly. Similarly, in 1917, Tsar Nicholas II of Russia, who refused to yield and continued to exploit the people lost his power and life. Capitalists refused to make a compromise with workers, as they failed to see the writing on the wall.
2. **Great hope to workers:** At a time, when Owenism could not cut much ice in countries in which workers are openly and shamelessly exploited, and workers were in need of a great leader, Karl Marx emerged. He gave

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a clarion call to workers of all the countries of the world to unite. Though his teachings had serious flaws, they inspired hope in the underdog, when there seemed to be no hope at all.

3. **Clear-cut theory:** Marx provided a clear-cut theory, which could not be given by leaders of democratic socialism. The theory could be easily understood of workers and could instantly capture their imagination, particularly in countries in which the governments and capitalists subjected workers to ruthless exploitation. He gave ready made principles on which workers could sweat.
4. **Terror to exploiters:** Marxism became a terror to capitalism, and capitalists all over the world found it a terrible nightmare. Though there was much in Marxism, which was incorrect and undesirable, it had a sobering effect on capitalists as an exploiting class. All over the world, workers got relief either through a revolution or through reforms introduced by capitalists themselves.

### 6.6.5 Demerits of Communism/Marxism

The theory of Karl Marx has the following drawbacks:

1. **Materialistic interpretation of history wrong:** The materialistic interpretation of history is incorrect, as it considers the non-economic factors like political conditions, religion, language and science as insignificant. Marxian approach to history is very narrow, and it is absolutely prejudiced in favour of material conditions of life. While it can be admitted that economic conditions are of great importance, it is wrong to say that there is nothing beyond material conditions in the life of an individual or in the history of a country.
2. **Class war concept misleading:** The theory of class war is also incorrect and misleading. To Marx, history is nothing but a record of wars between the haves and the have-nots. It is hardly possible to find in the history of the world any country in which the social structure is as described by Marx. The concept of class war is artificial, and it is aimed more at capturing the workers' minds than at providing a true theory regarding social relations.
3. **Theory of surplus value wrong:** The theory of surplus value also can be criticized strongly. It gives too much importance to labour and ignores factors of production like land, capital and business organization. The theory is best calculated to serve propaganda ends; it overestimates the role of workers, shatters them extravagantly and does gross injustice to other agents of production.
4. **State not obstructive but useful and indispensable:** It is also wrong to say that the state is used as an instrument of oppression and exploitation. While it is true that those in authority in different countries some time or the other abused their power to serve their own ends, it is grossly

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incorrect to say that the state is not a creative and useful force, but an obstructive agency of exploitation. Countless examples can be given to show that the state is a positively creative force and an agency of social service.

5. **State not withering:** Marx envisages the possibility of having a classless society in which the state has no reason to continue. He says that ultimately the state will wither away. Such a condition can be better imagined than realized. The post-revolutionary periods in Soviet Russia and People's Republic of China show a trend contrary to Marxian expectations. Not only the plant of the state did not wither away, but put on a greener colour.
6. **Injustice to Religion:** Karl Marx does great injustice to religion as a vital force in life, when he says that it is the opium of the people. Instead of criticizing the drawbacks of different religions or their misuse by selfish people, Marx unfairly hits out at religion itself and preaches atheism. No one can deny the importance of religion used by every individual for his own solace and for reaching his higher self.
7. **Gospel of hatred:** Through dialectical materialism, historical materialism and class war, Marx generated hatred and fanaticism everywhere. Just as Marx himself was not prepared to listen to the arguments of his opponents, the followers of Marx too are not ready to discuss matters peacefully and in a reasonable manner. Blinded by fanaticism, they talk passionately in terms of class war, and the elimination of the capitalist and the bourgeoisie.

#### 6.4.6 Communism and Fascism

Fascism like communism is a totalitarian ideology. If communism was the first major 20th century totalitarian revolt against the Western, liberal way of life, fascism was the second. As opposed to communism, it was an anti-humanism, reactionary and counter revolutionary form of totalitarianism. The leaders of Italy and Russia condemning the liberal democratic systems in their respective states opted for totalitarian systems. These two systems brought about quick reforms and economic progress but Fascism suffered a terrible setback during the World War II while communism in Russia and other parts of the world emerged as a powerful doctrine. Fascism was limited exclusively to Italy and was prevalent for a specific period but communism has covered a sizeable portion of the globe particularly in Eastern Europe. The following are the main points of similarities and differences between fascism and communism.

##### Similarities between Communism and Fascism

1. Both fascism and communism are totalitarian ideologies and both of them are opposed to liberal democratic values. Both attached great importance to the state and considered it as a supreme ethical entity. They believed in sacrificing individual liberty for the sake of the state. They recognized no rights and duties of the individual. Both regarded state as supreme

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institution and viewed that individual cannot go against the interest of the state.

2. Both fascism and communism are against democracy and parliamentary institutions. Both hate democracy and democratic methods and principles as useless and ineffective.
3. Both fascism and communism believe in force and not cooperation and tolerance. Both seek to achieve their goals through violent means. The fascists use force for protection of capitalism and national pride while the communists use violence for the elimination of capitalism.
4. Both believe in single party system and do not allow any opposition to exist. The government is run on the direction of the party and those who deviate from party line are crushed.
5. Both opposed individual liberty and freedom. They control the mass media and educational institutions to make propaganda to spread their ideologies.
6. Both ideologies give religion secondary importance. The fascists subordinated religion to the will of the nation while the communists regard religion as opium for the people.
7. Both fascists and communists render unconditional support and respect to their leaders.
8. Both ideologies are critical of maladministration, injustice and social disorder, and both have evolved to save people from the exploitation and injustice of the old regime.

### **Difference between Communism and Fascism**

Fascism and Communism differ from each other on the following grounds:

1. Fascism was an opportunistic time-bound doctrine which emerged out of the mismanagement made in the Treaty of Versailles. It was an *ad hoc* doctrine because it was emerged to meet the situations that were immediately in prospect.

Communism is a rational theory which has a long history behind its origin.

2. Fascists were capitalist imperialists and they sought to unite the workers and the management for the service of the nation.

Communists stands for union of the workers of the world to safeguard the interests from capitalist exploitation.

3. Fascists were against the labour movement.

Communists organized labour movements for the safeguard of the interest of the labour.

4. Fascists have no faith on human equality. They said, the masses are incapable to rule, excepting only a few intelligent people.



Communism is based on human equality for which it seeks to abolish the distinction between the rich and poor.

5. Fascism is against socialism and communism. It retains the institution of private property. It believes that private property strengthens family ties. So, it opposed to the communist theory of class struggle.

Communism is against the private property. It regards private property as the chief enemy of the society. It has been the source of all evils, inequalities, exploitation and poverty of the masses. It is the hallmark of capitalism.

6. Fascists consider the state as an ideal institution and they do everything to the state. According to them, obedience to the state is supreme virtue.

Communists regard the state as an instrument of class institution. It is the institution created and run by the class of the 'Haves', i.e., rich for exploiting the poor. They plead for the withering away of the state for the establishment of a classless society.

7. Fascism was an idealistic doctrine which aimed to bring back the lost glory to Italy.

Communism is a materialistic doctrine which seeks to abolish capitalism by giving the economic and political power to the working class.

8. Fascism was derived from the feudal order of society.

Communism has been derived from an industrial order.

9. Fascists were racialists and they opposed internationalism. They believe in imperialism and glorify war.

Communists are anti-racial and they believe in internationalism.

10. Fascists have faith in religion and they made peace with church. They also sought to use it for the state and obtained its maximum possible cooperation.

Communism seeks to eliminate religion and church from influencing the masses.

From the above analysis, it can be said that fascism and communism are not same although they have something in common. Fascism reigned supreme in Italy for twenty-one years only. It did not have a systematic well worked out philosophy, while communism is a systematic and a global philosophy which is relevant till today.

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## 6.7 FASCISM

### 6.7.1 Introduction

Fascism came to the arena of political philosophy only in the 20<sup>th</sup> century as a reaction against Western liberal democracy. Mussolini was the father of fascist doctrine. It is an anti-intellectual revolt against rationalism and reason. It strongly

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denounces the principles and foundations of democracy. It does not believe in the democratic principles of 'equality' or 'liberty'. It has strong faith in racialism. Totalitarianism is another conspicuous feature of fascist ideology. National Socialism is a style of socialism that originated as an antithesis to the 19th century's strong individualism. Individualism is pitted against national socialism, which is a powerful word.

### 6.7.2 Definition and Meaning of Fascism

**An Authoritarian Theory and Movement:** One of the authoritarian theories and movements that arose in the inter-war period (1919-39) in the 20<sup>th</sup> century was fascism. It is a doctrine explaining the functions of the state and sphere of state activity. A movement based on the Fascist doctrine was launched by Benito Mussolini, the Italian dictator (1922-43). The period was very gloomy for Italy. Governments were unstable; demolished war-weary soldiers were discontented; inflation has assumed monstrous proportions; merchants were shamelessly profiteering; the ranks of the unemployed were dangerously swelling; prices were sky-rocketing; people were in deep frustration; and there was a plethora of strikes. Mussolini was determined to tackle all these problems speedily under his Fascist banner.

**Militant Movement against Liberalism, Democracy, Capitalism and Communism:** The word "fascism" comes from the Latin word "fasces," which meaning "bunch." (A bundle of rods with an axe was a symbol of authority in ancient Rome, representing the power of life and death.) As a reaction to liberalism, democracy, capitalism, and communism, Mussolini sparked the movement with vigour. "Mussolini has declared that Fascism was an ideology compounded of the teaching of Machiavelli's doctrine of opportunism, Hegel's political absolutism, Sorel's doctrine of violence and William James's pragmatism. Fascism did not have a dogmatic ideology and adapted its doctrine as the exigencies of the moment required."

**Fascist Movements Everywhere:** The term Fascism also applies to similar movements, which broke out in the 1920s and 1930s with the Indian Fascist Movement as their model. Nazi (National Socialist) Movement in Hitlerite Germany, Felange in Spain, Iron Guard in Rumania, Arrow Cross in Hungary, Heimwehr in Austria and Ustachi in Croatia are described as fascist. These movements were directed against what Fascists called corrupt influences, which included parliamentary democracy, capitalism, socialism and particularly communism. Scores of Fascist and Semi-Fascist movements were slatted on a small scale all over the world.

**Mussolini's Attack on Toothless Democracies and League of Nations:** Italy, the disgruntled victor of World War I, was not in an enviable position in the twenties of this century, and Fascists under Mussolini's leadership exploited the problems of their country to further their own selfish ends. Maxey observes on page 676 in his *Political Philosophies* (1959): "Italy, bitter over her treatment at the Versailles' treasure hunt and rent with internal discord, had forgotten the ideals of

Mazzini and Garibaldi and surrendered to a Fascist dictatorship that was rapidly anti-democratic.”

**Prominent Fascist Philosophers:** The prominent Fascist philosophers were Giovanni Gentile (1875-1944), a disciple of Hegel and Giuseppe Prezzolini, a great admirer of Benito Mussolini.

**Racialist, Militarist and Imperialist Single Party Totalitarian Dictatorship:** Fascism is a political system in which a dictator has absolute authority, suppresses dissent and criticism, and regulates all industry, commerce, and other activities. (See *The Random House Dictionary of the English Language*). In Italy, Mussolini established his single party dictatorship, crushed all opposition, wiped out all democratic institutions, imposed militarism and brought all aspects of the individual's life under totalitarian control.

**Not Easy to Define:** It is not easy to say what precisely Fascism is, as it is the product of a synthesis of several ideas and principles. C.C. Maxey observes on page 938 in *Political Philosophies* (1959): “To trace all of the sources of the political philosophy now known as Fascism is not easy. It is a compound of many ingredients, which have been blended together with great ingenuity. We may perceive, among others borrowings from Machiavelli, Hobbes, Fichte, Hegel, Treitschke, Marx, Sorel, Mosca, Schopenhauer, Bergson, James and Pareto.”

### 6.7.3 Origin, Growth and Decline of Fascism

**Fascism as a Mighty Authoritarian Force in Italy:** Fascism strongly manifested itself after World War I (1914-18) under the leadership of Benito Mussolini in Italy. Mussolini whose father was a blacksmith and village inn-keeper and mother a school teacher was born in 1883. He took full advantage of the chaotic conditions in Italy and tried to win public support by placating the various sections of the society. With Fascism as his instrument, Mussolini was able to capture power and become Italy's Prime Minister in 1922. As Duce (Leader of Dictator), he remained in power till 24<sup>th</sup> July, 1943, when he was overthrown.

