

# **POLITICAL SCIENCE (PART-I)**

**COMPLEMENTARY COURSE**

**For**

**BA HISTORY, B.A. ECONOMICS, B.A.SOCIOLOGY,  
B.A PHILOSOPHY & B.A. ENGLISH**

**I Semester**

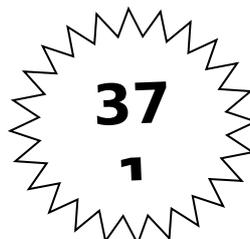
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## **UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT**

**SCHOOL OF DISTANCE EDUCATION**

**Calicut University, P.O. Malappuram, Kerala, India-673 635**



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**B.A PHILOSOPHY & B.A. ENGLISH**

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## Complementary Course

### **POLITICAL SCIENCE - (PART I)**

#### **MODULE. I.**

- (a) Concept of Political Science: Meaning, nature, Scope and
- (b) Approaches: Traditional – Modern – Behavioural, Post-Behavioural and Marxian

#### **MODULE. II.**

State: Meaning, Elements of the State - Theories of the origin of the state -with special reference to Evolutionary theory and Marxian Theory.

#### **MODULE. III.**

Sovereignty: Meaning and Characteristics, Types of Sovereignty – Monistic and Pluralistic interpretations.

#### **MODULE. IV.**

- (a) Law – Liberty – Equality, Justice, Rights and Duties. Meaning and Dimensions.
- (b) Concepts of Human Rights – Meaning and importance.

#### **MODULE. V.**

- (a) Systems Analysis - Political System: Meaning and Characteristics. Input Output analysis and Structural Functional analysis.

#### **MODULE. VI.**

- (a) Major Concepts in Political Analysis: Power – Influence - Legitimacy and Authority.
- (b) Political Culture – Political Socialisation – Political Development and Political Modernisation

## CHAPTER 1

### POLITICAL SCIENCE

**Society :-** It may be defined as " the complex of organised association and institution within a community". It is an unorganised or organised , it is wider or narrow groups of human beings living together in a particular area. The social instinct of man compels him to live in society. According to Laski, by society, " I means a group of human beings living together for the satisfaction of their mutual wants".

**State:** - societies are politically organised under a common law within a prescribe boundaries. It stands for the protection to life, liberty and property to individuals and it tries to promote human welfare and good life.

**Government:** - It is the institutionalised power of state or authority. It is the agent through which the will of the state is formulated, expressed and realised. It consists of institutions responsible for making collective decisions for society.

**Politics:** is the study of state and activity of person involved with the state i.e government. It refers to the current problems of state and government , the actual process of co-operation , conflict and competition for power in society.

**Science:** is the systematic study of the structure and behaviour of the physical and natural world through observation, evidence and experiment.

**Political Science:** is the branch of knowledge that deals with systematic study of the structure and behaviour of the state and political institutions through scientific analysis. It is an academic discipline concerned with man's official institutions and activities, such as the state , government, citizenship, public affairs etc. In other words , it is a social science concerned with the theory, description, analysis and prediction of political behaviour , political activities, political system as a whole.

### MEANING

The term 'Political Science' consists of two words ,viz , political and science. The word '**politics**' is derived from the Greek word 'Polis' which means the city-state. In ancient Greece, the basic unit of political organization was the city-state. It was the Greeks who first embarked upon the study of state as distinct from the church. The foundations of political thinking were laid by the great Greek philosophers, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. Plato was the author of the book "The Republic". Aristotle the father of political science, firstly used the term 'politics' and converted the subject into an academic discipline. He published his book 'Politics' as a first systematic study of politics.

**Science:** is the systematic study of the structure and behaviour of the physical and natural world through observation, evidence and experiment. So political science is the branch of knowledge that deals with systematic study of the structure and behaviour of the state and political institutions through scientific analysis. Politics refers to the subject matter of our study , science denotes the methodology or the way of studying the process of politics. The first term seeks to answer the question " what is studied" and the second term refers to " how is it studied". Therefore, the political phenomenon which should be studied in accordance with a definite plan or system is called political science.

## Definitions of Political Science

It is difficult to give a precise definition to political science , because of its varying scope in different situations. Let us examine some of those definitions.

**Paul Janet** - “Political science is that part of science which treats of the foundations of state and the principles of government”.

**H.J Laski**- “The study of politics concerns itself with the life of man in relation to organised states”.

**Lasswell**- “political science is the study of shaping and sharing of power”.

**David Easton**-“Political science is the study of the authoritative allocation of values for a society”.

**“Political Science begins and ends with the state”** - **Garner**

**“Political Science deals with government only”** - **Leacock**

<b>Science of polis</b>	- <b>Aristotle</b>
<b>Science of state</b>	- <b>Gettle</b>
<b>Politics deals with government</b>	- <b>Lecock</b>
<b>General problem of state and government</b>	- <b>Glichrist</b>
<b>Politics is shaping and sharing of power</b>	- <b>Dhal</b>
<b>Authoritative allocation of values</b>	- <b>Easton</b>
<b>Politics is the struggle for and use of power</b>	- <b>Morgenthau</b>

From the above definitions we may conclude that the ‘state’ is the central theme of Political Science. It is the study about the state , its origin, its nature, its structure, its functions and so on.

Modern political scientists have also emphasised the element of power in the study of the subject. Abraham Kaplan, Harold. D. Lasswell defined politics as the “study of shaping and sharing of power”. It suggests that struggle for power is the subject matter of the study of politics. Since this struggle takes place at all levels-domestic ,local ,regional, national and international – politics becomes an universal activity. Robert A Dahl uses the term ‘political system’ instead of ‘politics’ and he defined it as any persistent pattern of human relationships that involves to a significant extent, control, influence power or authority.

So the study of political science or politics include not only state and government but also an enquiry into the struggles for power that takes place at all levels beginning from the household to the world at large. Hence a comprehensive view of the subject of political science involves every thing connected with the life of man in the process of making himself.

### NATURE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Political science is still growing and developing subject. So there is no uniformity among political thinkers regarding the nature of political science , whether it should be treated as a science or not. Aristotle, the father of political science, considered it as the master science. Political philosophers like Bodin, Hobbes, Bluntschli, Bryce also held the view that political science is a science.

But some other political scientists reject the scientific nature of political science. It is said that in political science there is no uniform principles or laws which are universally valid. Human behaviour is unpredictable. It, therefore, does not supply sufficient materials for scientific study. The essence of the scientific method is that it will not accept generalizations unless they are based on facts which can be verified. Political scientists like Buckle and Comte deny the claim of political science as a science.

The reality is that, a social science is different from natural science or a physical science. Science is the systematic study of the structure and behaviour of the physical and natural world through observation, evidence and experiment. It is the body of true knowledge acquired through scientific process. But in social science we cannot expect so much accuracy and precision as we see in science subjects. Hundred percentage prediction is not possible in social science because it deals with the behaviour of man and his political institutions. There is only remote chance for verification and prediction in these subjects. While in the study of political phenomena, we can apply scientific method and tools.

### **Scope of Political science**

Now a days, it is very difficult to determine the precise and definite boundaries of political science. It is wide and comprehensive subject and there is no uniformity among political scientists about its scope. It is the study of organizations and activities of the state, both at national and international levels. It also deals with the distribution of governing power among several agencies by which the actions of the state are determined, expressed, and exercised and with the problems of international life. Yet some of the important subjects in the scope of political science are given below:-

#### **1. Political Science is the Study of State and Government.**

In the political science we study about the theoretical, structural and behavioural aspects of organisation and forms of state and government. Bluntschli says " political science is a science which is concerned with the state, endeavours to understand and comprehend the state in its essential nature, various forms, manifestations and development."

According to Robson, " the purpose of political science is to throw light on political ideas and political actions so that the government of man may be improved". The government is the agency of the state through which the purpose of the state is realised. It is the most lively and integral part of the state. According to Paul Janet "political science is that part of social science which treats of the foundation of state and the principles of the Government".

#### **2. It is the study of Relationship between the man and the state.**

The scope of Political science also includes a study of the nature of relationship between the individual and the state. The process of man with the society is an important aspects of political science. The state guarantees certain rights and liberties to its citizens and at the same time impose certain reasonable restrictions on them. In fact, state exists for the welfare of the people. As an agent of the state, it is the function of the government to try to secure welfare for all who live within the territorial boundary of the state.

Again the government of any state greatly influenced by the thoughts and ideas of that state. Therefore, the study about the state and government is bounded to be inconclusive without the study of the nature of the people who constitute the state. It is in this connection Max Webber has stated that political science is a descriptive and normative science and describes it as the study of human behaviour in the process of enquiry of justice.

- **3. Study of Political Theory.**

The theories are the results of the thoughts and research of many scholars and exponents of political science. Political scientists formulate various political concepts and establish theories. According to Gettle, " political science is concerned with the historical survey of origin, development of political theories and ideals, the analysis of the fundamental nature of the state, its organization, relation to the individuals that compose it and its relation to other states ". It is the study of the fundamental questions of the state, government, politics, liberty, justice, property, rights, law, the enforcement of legal code by authority etc.

It may be subdivided into political philosophy, legal political theory, the concept of sovereignty and legal controls for the exercise of political power, scientific political theory, consisting of empirical observations of political events etc. So a student of political science must start his study of the subject with the theories.