**Fascism in Other Countries:** After establishing itself in 1922, Fascism spread in other countries. Mussolini boasted that Fascism would be a world movement, and Italy would be leader of the world. Though Fascism did not spread all over the world, it made rapid progress in European countries in the third and fourth decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Governments of Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania and Poland accepted Fascist principles by 1936.

**Aggression of Italy, Germany and Japan as Axis Powers:** The spread of Fascism brought to the world to the cataclysm of World War II (1939-45). Nazi Germany under Hitler and Fascist Italy under Mussolini shared certain common principles and objectives. Hence, it was possible for them to enter into a defensive and offensive alliance in May 1939, barely three months before the World War II began. In the Far East, Japan was also eager to participate in a Global War, and in December 1940, Japan made a Fascist Alliance with Germany and Italy with the grand objective of setting up a *new order* in Europe, Asia and Africa. During the

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World War II, Italy, Germany and Japan were called Axis powers. Berlin-Rome-Tokyo Alliance or Axis has been formed by them in 1937.

**Surrender of Fascist Italy:** In the early stages of the war, the Axis Powers did well, and Fascism became a real menace to the world. In June 1940, when France surrendered to Germany, democracy was abolished and a Fascist type of government was established in that country. In the later stages of war, Fascism and Nazism (which was also a type of Fascism) got a setback, and ultimately with the fall of Italy and the death of Mussolini, Fascist hopes were shattered. Fascism played a vital role in the holocaust of World War II.

### Fascism in Action

**Emphasis on Action:** Mussolini had contempt for theory and discussion. He was a doer, not a talker. In contrast to Bolshevism, which he believed was based on theory, he claimed that Fascism was based on actuality. He said that he desired to be concrete and real, and to emerge from the fog of debate and theory.

**Mussolini's Programme of Aggression Expansion:** Mussolini, the high priest of Fascism, did not give an elaborate philosophy of Fascism. Taking inspiration from Enrico Corradin and Gabriele D'Annunzio, who advocated aggressive nationalism and imperialism, Mussolini, who was a great admirer of Machiavelli and Sorel, chalked out his programme of expansion and aggrandizement.

**Mussolini's Fight Band:** Mussolini established on 23<sup>rd</sup> March, 1919, the First Fascist Group in Milan called *Fascio di Combattimento* (the Fighting Band) consisting of extreme nationalists, who were against monarchy and capitalism. The opportunist group changed its attitude after sometime as evident from the support it gave to capitalists, landholders and propertied classes.

### Formation of National Fascist Party

Conditions in Italy were most congenial for the formation of a Fascist Party with a national programme, and the main objective of the Fascists was to capture power in Italy. After the end of World War I, countries like Italy had to face many serious and nagging problems, and the Fascists in Italy capitalized on the pressing problems of the nation.

**Government Lenient to Fascists:** Fascists led by Balbo, Grandi and others scoffed at democracy and parliamentary institutions. They decided to destroy the discredited parliamentary institutions and establish their own government. It was indeed strange that the government was unusually lenient and soft, and the army and the police hardly resisted the violent and aggressive activities of Fascists.

**Mussolini's March on Rome:** Mussolini and his Blackshirts marched on Rome on October 28, 1922, and on the very next day, the king of Italy invite Mussolini to become Premier and form a government. Had the government in Italy nipped the Fascist movement in the bud, the Fascists under Mussolini would not have scored such a spectacular triumph. Capture of power must have been much

easier than what Mussolini had ever imagined. The Fascist revolution was spectacular success.

**Mussolini's Totalitarian Fascist Dictatorship:** To begin with, Mussolini pretended that he was loyal to the king and was going to form a coalition ministry, and was prepared to cooperate with other parties. But when his position was secure, he brushed aside parliamentarians and non-Fascists, and made his dictatorship a reality. Since 1925, he governed by decrees, which set aside constitutional government and gave legal form to his dictatorship. Mussolini and his Fascist supporters brutally suppressed all non-Fascist movements, outlawed all other political parties, slaughtered opponents, and transformed Italy into a totalitarian state. In November 1926, when all opposition parties were liquidated, persons who tried to revive the dissolved political parties and conducted propaganda on their behalf were given jail sentences. By clever tactics, Mussolini became all powerful as real head of government, who could rule by issuing decrees. Technically, the king continued as head of state with no powers, but all powers were vested in Premier (Dictator) Mussolini. He treated his ministers as his subordinates, who were responsible to him alone. The Fascist Party, which was a well-knit party hierarchically organized was under the thumb of Mussolini. This party under Mussolini's absolute control imposed its will and orders on all institutions in Italy in the same way in which the communist party imposed its iron rule in Stalin's Russia.

**Liberty Crushed:** Under Mussolini's Fascist dictatorship, the rule of the communes, originally autonomous, was put under the control of a podesta (chief magistrate) nominated by the government in 1922 for a period of five years. In 1925, a bill was passed imposing press censorship. Managers and editors of newspapers, who wanted to assert their independence, were got rid of, and in their places were appointed submissive and spineless persons, who would all the time praise the "great deeds" of the Fascist Party. In 1927, a Charter of Labour was drawn up for controlling all forces of production. A bill removing popular rule and representation was passed in 1928. Mussolini's policy was ruthless suppression at home and imperialism abroad. He remained in power during 1922-1943.

**Nemesis after Early Imperialist Success:** Italy under Mussolini moved on the war path, and in 1935, committed aggression on Ethiopia and conquered it with the League of Nations helplessly watching his game of war. Having made common cause with Germany and Japan, Fascist Italy entered the World War II in 1940, but nemesis overtook her after initial success. In July 1943, Mussolini was deposed and his place was taken by Marshal Badoglio. To complete the degradation of Mussolini, he was imprisoned and Fascism was banned. The Allied armies entered the Italian mainland on 9<sup>th</sup> September, 1943 and Italy unconditionally surrendered. On 28<sup>th</sup> April, 1945, Mussolini while fleeing with his mistress towards Switzerland was caught and shot dead by Italian communists. His corpse was dishonoured by being hung by the heels in Milan.

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### 6.7.4 Salient Features of Fascism

The following are the salient features of Fascism:

**State an End in Itself:** The Fascist State is regarded as an end in itself and not as a means to an end. It has a will of its own, and it is much more than a mere collection of individuals. Fascists treat it as an ethical entity, which inherits ideas and sentiments of people generation after generation. It guarantees internal and external security to the people. It is a living reality connected with the past and the future, and it goes far beyond the limited frontiers of the individual's life. The state should be adored as a spiritual and moral fact. The Fascist motto is: "Everything for the state, nothing against the state; nothing outside the state; beyond the State—nothing."

**Italy as a Corporate State:** Mussolini converted Italy into a Corporate State. The concept of the Corporate State was based on two ideas: (1) The members of the ruling party (Fascist leaders) only are capable of understanding the problems of the people and the country, and (2) The ordinary citizens are incapable of comprehending the great problems facing the nation, and hence they should remain inarticulate. They can understand their problem not as the citizens of Italy, but as men following their own respective professions, i.e., as farmers, workers, entrepreneurs, lawyers and doctors. A farmer, for instance, can understand the problems of farming and not the problems of the nation.

**Economy Controlled under Fascist Ideas:** The Corporate State controls the economy of the whole country according to Fascist ideas. There are state-controlled associations of capital and labour, and each enjoys monopoly in its own field. No association can follow a line of action which is not approved by the state.

**Institutions of Employers and Employees:** The Fascist Plan of the Corporate State was implemented through the Corporation Act of 1934. The chief institutions of the Corporate State were the following:

- (a) **Syndicates:** One syndicate of employers and one of workers for every trade or occupation could be set up in a district. The syndicate of employers must have members employing at least 10% of the workers in the trade in the district and the syndicate of employees must consist of at least 10% of the workers in the trade in the district.
- (b) **Federations:** Employers' syndicates and employees' syndicates were to form separate federations.
- (c) **Confederations:** Federations were to form confederations. There were to be 9 confederations: 4 of employers and 4 of employees in industry, agriculture, commerce, and credit and insurance; and one confederation of professional men and artists.
- (d) **Corporations:** Till the confederation level, employers and employees were to have separate institutions; but at a higher level of corporation, both the types were to come together. For each trade, there was to be a corporation consisting of representatives of employers and employees.

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Each corporation was to have a President appointed by the Head of the Government. There were 22 corporations in Italy. Fascists claimed that corporation gave a new concept of the functions of the state. It was made to appear superior to *laissez-faire* and socialism, as it brought about reconciliation between the state and the citizen by reconciling both of them to the corporation. In the corporation, manufacturers and the workers resolved their difference with the state standing by to advice and guide them in the process of reconciliation.

- (e) **National Council of Corporations:** The most important members of the corporations, i.e., about 500 members formed the National Council of Corporations.

**Ideals of Superior Class and Superior Nation:** Mussolini spoke in terms of racial superiority, and he was similar to Hitler in this regard, but he never reached Hitler's obsessive heights. The Fascists believed that there was a superior class of individuals in every country who could rule alone, and that there was also a superior nation whose example other nations should follow. In the same way that the ruling class can exert total dominance in a country, the superior nation can impose terms on the lesser and weak nations in the world.

**Extreme Nationalism and Militarism:** Fascism is based on extreme nationalism and militarism. Fascists regard the nation as a glorious personality having a will and end of its own. It is the essential duty of the individual to serve the nation, the supreme arbiter of all. Fascism lays great emphasis on the individual's complete and undivided loyalty to his nation through his feeling and actions.

**Imperialism and War:** Fascism is also based on imperialism and war, and it is dead against international peace and harmony. Lovers of peace and advocates of international peace, goodwill and cooperation are ridiculed as cowards. In Fascist thought, imperialism is something that is natural, eternal and immutable, and it is preposterous to talk and work for peace. Mussolini scoffed at international peace, which he regarded as a coward's dream. War as a corollary of imperialism is upheld as something as glorious. Mussolini said: "War is to man what maternity is to a woman. War alone brings up to its highest tension all human energy and puts the stamp of nobility upon the peoples, who have the courage to meet it."

**One Party State Extirpating all Non-Fascists:** Mussolini's Italy became a one-party state. Except for the Fascist party, all political parties in the country were brutally suppressed, leaving little possibility for democracy or liberalism to exist. Democracy, according to fascists, is the worst form of government and a "decaying corpse," "stupid, corrupt, slow-moving, visionary, impracticable and inefficient." As essentially men of action and war, Fascists poured ridicule on discussion and consultation and dubbed parliaments as useless talking shops.

As Fascists alone, according to Mussolini, could lead Italy to her goal, it was right and necessary to liquidate all Non-Fascists. Conditions in Fascist Italy were topsy-turvy, while in a democracy, rulers are responsible to the people. In Italy, the

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people were to be accountable to rulers. Parliamentaryism, liberty, equality, the dignity of the human personality and other features of a democratic form of government were summarily rejected by Fascists.

**Use of Fear, Violence and Totalitarianism:** A state in which there can be no criticism of government and in which the individual is a mere tool is bound to be authoritarian and totalitarian. The state is omnipotent and all-embracing. The state owns the individual's life, and the individual must utilise his or her life to serve the state. Fascists instilled dread in the populace, who were expected to accept governmental dictates like obedient slaves.

Though there were variations between Fascism, Nazism, and Stalinism on the one hand, they all shared the characteristics of violence, authoritarianism, and totalitarianism. All powers were vested in the Fascist party and the Fascist party gave all powers to the Duce. The dictator was responsible to none, but all had to be responsible to him.

**Criticism of Socialism:** It is important to note that the Fascists had absolutely no track with socialism, evolutionary or revolutionary. While the importance of economic forces in a country was emphasised by socialists and spoke in terms of class war and the materialistic interpretation of history.

**Against Intellectualism and Human Values:** Fascism is diametrically opposed to all human values and feelings. While all agree that the human mind and intellectual power raise men above animals, Fascists were adamant in their opposition to intellectualism. Fascists demanded complete submission from everyone. Fascists claim that educated people talk too much and play with their knowledge without realising their own obligations. In Italy, the only force acknowledged by Fascism was brute force, which they deployed at all times.

**Church Silenced by Compromise and Conciliation:** Fascists in Italy showed the worst type of opportunism. There was a time when Mussolini said that there was two religions, one black and another red, and "two Vatican's were lending forth their encyclicals one in Rome and the other in Moscow," and Italians should be heretics to both. But after 1921, the time-server Mussolini suddenly changed his attitude in favour of the Catholic Church. The practical-minded Duce thought that Vatican-Italian Accord in 1929 was necessary, as the Church, the Fascist rival could be silenced only through compromise and conciliation. To appease the Catholic Church, the Pope's temporal authority over the city of the Vatican was recognized and religious instruction to the children of Catholics was made compulsory in schools. Such a *volte-face* indicated the extreme opportunism of Fascists. Fascists developed "friendship" with Catholics and continued it during the entire rule of Mussolini.

**Power as Essence:** Fascism is defined by its obsession with power. Within the absolute state, absolute authority is to be wielded. People must implicitly obey the Fascist authorities' laws and instructions with unity and discipline. Total obedience of people for national greatness and glorification is the general rule of Fascism.



### 6.7.6 Merits of Fascism

It is wrong to think that Fascism was an unmixed evil to Italy. It had the following merits:

1. Following the end of World War I (1914-18), Italy was beset with troubles. Fascism was the one thing that saved her from despair.
2. Before Fascists came to power, leaders of Western democracies showed scant respect for Italy, which they felt, was not on a par with them. Italy gained respect in the international community under Mussolini.
3. Mussolini and other Fascist leaders working under him galvanized and vitalized the Italian nation. Italians felt proud and aware that they originated from the land of Julius Caesar and Emperor Augustus, who ruled over a vast empire in antiquity.
4. Mussolini instilled in Italians high aspirations and expectations, as they were pleased to see their country rated among the world's most powerful.
5. Italy had a good administration thanks to the fascists. Finances were arranged effectively, and production was increased. Public services functioned well, and there was national discipline. People lived in security in their homes and where they worked. Mussolini claimed that the people got what they needed from the Fascist government: roads, bridges, sewers, on-time trains, and well-managed industries..

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### 6.7.7 Demerits of Fascism

The following are the main drawbacks of Fascism:

1. **War and destruction:** Fascism is based on aggressive nationalism, imperialism and war. Nationalism developed in Fascists is perverted, and it is the younger brother of imperialism. Fascist Italy was guilty of committing aggression on Ethiopia and making a mockery of the principles of the League of Nations. In conjunction with Germany and Japan, Italy wreaked enormous havoc and suffering on the world.
2. **Sacrifice of individual freedom:** Fascism converts the individual into a tool of the state. The individual's liberty is sacrificed on the altar of the state, and the state takes control over every element of his life. In a fascist regime, the individual has no rights.
3. **Ruthless dictatorship:** Fascism has contempt for democracy and all that is allied to it. It is ruthless in its methods, and is entirely alien to human compassion, sympathy and understanding. Fascism becomes the basis of dictatorship of the worst type. In Italy, many Non-Fascists who criticized Fascism were got rid of. Matteotti, an Italian parliamentarian, was slain in unexplained circumstances in 1924. The same was the fate of Count Balbo in Africa.

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4. **Invited nemesis:** Mussolini lacked actual wisdom and was shortsighted. Though he seemed to have solved the problems of Italy, it was only for a short time. In the long run, Fascism failed miserably. Mussolini invited nemesis to himself and to his country. Italy had to pay a high price for Mussolini's wrongdoings, both morally and financially.

### 6.8 NAZISM

Nazism is a theory on the purpose and functions of the state, as well as the scope of its activities. It is a type of totalitarianism which emerged in Germany under Adolf Hitler's Leadership. Actually, there has been no consistent political philosophy of Nazism. Many principles and ideas are blended to form the Nazi brand of Fascism.

It is the theory and movement evolved by Hitler and his supporters known as Nazis or members of the National Socialist German Worker's Party. It was Nazi Party led by Hitler, which seized power in Germany and brought about revolutionary changes. Nazism became a mass movement in Germany just after World War I. It was a vitalizing power force in Germany only for sometime. But in the long run, it brought disaster not only to Germany, but to the whole world.

Nazism is a totalitarian movement led by Adolf Hitler in Germany. Nazism and Italian Fascism had many characteristics, such as passionate nationalism, popular appeal, and authoritarian authority. Nazism, on the other hand, was far more radical in both its ideology and its actions. It was an anti-intellectual and theoretical movement in practically every way, emphasising the charismatic dictator's will as the main source of inspiration for a people and a nation.

#### 6.8.1 Salient Features of Nazism

1. **Action first:** Like the Fascists under Mussolini, the Nazis under Hitler in Germany laid most of the emphasis on action first and little on theory. Such a stand was inevitable, as the minds of the masses had to be captured.
2. **Philosophy and propaganda:** Nazis took advantage of the philosophy of great writers, who preached aggressive nationalism and glorified Germany. They gave importance to their philosophy and conducted strong propaganda to advance their cause.
3. **Racial superiority:** Hitler and other Nazi leaders flattered the Germans in the most ridiculous way, and reminded them that they belonged to the greatest race in the world. The Nazis fully exploited race theories in their favour and modified theories wherever necessary to play on the emotions and sentiments of the people.

The main ideas of the Nazis regarding race can be summarized thus:

- (a) The law of life is the principle of the survival of the fittest.

- (b) The White race is superior to the coloured races. Among White people, the Teutons stand first, and among the Teutons, the Germans occupy the first rank.
  - (c) Hitler spoke against the Polyglot state, which according to him is inferior to a state having people of a pure race.
  - (d) Jews should be persecuted and hounded out of Germany, as they were a curse on Germany and were responsible for the poverty and misfortunes of the German fatherland. Jews were excluded from public life and government.
  - (e) Elimination of the weak is the main feature of Nazism. Physically weak, diseased and inferior people should have no right to procreate children.
  - (f) In Nazi Germany, men were meant for war and women for progeny.
4. **One party totalitarian state:** Like the Fascist state of Italy, the Nazi state of Germany was a one party state. After capturing power, Hitler suppressed all other parties and showed ruthless authoritarianism and totalitarianism. He had no consideration or compassion for anyone. Hitler thought it was necessary to control every aspect of the life of the Germans. The minds of the people were treated to be the most powerful type of propaganda.
  5. **War, aggressive nationalism and imperialism:** Like Fascism, Nazism believed in the virtues of war, aggressive nationalism and imperialism. All methods were used to rouse the patriotic and national feelings of the people. Love for Germany had to go along with hatred for their countries, who were responsible for the miserable plight of Germany. Hitler called upon the Germans to sacrifice butter and have guns so that they could have bath. A Nazi organization, known as Hitler Youth, was established to train youngsters. Similarly, Hitler's nationalism was alien to international harmony and brotherhood as Nazism believed in war and imperialism.
  6. **Body and soul of everyone under Nazi dictatorship:** Nazism stood for dictatorship. He was regarded as the leader and he was to be worshiped in the same way in which Stalin was deified in the Soviet Russia, though Nazism was against Communism. Hitler used all his powers fully in bringing the body and soul of everyone in Germany under his control. There was no God, but Hitler, no ism but Nazism, and no religion but nationalism.
  7. **Anti-religious:** Nazism was anti-religious. Neither Roman Catholicism nor Protestantism could serve the purpose of the Nazis and hence both were condemned. The only God and Priest the Nazis knew was Hitler, their Fuhrer, who was given a place higher than the one given to Jesus. Germans were called upon to worship Hitler through the school, the stage,

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the cinema, the radio, the press and the pulpit. Every school textbook which was compulsorily used by the German child carried words of Hitler's adoration "Our leader, Adolf Hitler We love you. We pray for you We like to hear you We work for you, Heil."

### 6.8.2 Merits of Nazism

1. Nazism lifted Germany from humiliation and degradation to which she was subjected by the Treaty of Versailles.
2. It gave hope to Germans, when complete demoralization had set in. Once again, Germans could hold their heads high.
3. Germany registered all-round progress under Nazi rule and the most urgent problems were solved. A vigorous programme of industrial, agricultural, educational and military reforms was introduced. Production went up leaps and bounds.

### 6.8.3 Demerits of Nazism

Nazism did more harm than good to Germany, and even to the world. The following defects of Nazism may be mentioned:

1. **Loss of liberty:** Germans lost all their liberty and rights under the Hitlerite regimentation. They were compelled to the war-minded and ordered to commit aggression on other countries.
2. **Remedy worse than disease:** The defects of Nazism became glaring and Nazism, which was previously regarded as the panacea for all the ills of Germany became a fatal disease which brought great suffering not only to Germany but to the whole world.
3. **Alien to morality and spiritual values:** Nazism was blatantly anti-spiritual and anti-religious. It went against all established moral and ethical precepts, and demonstrated a level of cruelty that the world had never seen before. For the sake of Germany, it persecuted and killed thousands of Jews.
4. **Destruction and misery:** Nazism wreaked havoc and sorrow on people all around the globe. The world has not fully recovered from the unprecedented havoc caused by the Hitler and his Nazi gangsters.
5. **Violence, haters and inequality:** Nazi preached violence, hatred and inequality. While the world became used to the concepts of liberty and equality, in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Nazis put the clock back by preaching the superiority of the Nordic race and anti-semitism. They were also opposed to putting women on an equal level with men. Women were nothing more than biological tools or child-bearing machines to them..

Nazism was a totalitarian movement led by Adolf Hitler. Many features of Nazism were shared with Italian Fascism, such as passionate nationalism, mass appeal, and authoritarian authority.

**Check Your Progress****I. Multiple Choice Questions****NOTES**

1. Two main pillars of Liberalism are \_\_\_\_\_.
  - (a) Rights and Duties
  - (b) Equality
  - (c) Freedom and Democracy
  - (d) Welfare State
2. Modern Liberalism stands for \_\_\_\_\_.
  - (a) State and individual are interdependent
  - (b) State is a machine
  - (c) Law is oppose to Liberty
  - (d) Liberty and equality are opposed to each other
3. Main theme of conservatism
  - (a) Defence of Tradition
  - (b) Believes in organic view of society
  - (c) Full faith in wisdom of ages
  - (d) All of the above
4. Nazism was popularised by \_\_\_\_\_.
  - (a) Mussolini
  - (b) Hitler
  - (c) Karl Marx
  - (d) Gandhi
5. 'Das Capital' is written by \_\_\_\_\_.
  - (a) Hobbes
  - (b) Locke
  - (c) Rousseau
  - (d) Karl Marx
6. \_\_\_\_\_ Ideology considers state as a necessary evil.
  - (a) Socialism
  - (b) Marxism
  - (c) Fascism
  - (d) Individualism
7. Marxism regards state as a \_\_\_\_\_.
  - (a) Natural institution
  - (b) Social institution
  - (c) Class institution
  - (d) Welfare institution
8. Marx believes in \_\_\_\_\_.
  - (a) Class struggle
  - (b) Surplus value
  - (c) Classless stateless society
  - (d) All of these
9. \_\_\_\_\_ among the following is not an individualist.
  - (a) Adam Smith
  - (b) Karl Marx
  - (c) J.S. Mill
  - (d) F.A. Hayek
10. \_\_\_\_\_ Theory believes that best state is which governs least.
  - (a) Individualism
  - (b) Socialism
  - (c) Marxism
  - (d) Fascism

**(II) True or False**

1. Liberalism does not recognise individual freedom.
2. Karl Marx borrowed his ideas of Dialectical Materialism from Engels.
3. 'The Communist Manifesto' is written by Karl Marx.
4. Nazism is a political ideology popular in Italy.

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5. Fascism is a totalitarian ideology.
6. Individualism considers state as an necessary good.
7. Liberalism and Individualism gives importance to the state.

**(III) Match the Following**

| A             | B                        |
|---------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Liberalism | (a) Italy                |
| 2. Marxism    | (b) <i>Laissez-faire</i> |
| 3. Nazism     | (c) Emphasis on Liberty  |
| 4. Fascism    | (d) Germany              |

**6.9 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'**

**I. Multiple Choice Questions**

1. (c)
2. (a)
3. (d)
4. (b)
5. (d)
6. (c)
7. (c)
8. (d)
9. (b)
10. (d)

**II. True or False**

1. False
2. False
3. True
4. False
5. True
6. False
7. False

**III. Match the Following**

1. (c)
2. (d)
3. (e)
4. (a)
5. (b)

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## 6.10 SUMMARY

Thus, the ideas and ideologies have been playing influential role shaping the society since the dawn of human civilisation. In the post-second world war years, especially since early 1960, some scholars have announced the end of ideology. End of an ideology to them, means mainly two things. First, socialism/communism has been eclipsed by the dominant and almost universal ideology of liberalism/capitalism. Communism has been extinct, they claim. Secondly, capitalism has triumphed. Capitalism, with more of growth and development in the industrial West, has gained in attraction and no third alternative is in the sight. However, some political ideologies like liberalism, capitalism and Marxism are dead. Socialism has declined but not died. It is still the ruling ideology of some countries. Like China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam. Democratic Socialism is the ideology of a prominent country like India. Nationalism and internationalism are prominent throughout the world.