- **4. Study of political institutions.**

Political Science is also concerned with the study of political institutions and associations through with the state acts. It covers the study of the constitutions, comparative government, public administration and local government etc. .It also deals with the nature of different political institutions including government, their structure such as legislature, executive and judiciary, its working, its merits and demerits etc. Further it studies about some informal groups like social, economic, educational institutions in a society.

- **5. Study of political dynamics.**

Political dynamics examines the current forces which exert influence on the government and politics. Along with the change of habits also are bound to occur of men, social system also change. This explains why the city states of ancient times are replaced by the nation states in the present century. The search for the cause of this kind of changes in the character of the state and government is the study of political dynamics. It covers a wide range and includes the study of political parties, public opinion pressure groups, lobbies, etc. The study of these political dynamics helps to explain the political behaviour of individuals and different groups.

- **6. A study of International relations, international organizations and international law.**

Political science deals with the matters relating to the maintenance of international relations, the international law and the organization concerned with the maintenance of world peace and security. The human society is now thinking in terms of forming a world government in the near future. International law provides the framework within which the states should enjoy their rights and duties. This has made it necessary to include in the study of political science. It is related to the maintenance of international relations and different organisations connected with the maintenances of peace and security among the states of the world.

The subject matter includes international law, international and regional organisations like UNO, European Union, NAM, SAARC and League of Nations, diplomatic relations, treaties and agreements, arms control, human rights, pollution control and global warming, sustainable development etc.

- **7. Study of political parties and related organizations.**

In a democratic state, political parties play an important role in formation and functioning of government. They are regarded as an unavoidable and central part for the successful working of democratic political system. Its studies are important for understanding the nature and working of political institutions of a country. The study of political science is also concerned with the study of informal institutions through which the state acts . ie. pressure groups ,interests groups and other related social, economic, educational institutions etc.

### **8. It studies of Past, Present and Future development of State**

The scope of Political Science includes the study of the past , present and future of states and its activities. According to Gettle , " In the historical aspects, Political Science deals with the origin of the state and the development of political theories in the past..... in dealing with the present it attempts to describe and classify existing political institutions and ideas. Political Science also look to the future, to improving political organizations and activities in the light of changing conditions and changing ethical standards". so its scope is not restricted to the study of the past and the present alone , but it directs future course of the development of the state. The study is also helpful to improving the political institutions and modifying political activities in order to meet the changing national and international demands.

#### **Importance of Political Science**

Why study politics?

- To understand his position in relation to state.
- To study political thought and ideas of the great political Thinkers.
- To understand the current political problems and find solutions.
- Make people conscious of their rights and obligations.
- To understand the current trends
- To provide information about international laws ,international legislation, organizations and maintenance of world peace and international brotherhood.
- Analyse political parties and pressure groups .
- It makes people vigilant , develop a spirit of cooperation, adjustment and tolerance.
- It deals with great political events like French Revolution, American war of Independence and freedom movements.
- It helps to form public opinion .
- Helps people to safeguard their liberty.
- It prevents to misuse of power of government.
- It improve the quality of government and administration.
- It provides knowledge of the political terminology.
- Liberalises the human outlook .
- Developing and strengthening a liberal democratic values and awareness.
- To understanding the political decision-making process.

## **Approaches to the study of Political Science**

According to Van Dyke, the word 'approach' is defined to denote the criteria employed in selecting the questions to ask and the data to consider in political inquiry." In political science different scholars and students employ different criteria in order to analyse the data and find out the answers of the questions. These criteria have been designated as approach.

Alan Ball in his 'Modern Politics and Government' has categorised the approaches into traditional and modern or new approaches.

In the traditional approaches include under the following : (a) Normative (b) Philosophical (c) Historical, and (d) Institutional approaches. The modern approach could be divided as (a) Behavioural (b) Post – Behavioural, and (c) Marxian approaches.

### ***Normative approach***

In the normative or classical period, political problems were analysed philosophically. The method was deductive and the approach was normative. In this period the ethical basis and moral purpose of the political community was analysed in detail by the political philosophers. The purpose of this approach is to clarify the words and terms used by the political philosophers. They spent too much of their times on the problems of ends and means and also in describing the ideal state.

The interpretation of normative approach in political activities evokes interests in the mind of the students of political science. It studies the state, government, and man on political being is fully mixed with the pursuit of certain goals, morals, truths, or high principles. The writings of Plato, Hobbes, Locke, Bentham and Hegel have the characteristics of the classical period. They were very particular in finding the standards or values of life like justice, freedom and happiness.