## 6.11 KEY TERMS

- **Ideology:** Translation of science of ideas.
- **Liber:** A Latin word which means freedom.
- **Laissez-faire:** Means 'Let along'.
- **Utopian:** Imagined perfect place.
- **Dialectica:** Investigation of truths in philosophy.
- **Proletariat:** Class of industrial and manual workers.

## 6.12 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

### Short Answer Questions

1. Meaning of Liberalism
2. Classical Liberalism.
3. Modern Liberalism
4. Meaning of Conservatism
5. Types of Dictatorship

### Long Answer Questions

1. Discuss the meaning and features of Liberalism.
2. Discuss the meaning and features of Classical Liberalism.
3. Discuss the meaning and features of Modern Liberalism.
4. Write an essay on Conservatism.
5. Write an essay on Constitutionalism and Democracy.
6. Discuss briefly Totalitarian Dictatorship.
7. Discuss briefly Nazism as a political ideology.

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### ACTIVITY

Provide two real-life examples to prove how:

1. "State is a necessary evil." Examine.
2. "Democracy and socialism are complementary." Examine.
3. "The history of all hitherto existing society in the history of class struggle." Examine.
4. "Withering away of state." Is it possible?
5. "Totalitarianism is the extreme form of authoritarianism." Evaluate.

### CASE STUDY

#### Democratic Socialism in India

In Democratic Socialism, democracy is the method and socialism is the substance. In India, not only democracy is the method of socialism, but socialism is the inevitable result of the progress of democracy. The Government of India adopted the principles of democratic socialism to solve the problem of poverty without a bloody revolution. It introduced five year plans and tried to implement the directive principles of state policy to make India a welfare state.

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## Chapter 7 Forms of Government

### Learning Objectives:

This unit devotes discussion on democracy and dictatorship, parliamentary and presidential form of Government and unitary and federal system. After studying this unit, you should be able to understand:

- Democracy and Dictatorship: Meaning, distinction, merits and demerits
- Parliamentary and Presidential: Meaning, distinction, merits and demerits
- Unitary and Federal: Meaning, distinction, merits and demerits

### Structure:

- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Democracy
  - 7.2.1 Meaning and Definitions
  - 7.2.2 Principles or Features of Democracy
  - 7.2.3 Types or Forms of Democracy
  - 7.2.4 Merits of Democracy
  - 7.2.5 Demerits of Democracy
  - 7.2.6 Conditions Necessary for the Successful Working of Democracy
- 7.3 Dictatorship
  - 7.3.1 Meaning
  - 7.3.2 Characteristics of Dictatorship
  - 7.3.3 Types of Dictatorship
  - 7.3.4 Causes of Growth of Dictatorship
  - 7.3.5 Merits of Dictatorship
  - 7.3.6 Demerits of Dictatorship
  - 7.3.7 Distinction between Democracy and Dictatorship
- 7.4 Parliamentary Form of Government
  - 7.4.1 Meaning of Parliamentary Form of Government
  - 7.4.2 Characteristics or Features of Parliamentary Form of Government
  - 7.4.3 Merits of Parliamentary Form of Government
  - 7.4.4 Demerits of Parliamentary Form of Government

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- 7.5 Presidential Form of Government
  - 7.5.1 Meaning of Presidential Form of Government
  - 7.5.2 Features of Presidential Form of Government
  - 7.5.3 Merits of Presidential Form of Government
  - 7.5.4 Demerits of Presidential Form of Government
  - 7.5.5 Distinction between Parliamentary and Presidential Systems of Government
- 7.6 Unitary Form of Government
  - 7.6.1 Meaning of Unitary Form of Government
  - 7.6.2 Merits of Unitary Form of Government
  - 7.6.3 Demerits of Unitary Form of Government
- 7.7 Federal Form of Government
  - 7.7.1 Meaning of Federal Form of Government
  - 7.7.2 Formation of a Federation
  - 7.7.3 Features of Federation
  - 7.7.4 Pre-requisites of a Federation
  - 7.7.5 Distinction between Unitary and Federal Forms of Government
  - 7.7.6 Merits of Federalism
  - 7.7.7 Demerits of Federalism
- 7.8 Answers to 'Check Your Progress'
- 7.9 Summary
- 7.10 Key Terms
- 7.11 Self-Assessment Questions and Exercises
- 7.12 References

## 7.1 INTRODUCTION

Government is the political organization of the state. It is the government institution in charge of determining and regulating common policies and affairs. The government is the vehicle through which the state wills and acts. There would be chaos and anarchy without governance, and the state would eventually be disbanded. It is only through the forms and functions of government that states are recognized and known. Due to the diversity of social, economic and political forces, different forms of government are obtained in different states.

Classification of governments presents certain difficulties. The earliest attempt to classify forms of governments was made by Aristotle. His classification is based on two criteria: (i) the number of people who genuinely wield ultimate power in the state and (ii) the purpose for which supreme power is wielded. He divided the government into three categories: monarchy, tyranny, and aristocracy. Oligarchy,

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politics, and democracy are all terms used to describe a system of government. Modern writers such as Marriot and Leacock, on the other hand, found Aristotle's taxonomy to be inadequate. Modern writers followed different criteria to classify modern governments.

One criterion to classify the governments is the scope which the people have in participating in the political process as well as the extent to which is responsible to the people. On this basis, governments are classified as democratic and authoritarian.

The relationship between the legislature and the executive in the running of a government is the second principle. Governments are divided into two types based on this classification: parliamentary and presidential.

The third principle of classification is the division of powers as between two sets of governments determined by the constitution of the state. On this basis, governments are classified as federal or unitary.

## 7.2 DEMOCRACY

Democracy has been a magic word in history in the name of which a number of revolutions have been launched. As a concept, it began in ancient Greek city-states. During 17<sup>th</sup> century by the Puritan Movement in England, it received universal appeal. Then the American War of Independence and the French Revolution made it popular. After that, democracy became the cherished ideal of millions of people all over the world and the universal creed of every human association.

Democracy was initially a political principle which later included social, economic and ethical ideals, and was widely accepted as a popular style of governance and manner of life. Democracy is now more than just a system of government; it is also a state and a social order.

### 7.2.1 Meaning and Definitions

Democracy is a form of government in which the people, either directly or through representatives elected by them, exercise governing power over the state. Literally, the term democracy means 'the rule or power of the people' as it is derived from the Greek words '*demos*' meaning 'power'.

Abraham Lincoln defines it as "the government of the people, by the people and for the people." Prof. Seeley says, "Democracy is a government in which everyone has a share." Prof. Dicey observes that it is a "form of government in which the governing body is comparatively a large fraction of the population." In the words of Lord Bryce, "Democracy is that form of government in which the ruling power of the state is legally vested, not in any particular class or classes but in the members of the community as a whole." J.S. Mill stated that the democratic form of government is one in which "the whole people or some numerous portion of them, exercise the governing power by deputies periodically elected by them." A modern political scientist Robert Dahl says: "Democracy is concerned with that

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political process by which ordinary citizens exert a relatively high degree of control over their leaders.”

### 7.2.2 Principles or Features of Democracy

Democracy embodies the following principles or features:

1. **Popular sovereignty:** In a democracy, supreme power of the state is vested in the people as a whole, not in any particular person or class. It recognizes the supremacy of the popular will on basic questions of social policy and direction. The government is ultimately responsible to the people. By adopting a system of representations through elections, it is possible for the mass of people to share in the exercise of sovereign power or to exercise the functions of government.
2. **Political equality:** Democracy assumes political equality and opposes any one particular class possessing special political privileges. It entails equality before the law, equal protection under the law, equal opportunity, and the absence of discrimination based on caste, creed, sex, social rank, and other factors.
3. **Popular consultation:** In a democratic government, institutions must be established by which the public's opinion on various issues can be communicated to public officials. Governmental measures should be subjected to the opinion, choice and assessment of the people. The legislature is the most essential institution for gauging, crystallising, and expressing public opinion.
4. **Majority rule:** It indicates that the actual government is run in accordance with the views of the majority of the people as it is impossible to obtain unanimity on all matters. Representation is only an approximate way of expressing the will of the people, and the majority rule is the practical means of giving effect to it.
5. **Tolerance:** The majority must be tolerant enough to accept and appreciate the minority's viewpoints. The majority has a right to rule and the minority has the right to express its views. Democracy is a government by free discussion and criticism. Without tolerance, democracy degenerates into despotism and authoritarianism.
6. **Political liberty:** People should be assured enjoyment of their fundamental freedoms. Equal voting and election rights for all normal adults; equal eligibility for executive and judicial office; and freedom of speech, expression, movement, and association are all examples of political liberty. These rights enable the citizens to take active part in public affairs.
7. **Rule by consent:** The form of government should be supported by general consent. Consent, not force or compulsion, is the foundation of democracy. It is a system in which bullet is replaced by the ballot. Force

is used sparingly as a minimum. Various problems and grievances are resolved peacefully through dialogue, debate and discussion.

8. **Open society:** Democracy implies a free, open society. Government is conducted in the public view openly. People voice their assessment openly. Associations of individuals are formed spontaneously. Political parties are formed freely to represent different shades of opinion. A large degree of fundamental freedoms is allowed to the people.
9. **Change of government through constitutional means:** Change of government, i.e., the holders of political power is possible only through legal, peaceful and constitutional method and not by force or violence. Periodical elections are the normal instruments to effect a change of government.

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### 7.2.3 Types or Forms of Democracy

Democracy has been broadly divided into direct or pure and indirect or representative.

**Direct Democracy:** Direct or pure form of democracy expresses the will of the people directly in mass meetings. People assemble at a certain place for the election of public officials, voting taxes, making laws and policies for the state. This form of democracy was prevalent in the small city-states of ancient Greece and Rome. The adult male members of the community met in the Assembly and decided important public issues. Today, direct democracy may be found in four small Swiss cantons where people assemble and elect cantonal officers and adopt legislation. However, certain devices or methods of direct democracy have been accepted in the constitutional system of Switzerland. Referendum, Initiative, and Recall are three of these devices. Referendum refers to the process of putting legislative or constitutional issues to a public vote after they have been considered by the legislature. If a majority of the voters approves the bill in question, it becomes law. By 'initiative', a specified number of people can propose a law for the consideration of the legislature. Recall allows a constituency's majority to recall their legislator if they are dissatisfied with his or her performance.

**Indirect Democracy:** Indirect or representative democracy is the order in contemporary states. In modern times, huge population and the large size of the states make it impossible for the people to take direct participation on public affairs. Hence, democracy has assumed the indirect or representative form. Under this form, people elect their representatives or delegates periodically and they carry on the government. In Britain, USA, France, India and several other states, there is indirect democracy.

### 7.2.4 Merits of Democracy

1. Democracy is considered to be the best form of government because it reposes trust in the people's capacity to govern and involves them in the political process. It makes government responsible to the governed and this makes for a policy aimed at the welfare of all classes of people.

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2. It is a method of government that is based on logic. It is founded on the rational notion that no man is perfect. Every guy is prone to making errors. The rulers are subject to a continuous process of discussion and scrutiny by the people. This provides a corrective to abuse of power by the government.
3. Democracy respects the dignity of human personality. Every individual is treated with respect. It gives people an assurance that the will of everyone is duly considered and that no one shall be neglected in what is done by the government.
4. The idea of equality underpins democracy. In the eyes of the law, everyone is equal, and no one is above the law. The sacred principle of democracy is “one man, one vote.” All men are legally equal. Democracy aims at social equality which implies the absence of special privileges based on caste, class, creed, sex, etc. It tries to reduce the wide differences of wealth and income among people.
5. It secures the rights and interests of all individuals. All men have the freedom and fundamental rights that are necessary for the development of their personalities. It sees the state as existing for the sake of the people rather than the people for the sake of the state.
6. Democracy is an efficient and responsible form of government. Periodic election, popular control and popular responsibility ensures efficiency in the government. It allows free expression of public opinion and criticism of governmental policies and actions.
7. As compared with other forms, democracy is more stable. It is not liable to frequent revolutions. It is a government by common consent. A change in the popular will is reflected in a change of government which takes place peacefully.
8. Democracy has high educative value. It educates the citizen and gives him a voice in policy-making. It is a large-scale experiment in public education. As it allows the people active participation in the operation of government, it stimulates their mind and develops in them political consciousness.
9. Democracy promotes a better form of national character. Qualities like self-help, initiative and sense of responsibility develop under this government. It ennobles the people and is conducive to the development of all-round personality.
10. Democracy promotes patriotism, i.e., high-minded love for one’s country. Governments are changed from time to time by legal and constitutional means without taking resort to violence or force. It relies primarily on methods of persuasion and discussion. In short, it is the only type of governance that allows order and progress to coexist.

### 7.2.5 Demerits of Democracy

Democracy has its weakness, too.

1. In practice, democracy is the rule by the average men and the irresponsible multitude. It emphasizes quantity rather than quality; votes are counted rather than weighted. Mediocre, average and incompetent men assume power, and the people merely accept the opinions of their leaders.
2. Democracy suffers from the evils of party politics. Political parties, which are necessary for democracy to function, deceive the people and lower moral standards. Bryce referred to the 'money power in politics' whereby electors, legislators, administrative officials and judicial officials fall victims to the easy lure of money, illicit gain, bribery and corruption.
3. The French scholar Faguet has referred to democracy as the cult of incompetence. It is a government by amateur politicians who are generally ignorant and inefficient. Demagogues become leaders because an appeal to emotions and sentiments has a greater sway over people's minds than to reason and intelligence. Competent men seldom desire to enter the game of politics, in a democracy, continues to be the game of the second best.
4. Democracy is slow-moving. It is prone to indecision, feebleness and instability. As the democratic process involves continued discussions and deliberations, it is not suitable to take prompt decisions in crises and emergencies.
5. Democracy is criticized as being wasteful and extravagant. It involves frequent elections and organization of public opinion. Further, new departments and posts are multiplied to absorb the supporters of the party in power.
6. Democracy often results in the despotism and tyranny of the majority. Often, a bare majority suppresses the opinions of an enlightened minority and the opposition parties, however, wise they may be.
7. Democracy suffers from the evils of localism and parochialism. Local and regional feelings often tend to obscure and defeat the interests of the whole nation.
8. Critics point out that fickleness and emotionalism are at a premium in a democracy. Propaganda can easily influence the opinions of the masses, and it is difficult for any ordinary citizen to ascertain facts due to growing complexity of life.
9. Democracy has been characterized as an unscientific dogma. Its assumption that each man possesses intelligence and sense of right and wrong is incorrect. It ignores the physical and mental inequality among men.

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Above all, democracy is a challenging system of governance to implement. It necessitates citizens' active participation and constant vigilance. According to Bryce, civic ability is comprised of three qualities: intelligence, self-control, and conscience. In practise, most democracies have failed to live up to these expectations.

A comparative study of the merits and defects shows that democracy has more merits than demerits. Despite its weaknesses, democracy continues to be the best of all forms of government.

### 7.2.6 Conditions Necessary for the Successful Working of Democracy

The successful operation of democracy necessitates the fulfilment of the following conditions:

1. People should have faith in the fundamental principles of democracy. They should agree upon a number of axioms. 'Agreement to differ' is the soul of democracy. Everyone's opinion must be respected and differences must be accommodated. People should abide by the decisions of the majority. There should be mutual tolerance and a spirit of compromise.
2. Democracy necessitates a high level of individual honesty and integrity. People should have a high level of political intelligence, a lifelong interest in public affairs, and a willingness to accept and follow the majority's judgments. People in all walks of life should be above meanness, self-interest and dishonesty.
3. Spread of knowledge through a scheme of universal educations is essential to eliminate ignorance and illiteracy among the masses. Education would lead to a greater sense of public awareness, making of right decisions and other privileges in the right manner.
4. Democracy necessitates the people's active participation in government processes. People should be active, well-informed and vigilant. 'Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty,' as the saying goes. People should stand up to preserve their rights, and protest against the tyranny and injustice of the government.
5. Economic security is an essential condition of democracy. Every individual must be secured the minimum needs of civilized life. Poverty, want and unemployment hinder the free participation of people in public affairs. Wide differences between the rich and the poor must be eliminated so that the rich and the powerful would not dominate the poor and the deprived.
6. Political parties should be democratically organized. They must provide opportunity for maximum participation of the rank and file in policy-making decisions. A few should not monopolize control of the party.
7. A strong and responsible opposition is essential to check the abuse of power by the government. The opposition parties should attract the attention of the people whenever the ruling party tries to overstep its



limits. Usually, a bi-party system ensures a strong and effective opposition.

8. An independent and responsible press ensures the healthy operation of democracy. The press can properly stimulate and reflect public opinion. Press can expose people to accurate information. In other words, the newspapers should make people properly informed.
9. It is necessary that government in a democracy should not only be responsible to the people, but it should also have their mandate periodically renewed. It is, therefore, essential that government should be based on the widest possible free and fair franchise regularly held periodically.
10. Leaders in a democracy must be bold, active and honest. They must inspire the people to a spirit of public service and right thinking on the main problems and issues of the day.
11. Force and coercion should be used only in exceptional cases. Minimum use of force enables the people and parties to express their views freely and boldly. Democracy is a government by persuasion, discussion and criticism.
12. Lastly, democracy can operate successfully only when there is certain agreement among the people on fundamentals. All individuals and political parties should be law abiding, and believe in the constitutional and democratic method of bringing about changes in government and other spheres of life. People must be democratic-minded and must respect the principles of democracy. Democracy has been correctly compared to a game that can only be played if the players follow the rules.

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### 7.3 DICTATORSHIP

Dictatorship is a form of government, which is a rival of democracy and its principles are quite opposite to those of democracy.

Democracy and dictatorship are antithetical concepts. They are contrasting terms. Dictatorship is commonly considered as the negation of democracy. Democracy is often defended and advanced as a safeguard against the dangers of dictatorship.

#### 7.3.1 Meaning

Dictatorship is the rule of one man or one party exercising absolute power. The dictator exercises unlimited power and is not responsible to the people. It is different from absolute monarchy in the sense that the dictator comes to power either by force or popular support, but not by any hereditary right. Neumann observes: "By dictatorship, we understand the rule of a person or a group of persons who arrogate to themselves and monopolize power in the state, exercising it without restraint." According to Ford, "Dictatorship is the assumption of extralegal authority by the head of the state."

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### 7.3.2 Characteristics of Dictatorship

Modern dictatorship exhibits a number of characteristics:

1. It is based on force. Force creates and sustains it.
2. It is permanent in nature. The dictator aims at perpetuating his authority on the active support of an associated class or party.
3. It is totalitarian. Political authority exercises total control over the lives of individuals.
4. In dictatorship, there is ideological uniformity. It is one party rule. There is no scope for political dissent.
5. The dictator and his party form an elite class which is above the citizens. It is based on hero-worship.
6. It is authoritarian. It exalts the authority of the dictator. The dictator is not responsible to the people. His authority remains unchallenged.
7. Lastly, the dictator is considered infallible. It is supposed that he cannot commit mistakes. The people are taught to render complete obedience to his commands.

### 7.3.3 Types of Dictatorship

Dictatorship is of two types, namely, traditional or old and modern or new. Dictatorship was a brief political expedient in ancient Rome to get through a crisis or an emergency. When the emergency ended, the tyrant had no choice but to relinquish power. Again, the Roman dictatorship was based on legality and constitutionalism. As MacIver writes: "The Roman dictatorship was a constitutional device under which the constitution was suspended during a crisis of the state." But the existence of absolute monarchy in ancient and medieval period was more or less arbitrary and different from the Roman dictatorship.

In contrast, modern dictatorship is an extra-constitutional development and is a product of force. Again, it tries to attain permanence and continues till it is overthrown. It is usually based on the active support of "an associated class."

Modern dictatorship may be classified into three different kinds, namely, military, fascist and communist. A military dictatorship comes into existence when an ambitious military general captures political power by *coup d'état* or the use of military force. He rules the state with the help of the armed forces. Napoleon of France, Ayub Khan Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq and Pervez Musharraf of Pakistan, Nasser of Egypt and Franco of Spain are examples of this type. After World War I, Mussolini in Italy and Hitler in Germany formed fascist dictatorships. They believed in one race, one nation, one state and one leader. The Fascist and Nazi parties, respectively, backed them. In communist countries like China, Vietnam, North Korea, Cuba and Albania, people have established the dictatorship of the proletariat or the collaboration of the working classes. The communist party is the only party recognized and enjoys monopoly of power in the state. There is thus party dictatorship. The party is the instrument of achieving a classless society.

### 7.3.4 Causes of Growth of Dictatorship

There are many causes giving rising to a perverted form of government like dictatorship. The following may be noted:

1. **Failure of democracy:** The political crisis in defeated countries due to multi-party system, the greed of politicians and the inefficiency of the administration contributed to the fall of moderate democratic form of government. Dictators came to prominence on the ashes of democracies to save the nations.
2. **To avenge the national humiliation:** After the World War I (1914-18), the Treaty of Versailles inflicted humiliation on Germany and other defeated nations. They had to pay heavy reparation charges and were subjected to disarmament programmes. Leaders like Mussolini in Italy and Hitler in Germany rose to power to redeem national pride.
3. **Rise of extraordinary leaders:** Leaders rise to power in response to crises the nation faces. Their charisma, heroism and extraordinary ability galvanize the passive masses who look to leaders as saviours in a crisis-ridden country. Mussolini, Hitler and De Gaulle are burning examples.
4. **Evils of capitalism:** Capitalism and democracy go together. The system of capitalism results in exploitation, inequality and injustice. It creates a class-divided society – the ‘haves’ and the ‘have-nots’. These evils pave the way for the emergence of dictators who promise to herald a new era for the exploited.

### 7.3.5 Merits of Dictatorship

1. Dictatorship provides a strong and stable government. By one party rule, dictatorship eliminates the sources of conflict and achieves national unity. There is no frequent change of government. The dictator can pursue long-term plans and policies.
2. Dictatorship is best suited to an emergency. It is fast-moving and unified. It can take prompt decision and quick action to tackle crises and emergencies.
3. Dictatorship achieves administrative efficiency and rapid economic progress. It brings strong and efficient men to power. Incompetent men have no place in the administration. All-round development is rapidly brought about. The spectacular economic and scientific development in Russia and China bear testimony to the efficiency of the dictatorial system.
4. Dictatorship is simple in structure and less expensive. The organization of a democratic government is complex and expensive. But in dictatorship, necessary posts and offices are not created to accommodate party supporters and followers.
5. A good and benevolent dictator contributes to the well-being of the community and the prosperity of the nation.

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### 7.3.6 Demerits of Dictatorship

1. Dictatorship glorifies power and brute force. Monopoly of power by one man or one party leads to tyranny.
2. It is irresponsible. The ruler does not respect public opinion. The dictator is liable to commit mistakes as he is not confronted with necessary checks. He becomes corrupt and misuses his power.
3. It suppresses people's liberty and rights. There is excessive control and regimentation of individual life. Freedom of speech expression and belief are not allowed. It attaches no value to the dignity of human personality.
4. Dictatorship is short-lived. It is not a popular form of government. Force is not permanent basis of the state. Without popular support, no government can last long.
5. It is aggressive, imperialistic and war-mongering. It pursues aggressive policies towards other states. It does not respect international peace and security. By preparing for war with other states, the dictator diverts people's attention from oppression at home.
6. It is a negation of democratic values. It does not believe in self-government. It stifles the political consciousness of the people. The people behave like dumb-driven cattle under the control and regimentation of the ruling clique. Thus, it is anti-people and anti-social.

### 7.3.7 Distinction between Democracy and Dictatorship

Democracy and dictatorship are antithetical political systems. They are opposed to each other. Failure of democracy has been the main cause for the rise of dictatorship. There are many points of difference between democracy and dictatorship.

1. Democracy is, in theory, a people's governance. In practise, this means that it is a majority-rule government. Power in a democracy is not vested in one person or one particular class of people. But in dictatorship, power is monopolized by one person or one party. The community as a whole is not the repository of power.
2. The ruling authority in a democracy does not control the whole life of man. Many spheres of life enjoy autonomy and remain outside the control of government. Dictatorship is totalitarian. It permits total control of human life by political authority. This is well expressed by Mussolini: "Everything for the state; nothing against the state; nothing outside the state."
3. Democracy permits ideological differences. Different political parties freely engage in peaceful competition to capture the government. Democracy allows political dissent and criticism of governmental policies and actions. Dictatorship, on the other hand, aims at ideological uniformity. It implies one party rule and suppression of opposition parties. In communist dictatorship, it is the communist party which rules.

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4. Democracy is based on the consent of the people. This consent is manifested in periodic elections to choose the government. It is a government by discussion and criticism. Dictatorship is based on force and fear. There is no popular check on the government. The governing class glorifies power and ultimately grows despotic.
5. Democracy is based on the principle of equality. No person or class is given special privilege. It checks the permanent monopoly of power through the free working of alternative parties. The governing class in a dictatorship forms an elite class which enjoys a special privilege. This class perpetuates its hegemony in the state by force and coercion.
6. Democracy fundamentally is a responsible government. It is answerable to the people through the elected representatives for all acts of omission and commission. Dictatorship is essentially authoritarian. Power and authority are exalted. Personality cult and hero-worship are cultivated. The ruler is not responsible to the people.
7. Democracy is based on the rational premise that no man is infallible. Every man is liable to commit mistakes. Decisions are reached by a process of free discussion. The rulers admit their faults and errors. On the other hand, the dictator and his party claim that they are always right in their policies and actions.
8. Democracy respects the worth of human personality. Development of individual personality is the ultimate goal of democracy. Men enjoy liberty and rights in a democracy. In dictatorship, rights depend upon the mercy of the governing class. It puts more emphasis on duties and obligations of the people. The people have no right to criticize and control the government.
9. Democracy has high educative value. It is a large-scale experiment in public educations. Self-government develops in people political consciousness. Dictatorship suppresses all forms of political activity on the part of the people. It makes people docile and servile.
10. Democracy thrives in an atmosphere of peace. It promotes friendly relations among nations. It respects international law. Dictatorship is aggressive, imperialistic and war-mongering. It believes in a show of strength. The aggressive policies of dictators have been the cause of war in history. They glorify their nation and create in their people hatred for other nations. Dictatorship is an enemy of internationalism.

## 7.4 PARLIAMENTARY FORM OF GOVERNMENT

### 7.4.1 Meaning of Parliamentary Form of Government

Modern democratic governments are categorised as parliamentary or cabinet governments or presidential or non-parliamentary governments based on the relationship between the executive and the legislative. In the words of Garner,

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“Cabinet government is 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 political policies and acts, and immediately or ultimately responsible to the electorate, while the titular or nominal executive – the chief of state – occupies a position of irresponsibility.”

This form of government first originated in Great Britain in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It is now prevalent in a number of states like Canada, Australia, India, Japan, Belgium, Holland, Denmark and Sweden.

### 7.4.2 Characteristics or Features of Parliamentary Form of Government

The characteristics of parliamentary form of government make its meaning more clear.

1. **Dual executive:** A clear separation is made between the nominal and real executive in parliamentary government. The nominal executive is the state's leader. His functions are mainly formal and ceremonial. He could be a hereditary ruler, like the British King or Queen, or a democratically elected President, like India's President. However, he simply has notional authority. He has all of the constitutional authorities and privileges in theory, but he doesn't use any of them in fact. His authority is '*de jure*'.

The cabinet holds the real executive power. It maintains power as long as the legislature has trust in it. Members of the cabinet are members of the legislature.

2. **Close relationship between the ministry and the legislature:** The ministers are both the members of the legislature and heads of the administrative departments. The ministry enjoys a double capacity, namely, administrators and legislators. They introduce government measures and bills, pilot and defend them in the legislature and see that they are passed. They provide leadership to the legislature. As heads of the government departments, they enforce the policies and laws passed in the legislature.
3. **Political homogeneity:** All the ministers are usually the members of the same political party. They follow a common policy, profess a common ideology and are backed by a comfortable majority inside the legislature. The bond of party unity enables them to work as a team. If no single party is able to secure majority in the legislature, a working majority may be obtained by the combination of like-minded parties which is known as a coalition. But a coalition is, generally, not stable.
4. **Collective Responsibility:** The Ministry works like a team. All policy decisions are collectively taken. Collective responsibility implies in the words of Lord Morley that “every important piece of departmental policy is taken to commit the entire cabinet and its members stand or fall together.” Ministers may differ in the cabinet meeting but once a decision is taken or a policy is approved, all must support it. As a result, the

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Ministry's official policies and activities are jointly accountable to the lower or popular house of the legislature. Various techniques, such as a vote of no confidence, a vote of censure, an adjournment motion, a cut motion, and bill debates, are used to enforce this responsibility. The Ministry continues in power as long as it has the support of the legislature's majority.

5. **Ministerial responsibility:** The ministers are personally accountable to the legislature for their omissions and commissions. For his department, a minister is accountable to the legislature. He needs to be a member of the legislature, and he needs to answer to it.
6. **Rigidity of party discipline:** Parliamentary government is a party government. The cabinet remains in office so long as the majority in the legislature supports its policies and actions. Strict discipline and unity are enforced in the ruling party to ensure the stability of the ministry.
7. **Leadership of the prime minister:** Prime Minister is the leader of the majority party and head of the ministry. He is crucial to the ministry's formation, life, and death. He is the government's leader, and supervises and coordinates the work of different ministers. He leads the ministry, the legislature and the nation. His resignation entails the dissolution of the ministry. He is aptly described as "the keystone of the cabinet arch."

#### 7.4.3 Merits of Parliamentary Form of Government

1. **Harmonious relation between executive and legislature:** The parliamentary system's greatest strength is that it promotes cooperation and harmony between the executive and legislative parts of government. From beginning to conclusion, the law-making and money-granting authorities, on the one hand, and the law-enforcement and money-spending authorities, on the other, work in tandem. It ensures steady and orderly progress in the work of the government, and avoids conflicts and deadlocks.
2. **Responsible government:** It makes the real executive responsible. It is accountable to the legislature for any omissions or commissions. The ministry remains in power as long as it has the support and confidence of the legislature's majority. Through the legislature, the ministry is ultimately responsible to the electorate.
3. **Good Leadership Possible:** This system provides ample scope to men of political genius and ability. Ministers are the colleagues of the prime minister. They are also important leaders of their party. The prime minister gives freedom to his ministers in the administration of their respective departments. Thus, ministers get opportunity to exhibit their ability.
4. **Flexible and Elastic:** Eminent authorities like Bagehot and Dicey extol the flexibility of the cabinet system. Flexibility is an element of strength in times of national emergency and crisis. As Bagehot pointed out, the

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people can “choose a ruler for the occasion”, who may steer the nation through a dangerous crisis. Change of leadership can be brought about and general elections postponed in times of crisis without any difficulty. In Britain, Winston Churchill was selected as prime minister during the second world war when Chamberlain was proved incapable.

5. **Promotion of National Integration:** It inculcates the spirit of national integration in the minds of the people by accommodating the claims of the various cultural groups and regional interest.
6. **Education Value:** It can be said to have a high educational value. Without organised political parties, it will fail. Parties stimulate, organise and express public opinion. People become politically aware as a result of the party structure, election process, and propaganda. It provides a training ground for young politicians to be groomed to office.
7. **Government by Criticism:** It is, in essence, a government based on criticism. The government is formed by the majority party, while the opposition is formed by the minority party. Constant criticism of the opposition keeps the government on the proper track and makes it responsive to public opinion.

### 7.4.4 Demerits of Parliamentary Form of Government

1. **Violation of the Principles of Separation of Powers:** It is claimed by critics that it contradicts the separation of powers idea. When the executive and legislative powers are combined in the same person, the result is tyranny and a loss of liberty for the people.
2. **Cabinet Dictatorship:** Cabinet dictatorship is the result of a violation of the idea of separation of powers. The cabinet with a stable majority in the legislature can act arbitrarily. It may flout public opinion and tax the people heavily with the support of the majority party.
3. **Governmental Instability:** It is insecure since its term is determined by the mood of the legislature’s majority. Under the multi-party system, the government becomes weak and unstable. Uncertainty in office tenure prevents the ruling party from pursuing a long-term and consistent programme.
4. **Government by Amateurs:** Ministers are appointed based on party ideology rather than on their merits and abilities. So, they have to depend heavily on bureaucrats and technical experts for departmental administration and policy planning. The tremendous load of legislative activity has once again distracted ministers from their executive duties..
5. **Less Time for Administration:** The ministers spend a lot of time in legislative measures and become tempted to follow populist measures under pressure. This is largely true because they have to keep the legislature and the voters in good humour. All these leave them with less time for administrative measures, and as a result, the efficiency of the Government declines.



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6. **Delay during Crises:** It lacks promptness and vigour in taking immediate action in times of emergency and crisis. The whole cabinet is to be consulted before taking action. Sometimes, approval by the legislature become imperative. All this leads to delay in tackling emergencies.
7. **Interparty Conflict:** Charges and counter charges are levelled by the ruling party and the opposition parties to gain control of the administration. Opposition parties oppose for the sake of opposition. Irresponsible criticism proves dangerous to national unity and prestige.
8. **Rigid Party Discipline:** Rigid party discipline reduces parliamentary government into a party government. Political power is monopolised by the majority party for a fixed period and efficient men of the other parties are excluded from a share in the control and management of government. Monopoly of power might lead to “cabinet dictatorship”.

## 7.5 PRESIDENTIAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT

### 7.5.1 Meaning of Presidential Form of Government

In a parliamentary type of government, there are two kinds of executives – nominal and real. But the executive in the presidential type differs from that of parliamentary type in the sense that there is only one executive which is the real one. The real executive is independent of the legislature in two ways. (1) In terms of tenure, the president’s executive branch is independent of the legislature and (2) it is irresponsible to the legislature in respect to political policies.

In a presidential system, the head of the state is also head of the government. “The term ‘Presidential’ has been chosen because in this system the offices of the government and the head of the state are combined in President”. According to Garner, “Presidential government, as opposed to cabinet or parliamentary government, is a system in which the executive (including both the head of state and his ministers) is constitutionally independent of the legislature in terms of the length of his or her tenure and irresponsible to it in terms of his or her political policies.”

### 7.5.2 Features of Presidential Form of Government

The presidential form of governance has the following distinguishing characteristics:

1. **The Real Executive is the Head of the State:** There is only one executive in the presidential system, and that executive is real. The genuine executive is the state’s chief executive as well as the state’s leader. The President of the United States of America is an excellent example of a true executive.
2. **Elected by the People:** The president is elected representative of the people and enjoys fixed tenure under the constitution. He cannot be

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removed from office through a vote of no confidence or censure, but he can be removed through the rigorous process of impeachment.

3. **Not a Member of the Legislature:** He is not a member of the legislature, nor chosen by it. He does not take part in the debates and proceedings of the legislature. He remains outside it and is not responsible to it for his political policies. The legislature has some indirect methods of controlling the chief executive.
4. **Fixed Term:** The presidential executive enjoys fixed tenure. Before the expiry of his term, he does not quit office. The president of USA enjoys a term of four years. He does not depend upon the support of the legislature to remain in power. In very exceptional cases, he may be impeached by the legislature.
5. **Not Responsible to the Legislature:** The president is not responsible to the legislature for any policy or initiative. The members of the president's cabinet are not members of the legislature, and therefore are not accountable to it. As a result, the executive is free of legislative control and direction.
6. **Separation of Powers:** Between the three branches of government, there is a separation of powers. The president cannot be removed from office by the legislature. The president cannot dissolve the legislature. In an ideal presidential form like that of USA, the executive, legislative and judiciary are the co-ordinate branches, each exercising checks against the other two to maintain balance of power.
7. **Cabinet is Subordinate to the President:** The president nominates a cabinet of his choice. He picks up men according to his will. They are his underlings. Their lord or supervisor is the president. They are at least "a body of advisors" to the president. He may dismiss any member of the cabinet at his will. They are responsible to him and not to the legislature.

### 7.5.3 Merits of Presidential Form of Government

1. **Representative Character:** Without being responsible to the legislature, it retains a representative character. The president is chosen by the people at large. Popular election of the chief executive makes him responsible to the electorate for all his policies and actions.
2. **Stable Government:** It provides for a stable executive which does not depend upon the fluctuating will of the legislature. Fixed tenure enables the chief executive to plan for the whole term with confidence and effectively implement the same.
3. **Prompt Decision and Strong Action:** The president, being a single executive, can take prompt decision in contrast to parliamentary executive, because he himself is the decision-maker. He can take prompt decision and strong action in emergencies. Further, the chief executive and his cabinet, being free from legislative work, devote all time and energy to administrative affairs.

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4. **Capable Men are Selected:** The president is free to choose the members of his cabinet. He selects the best among men available in the state with whose help he can run the administration in the best possible manner. He selects on the basis of merit.
5. **Suitable for States with Diversities:** The presidential system is best suited to countries with a diversified population with a variety of interests and lifestyles. Such conditions cannot ensure the emergence of a strong and stable majority party which is necessary for the success of parliamentary government.
6. **No Dominance of the Party:** The President is free from the control of the party. After a president is elected, he leads the party, instead of being led by the party. Hence, party influence over the executive in a presidential system is not dominant.

#### 7.5.4 Demerits of Presidential Form of Government

1. **Conflicts among Three Organs:** Separation of the three branches of government creates conflicts and frictions among them. Deadlocks and working at cross purposes between the executive and the legislature hampers efficient and smooth working of the government.
2. **Legislature may be Bottleneck in Policy Execution:** The executive may require certain legislation for execution of its policy. The legislature may not equip the executive with the required legislation. Some American Presidents have experienced such difficulties.
3. **Dictatorial Power:** In presidential system, the executive can work arbitrarily without the fear of the legislature. There is no effective enforcement of responsibility. In contrast to the parliamentary system, there is no ongoing accountability of the executive to the legislature's representatives of the people.
4. **Difficulty in Pursuing Foreign Policy:** All treaties and foreign policies are to be ratified by the legislature or any one house. Initiatives and actions taken by the president may not be ratified by the legislature. In such cases, the president cannot follow a forceful and vigorous foreign policy.
5. **Rigid System:** The nation must continue to support the president once he has been elected. People cannot choose a leader for extraordinary occasions. Presidential elections were held twice in the United States during WWII, while general elections in England were postponed by an Act of Parliament.

In spite of the above disadvantages, the presidential system has worked well in the USA. The president has assumed the leadership of his party and the nation. When the president and the majority members in the legislature belong to the same party, there is considerable harmony between the two branches of government.

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### 7.5.5 Distinction between Parliamentary and Presidential Systems of Government

1. A nominal executive - head of state – is present in the parliamentary form, in addition to the real executive, such as a hereditary king in England or an elected president in India.

The Presidential system is characterised by the supremacy of the president who functions both as the real and the titular head of the state.

2. The council of ministers can be removed from office under the parliamentary form by a vote of no confidence in the lower chamber of the legislature.

In the presidential form, neither the president nor his secretaries can be removed from office by a vote of no-confidence in the legislature. Thus, the executive is independent of the legislature.

3. The Prime Minister, who is the leader of the majority party in the legislature, appoints the Council of Ministers in the parliamentary system, however all ministers are technically appointed by the head of state.

In the presidential system, the secretaries are chosen by the President, who has no direct connection with the legislative wing of his party.

4. In the parliamentary system, the executive and legislative wings are harmonious and there is close co-ordination between the two.

The essential feature of the presidential system is the separation of powers between the executive and the legislatures, and operation of the theory of checks and balances. This sometimes leads to conflicts and deadlocks.

5. The ministers under the parliamentary system directly participate in the legislature and thus can provide effective leadership which is denied to counterparts in the presidential system.

6. The establishment and functioning of political parties are essential to the proper operation of the parliamentary system, whereas the successful operation of the presidential system depends on the President's personality, and his ability and skill in controlling the party.

7. The ministers under the parliamentary system, because of collective and individual responsibility, do have a better sense of responsibility than their counterparts under the presidential system because the secretaries are accountable to the President who is their boss.

8. Under the parliamentary system, there is sufficient scope to groom budding politicians who can shoulder power in course of time, but the presidential system does not provide such opportunities because the president can appoint any one in his cabinet.

9. The parliamentary system provides opportunity to change the leadership if occasions demand to meet new situations. Change of leadership in the presidential system is possible only during the presidential election.

10. The presidential system provides a strong and stable government but this is not so in the parliamentary system particularly when the Prime Minister is weak or when there is a coalition government.

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Comparatively speaking, the parliamentary form ensures the continuous responsibility of the real executive to the legislature. It has also the merit of flexibility. Change of leadership is possible in times of crisis and emergency. The presidential system, on the other hand, has the advantages of stability and efficiency. The executive is stable and could pursue policies with strength and vigour. As the chief executive and cabinet secretaries are free from legislative work, they devote all time and energy to administrative affairs. The answer to the question, “which is better –parliamentary or presidential” – would be that each of the two systems has its own advantages for the country where it prevails. Circumstances vary from place to place, and therefore, no system of government can be good for all countries and at all times.

## 7.6 UNITARY FORM OF GOVERNMENT

### 7.6.1 Meaning of Unitary Form of Government

Governments are distinguished between unitary and federal on the basis of the authority which divided governmental powers between different levels. A unitary government is one in which the national government wields complete power and it can create subdivisions and delegates such power to the regional (or local) authorities of these subdivisions as it thinks fit. The constitution of the state vests supreme power in a single central government. Finer defines it as “one in which all the authority and powers are lodged in a single centre whose will and agents are legally omnipotent over the whole area.” According to Dicey, “a unitary government is the habitual exercise of supreme legislative authority by one central power.” Supremacy of the central legislature is the essence of the unitary form of government. There is only one government for the whole state, which enjoys all supreme governmental powers. A unitary state is subdivided into smaller units for administrative convenience. The national or central government is the source of authority for these smaller units or local governments. The central government has the authority to increase, diminish, or remove their powers. They are merely the agents of the national government, which can create or alter them as it sees fit. They have no original power under the constitution; they exist on the mercy of the central government. Thus, the local governments have neither independent existence nor independent power in a unitary state. Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan Afghanistan, Iran, Holland, New Zealand, etc. have unitary form of government.

### 7.6.2 Merits of Unitary Form of Government

1. The main advantage of unitary government is that it ensures national homogeneity in law, policy, and administration. There is no room for disagreement between the central government and the regional or local

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administrations due to the supremacy of a single central authority. The governmental machinery becomes unified and integrated.

2. Concentration of governmental powers ensures a strong government. There is no conflict of authority, working at cross purposes and duplication of work or machinery. The power of the unitary state is particularly evident in questions of national defence and foreign affairs.
3. It is a single structure and economical because of absence of many legislatures and administrative authorities as are found in a federation.
4. Flexibility is another merit of the unitary government. The supreme central government could bring about changes in the constitution to keep it abreast of new experiments. It can easily modify the powers of the local governments as and when need arises.
5. A unitary system best promotes national unity and integration. Citizens owe their allegiance to the national government. Unified administration provides safeguard against divisive and disruptive forces.
6. Unitary system is particularly suited to a small country with a homogeneous population as in England and France.

### 7.6.3 Demerits of Unitary Form of Government

1. The main defect of the unitary government is that local interests suffer in the absence of strong and independent local governments. Central government often lacks the necessary knowledge of local needs and problems. As a result, local interests suffer.
2. Centralised authority destroys local initiative and liberty. People managing local governments cannot tackle local problems on their own initiative without the approval of the central government.
3. A unitary government is overburdened with work. This results in delay, red tapism and corruption in the administration.
4. Concentration of authority might lead to the despotism of the central government. Laski rightly observes: "For only when power is distributed, widely is there any effective restraint upon those who wield it."
5. A unitary system is unsuitable for a vast state with diversities of culture, language, religion, etc. Variety of needs and local conditions in vast countries like India, USA and Russia require diversity of policy, law and administration, which can be secured only by federalism.

Garner has very well summed up the shortcomings of unitary form of government in these words: "It tends to repress local initiative, discourages rather than stimulate interest in public affairs, impairs the vitality of the local governments and facilitates the development of a centralized bureaucracy."

## 7.7 FEDERAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT

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### 7.7.1 Meaning of Federal Form of Government

The word “federation” comes from the Latin word “foedus,” which meaning “treaty or agreement.” It assumes that federation is the consequence of a pact between tiny states to share some common benefits. A federal state is one in which a central government represents the entire country and acts on its behalf in external affairs and internal matters deemed to be of common interest; and there are also provincial governments with legislative and administrative powers within the spheres allotted to them by the constitution. It’s “an association of states that generates a new one,” as Hamilton put it. A federal government, according to Garner, is “a system in which the national constitution divides and distributes the entirety of governmental power... between a central government and the governments of individual states or other geographical subdivisions that make up the federation.” It is a “political contrivance meant to combine national unity and power with the preservation of state rights,” according to Dicey. It combines the benefits of both unity and diversity. The USA, Canada, Australia, India and Switzerland are federal states.

### 7.7.2 Formation of a Federation

Before examining the salient features of a federal government, it is pertinent to know the factors that motivate the formation of federal states.

Federal unions may be formed in two ways. A federal state may come into existence by a voluntary coalition of a number of sovereign states. Several independent states having common aims and objectives form a union on constitutional, legal and permanent basis. Impulses for such union include military, economic and nationalistic factors. The federating states surrender their sovereignty for the common good. The federal state becomes sovereign. It consists of units having a large measure of autonomy as far as regional matters are concerned. This process of union is known as ‘centripetal’ force. The USA is the example of such a type of federation.

A federation may be brought into being through ‘centrifugal forces’ of disintegration as well. A unitary state with large area may desire to retain unity while permitting diversity to the parts constituting the units of unitary form of government, may aspire for autonomy. In such circumstances also, a federation ushers in the central government, retains subjects of common national interest and surrenders those of local interest to the units. India offers an example of this process. The British Indian provinces which were earlier provinces of a unitary state, got constitutional autonomy after the operation of the new constitution of India in 1950.

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## 7.7.3 Features of Federation

A study of federal government reveals certain distinguishing features.

1. **Constitutional Division of Powers:** The constitution divides authority between the national government and regional administrations. The constitution limits the legislative, administrative, and judicial powers of both the central government and the subdivisions. The general principles underlying the division of powers is that all matters of common interest and of national importance, for example, defence, foreign affairs, currency, railways and foreign trade are allotted to the central government and matters of local nature like education, health, local administration, police and agriculture are assigned to the regional governments. Both the central and regional governments are allotted independent sources of revenue to carry on their respective administrations.
2. **Two Sets of Governments:** In a federation, there are two sets of government, namely, (a) federal or central government and (b) provincial or state governments. Federation is one state with several regional or state governments besides the central government. The regional governments are variously known such as 'State' in the USA and India, 'Provinces' in Canada and 'Cantons' in Switzerland, etc. The regional governments enjoy independent powers under the constitution.
3. **Written and Rigid Constitution:** The constitution in a federal state is itself the agreement defining the positions of the central and regional governments. The constitution must be written so as to lay down the division of powers in clear and definite terms. The constitution should also be rigid. It should not be altered through the normal legislative process by either the national or regional legislatures. Any change relating to the division of powers and the federal character of the state must be brought about by the joint approval of both the central and majority of the regional governments. Moreover, a federal constitution enjoys supremacy over the central and provincial laws. This supremacy implies that the laws passed by any authority, if contrary to the constitution, shall be declared invalid and as such unconstitutional.
4. **Independent Judiciary:** A federal state must have an independent federal court. The federal court is to settle disputes between central and state governments. Secondly, it is to ensure and guarantee the rights of regional governments against the encroachment of central government. Federal court should act as the protector of the constitution by guaranteeing the distribution of power. But the judges must be given the scope to deliver their judgement independently and impartially.

It should be made clear that all federations do not conform to the above features. For example, the Indian federation, both in theory and practice, makes



departures from a standard federation. It is tilted in favour of the Union Government and as such federal in form and unitary in spirit.

### 7.7.4 Pre-requisites of a Federation

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Although all federal states in the world do not necessarily function under ideal conditions, yet it is important to examine the necessary pre-requisites for its formation and successful working.

1. **Desire for Union:** In the words of Prof. K.C. Wheare, the group of federating states “must desire to be united but not to be unitary.” The component parts must have desire and capacity to unite for common purposes. At the same time, they must have desire to maintain their individuality and autonomous existence. The parties to a proposed federation should agree “to differ but not to differ too much.”
2. **Mutual Sympathy:** The people of a proposed federation should have, as Mill suggested, “a sufficient amount of mutual sympathy.” They should rise above regional or local loyalty and develop a common nationality. Some similarity with regard to race, language, culture, political institutions and historical tradition is conducive to the formation of a federation.
3. **Geographical Contiguity:** People inhabiting a geographically contiguous area usually develop a common outlook. The federating units should lie in close proximity to one another to ensure political co-operation among them. National unity is difficult to attain where the people are too apart.
4. **Social and Political Homogeneity:** The federating units should have similar social and political institutions. It is impossible to form a federal union, some of whose units are dictatorships and others democracies. This is why the American and Swiss constitutions specifically provide that the units must have republican form of government.
5. **Absence of Inequality among the Units:** The federating units must be, more or less, equal in size and population. In a federation consisting of too big units along with small ones, the bigger units will dominate the affairs of the federal government. If wide disparity prevails among the units, it is likely to violate the principle of equal partnership among the component units.
6. **Adequate Economic Resources:** A federation is more expensive than the unitary type. So, it needs adequate economic resources. Both the central and the state governments should be financially independent.
7. **Able Leadership:** The successful working of a federal system calls for an able and enlightened leadership. Leaders can educate the people to have a balance between regional loyalty and national unity.
8. **Political Education:** The people must be loyal to their respective regional governments as well as to the central government. The people

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have to appreciate and reconcile the loyalty to two governments. This demands maturity, intelligence and political awakening of the people.

9. **Well Organised Party System:** A well organised party system ensures the sound health of federations. By integrating various regions through party organization, it contributes to national unity.

### 7.7.5 Distinction between Unitary and Federal Forms of Government

On the basis of the concentration or distribution of powers and the relationship of the centre to the local authorities, modern governments are characterised as 'Unitary' or 'Federal.' In a unitary system, all governmental power is concentrated in a single central government which enjoys supreme and unlimited authority throughout length and breadth of the country. A federal government, on the other hand, is a system in which the constitution divides all governmental power between a central government and the governments of the units or portions that make up the federation.

The following differences between the two may be noted.

1. There is only one central government under a unitary system which enjoys all powers under the constitution. There are two types of governments in a federation: a central government that governs the entire country and a number of state or provincial governments that govern different areas of the country.
2. The constitution of a unitary system puts all authorities in a single central administration. For administrative purposes, the central government may delegate some powers to the local governments. There is a constitutional separation of powers between the federal and state administrations in a federation. The state governments enjoy independent powers under the constitution.
3. In a unitary state, the central government is supreme, while in a federation, the constitution is supreme. The central and state governments owe their existence and powers to the constitution. A unitary government may have a written or unwritten constitution which is generally flexible, whereas a federal government must have a written constitution which is generally rigid.
4. An independent Supreme Court is required in a federation to interpret the constitution and resolve issues of jurisdiction between the centre and the units. It maintains the supremacy and sanctity of the constitution by declaring any law, whether made by central or state legislature, invalid, if such law conflicts with any provision of the constitution. In a unitary state, on the other hand, the constitution does not have to be supreme because the centre, as in the United Kingdom, has the unilateral ability to change it. There is no need for a body to resolve issues of jurisdiction between the centre and local governments.

5. In some federations like the USA and Switzerland, there is provision for dual citizenship. Every individual is a citizen of the regional or state government and also of the federal or central government. In all unitary governments, there is single citizenship.
6. There prevails a single system of law in a unitary state. But in a federal state, a citizen has to follow double laws, i.e., the laws of his state and the laws of the centre. In India, a citizen has to follow the laws of his own state as well as that of the union.

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### 7.7.6 Merits of Federalism

1. **Advantageous to Small States:** Federation allows tiny and weak governments to join together to form a dominant entity while maintaining their independence and autonomy. It blends the benefits of national unity with local autonomy and self-government rights.
2. **Suitable for Vast Countries:** It is suitable for vast countries like India, the USA, Russia and Australia with diversities in racial, linguistic, religious and cultural matters. The diverse groups enjoy autonomy in local affairs through the agency of regional governments, and at the same time, enjoy the benefits of a common government.
3. **Unity with Diversity:** When conformity in policy, legislation, and administration is required, federation allows for variation when desired. Uniformity is attained through the central government and diversity through the agency of regional government.
4. **Reduces the Burden of the Centre:** A federal government is efficient. The central government is relieved of the burdens and problems of a local nature. State governments look after regional and local problems leaving matters of national importance to the central government.
5. **Check on Despotism:** A federal state provides adequate safeguard against the rise of despotism. The state governments can nullify the despotic tendency of the central government. Again, no despot can assume power through *coup d'état* as it is very difficult to overthrow all the governments in a federation.
6. **Scope for Experimentation:** Under a federal system, experiments in government and legislation may be tried out in a few states and can be extended to other states after the results are found to be beneficial. The introduction of Panchayati Raj in India is an example of such experiments.
7. **Promotes Self-government:** Federalism gives individuals in each component state a lot of power over their government and makes them more interested in politics. Citizens are encouraged to become more involved and proactive in public affairs because of the nearness and easy access to the 'state' government.

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## 7.7.7 Demerits of Federalism

1. **Conflict Due to Distribution of Powers:** One of the major problems of federalism is distribution of powers between the centre and the states. A satisfactory distribution of powers is impossible. Frequent conflicts of jurisdiction and authority weaken the federal state.
2. **Not Suitable to Meet the Exigencies of Time:** Some critics say that a federal government is weak in war and emergency. The central government has to consult the states and their leaders before taking any effective decision.
3. **Fear of Secession:** The fear of secession always exists in a federation. Each unit has its own government readymade and may break away from the federal union. Of course, this danger is a theoretical possibility.
4. **Expensive:** Federal form of government is also expensive as there is duplication of work and machinery. Two sets of government are surely taxing on the purse of the common man.
5. **Danger to National Unity:** Federation is subject to the danger of regionalism, provincialism and parochialism. Local leaders create regional loyalty and endanger national unity.
6. **Complex and Not So Efficient as Unitary System:** An ordinary man cannot understand the complex governmental machinery of a federal system. It is slow-moving. The unitary government is characterised by national solidarity, efficiency of services, and prompt and energetic action. All these features are lacking in the federal system.
7. **Rigidity:** The rigidity of a federal constitution might block national progress. Due to the difficulty and length of the amendment process, it is not possible to obtain the intended results as and when the needs of the people and the country demand.

In actual practice, federal states have not suffered from the defects depicted above. On the other hand, federalism has eliminated frictions and jealousies, stopped disintegration and created powerful states out of heterogeneous masses of people.

In all the federal states, there is a growing trend towards centralization. Modern problems are forcing new divisions of powers and functions between federal and state authorities.

#### Check Your Progress

##### I. Multiple Choice Questions

1. \_\_\_\_\_ said 'Democracy is a government in which everyone has a share'.  
 (a) Abraham Lincoln (b) Seeley  
 (c) Lord Boyce (d) Finer
2. \_\_\_\_\_ states there is direct democracy.  
 (a) USA (b) France  
 (c) Switzerland (d) India

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3. \_\_\_\_\_ referred democracy as cult of incompetence.
  - (a) Bryce
  - (b) Seeley
  - (c) Laski
  - (d) Faquet
4. \_\_\_\_\_ of the following is not a feature of dictatorship.
  - (a) A strong and stable government
  - (b) A responsible government
  - (c) Administrative efficiency
  - (d) Simple in structure
5. \_\_\_\_\_ among the following is a unitary state.
  - (a) USA
  - (b) Switzerland
  - (c) France
  - (d) India
6. \_\_\_\_\_ of the following is not an essential feature of a federation.
  - (a) Division of powers
  - (b) Two sets of government
  - (c) Flexible constitution
  - (d) Independent judiciary
7. \_\_\_\_\_ of the following is not a feature of parliamentary form of government.
  - (a) Close relationship between legislature and executive
  - (b) Dual Executive
  - (c) Leadership of Prime Minister
  - (d) Separation of powers
8. \_\_\_\_\_ of the following is not a feature of presidential form of government.
  - (a) Single executive
  - (b) State government
  - (c) Separation of power
  - (d) Collective responsibility

**II. True or False**

1. In a unitary state, there is a division of power.
2. USA is the first federation in the world.
3. Parliamentary form of government is found in USA.
4. In presidential form of government, the head of the state acts as nominal.
5. In Switzerland, there is direct democracy.
6. Dictatorship stands on the ashes of democracy.

**III. Match the Following**

- |                              |                                      |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Popular Sovereignty       | (a) Parliamentary form of government |
| 2. Centralization of powers  | (b) Federation                       |
| 3. Division of powers        | (c) Democracy                        |
| 4. Separation of powers      | (d) Unitary state                    |
| 5. Collective responsibility | (e) Presidential government          |

**7.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'****I. Multiple Choice Questions**

1. (b)
2. (c)
3. (d)
4. (b)

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7. (c)
6. (c)
7. (d)
8. (d)

**II. True or False**

1. False
2. True
3. False
4. False
5. True
6. True

**III. Match the Following**

1. (c)
2. (d)
3. (b)
4. (e)
5. (a)

## 7.9 SUMMARY

Classification of governments presents certain difficulties. The purpose of classification is to increase political knowledge and understanding of similarities and differences that exist between different states. Democracy and dictatorship are antithetical political systems. They are opposed to each other. Failure of democracy has been the main cause for the rise of dictatorship. In a democracy, government is responsible to the people, directly or indirectly, but a dictator is not responsible to anyone. Modern democratic regimes are categorised as parliamentary or presidential based on the relationship between the executive and the legislative. In comparison, the parliamentary model assures that the real executive remains accountable to the legislature and change of leadership is possible in times of crisis and emergency. On the other hand, presidential system has the advantages of stability and efficiency. Each system has its advantages offset by corresponding weakness. However, both systems have undergone changes by recent developments. Similarly, modern governments are classed as 'Unitary' or 'Federal' based on the centralization or distribution of powers, as well as the interaction between the centre and local governments. Nowadays, in all federations, there is a growing trend towards centralization. The powers of federal government are increasing at the expense of regional governments for many reasons.

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**7.10 KEY TERMS**

- **Demos:** A Greek word means people.
- **Kratia:** A Greek word means power.
- **Sovereignty:** Supreme power of the state.
- **Referendum:** Refer to the people. It is a device of direct democracy.
- **Coup d'état:** The use of military force.
- **Foedus:** A Latin word means treaty or agreement.
- **Confederation:** A league of independent states.

**7.11 SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES****Short Answer Questions**

1. Rule of Law
2. Responsible Government
3. Meaning of Unitary State
4. Types of Federation
7. Separation of Powers
6. Collective Responsibility

**Long Answer Questions**

1. What is democracy? What are the features of democracy?
2. Discuss the conditions essential for the success of democracy.
3. Write an essay on dictatorship.
4. What do you mean by Unitary State? Discuss its merits and demerits.
5. What is Federation? Discuss its basic features.
6. Make a distinction between Unitary and Federal State.
7. Discuss the basic features of parliamentary form of government.
8. Write an essay on Presidential form of government.
9. Make distinction between Parliamentary and Presidential of government.

**ACTIVITY**

Provide two real-life examples to prove how:

1. Democracy believes in popular sovereignty.
2. Dictatorship stands on the ashes of democracy.
3. The legislative and the executive have a close relationship in a parliamentary system of government.
4. Division of powers is an essential features of federal state.

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**CASE STUDY****Federation Needs a Written Constitution**

In federation, there is a constitutional division of powers between Union/ Centre and States, and these constitutional division of powers are protected and guaranteed by an independent and impartial judiciary. The constitution in a federal state is itself the agreement defining the positions of the central and regional governments. The constitution must be written so as to lay down the division of powers in clear and definite terms. In a federation, distribution of powers cannot be ensured properly if there is not written constitution. According to Dicey, a written constitution is the charter of federal and state authorities' rights and responsibilities. According to Prof. K.C. Wheare, the constitution must have supremacy if the government is to be federal. The constitution's supremacy requires that the terms and agreements that divide power between the federal and state governments must be codified and binding on both.

**Question**

1. Discuss how the powers are divided in a federation between Union and regional governments?

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