### **Philosophical Approach**

Philosophical approach is another traditional or classical approach to the study of political science. It is one of the oldest approaches to the study of politics and also known as speculative or ethical or metaphysical approach. The philosophical approach attempts to find the truths of political events or incidents. It is mainly concerned with the analysis of the nature and fundamental attributes of the state, the concept of political obligations, the nature of political authority and other problems of philosophical in nature.

According to Van Dyke "philosophy denotes thought about thought. Somewhat more broadly, it denotes general conceptions of ends and means, purposes and method". The purpose of philosophical approach is to clarify the words and terms used by the political philosophers. It explores the objective of political writings or the purpose of political writer. It also aims to enhance linguistic clarity and reduce linguistic confusion. This method starts with assumptions about the nature and end of the state based on philosophical ground.

### **Historical Approach**

Historical approach is another traditional approach of studying political science. History serves as a best kind of laboratory for political science. It is the store-house of the past incidents pertaining to human life. The study of history gives us not only information about what happened in the past but also about the utility and futility of various institutions of various times.

According to Gilchrist, the historical approach as the chief method of studying political phenomena and says, " is the historical method, properly to understand political institutions, we must study them their religion, their growth and development . History not only explains institutions but it helps us to make certain deduction for future guidance. ....". History tells us how government, political parties and many other institutions worked, their successes and failures and from these we receive lessons which guide for the future course of action.

The approach is reached on the assumption that political science emerged out of socio-economic crisis as well as the reactions they leave on the minds of the great thinkers. For example, conditions of ancient Greece created Plato and Aristotle , the 17<sup>th</sup> century England produced Hobbes and Locke, the capitalist system created Mill and Marx etc.

### ***Institutional approach***

In the light of the emergence of other social sciences from the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century , the need for a narrower and precise definition of political science was felt. The institutional approach shows a shift in the scope , methods, and objective of the discipline of political science. It gives importance to the study of formal as well as informal structure of political institutions like executive, legislature , judiciary, political parties, pressure and interests groups etc. in political system. It is also known as structural approach.

Political science began to study formal governmental institutions. The nature and structure of the legally constituted institutions became the subject matter of political science. Political philosophers began to study the historical evolution of various political institutions. In the words of Dyke, - the study of politics is the study of the state or of government and related institutions. Wasby says , " The emphasis of the institutional or structural approach is almost exclusively on the formal aspects of government and politics. Since various institutions constitute the structure of the society it is also called structural approach."

After analysing properly the actual functions of various institutions political philosophers compared them with other institutions. Comparative study of the merits and demerits of the different systems like unitary and federal , parliamentary and presidential territorial and proportional representation was made by the political philosophers of the institutional period. The emphasis was on the importance of the governmental institutions and practice in promoting social conditions and realising moral and political purposes.

The advocates of institutional approach do not consider the impact of institutions or rules upon the individuals. Without individuals the institutions have no practical importance , thus it has been vehemently criticised.

### ***Behavioural approach***

Behaviouralism is one of the most important developments in the study of political science in the 20<sup>th</sup> century .It is also considered to be a new or modern approach to the study of political science. Really, the approach started with a protest movement of American political scientists against the traditional study of political science. They believed that the traditional approaches totally neglected the political phenomena. Therefore , they developed a new approach for the careful study of political phenomena ,i.e behaviour approach. They began to adopt the methods of natural sciences like observation, survey and measurement in political science. The exponents of this method was Harold D. Lasswell, George Catlin, Charles Merriam, David Easton etc.

## **Meaning**

The behavioural approach is really based on the assumption that political institutions and nature of political events are largely determined by the nature and behaviour of the people. The political behaviour of individuals and groups may determine the mode of operation of the state itself. So the essence of the behaviouralist approach is its central focus on political behaviour of individuals.

The behaviouralist attempt to understand political phenomena realistically in term of observed and observable data. It is the explanation, formulation and hypothesisation of the observed and observable behaviour of men in respect of the governance of the country. The use of more and more scientific means inspired several political philosophers to consider political science as a value free science. That means they aim at the creation of a systematic casual theory and not a value theory.

Behaviour approach , according to Dhal, " is an attempt to improve our understanding of points by seeking to explain the empirical aspects of political life by means of methods, theories and criteria of proof that are acceptable according to canons and assumptions of modern political science".

### **Characteristics of Behaviour al Approach**

Some of the general characteristics of behaviouralism which are given below:

#### **1. Movement of Protest:**

Behavioural approach started with a protest movement of American political scientists against the traditional study of political science. They believed that the traditional approaches totally neglected the political phenomena. They changed their emphasis from the ideal state , government and political institutions to day - today political problems of citizens. Hence Dhal has observed correctly : " Historically speaking , the behavioural approach was a protest movement within political science.....".

#### **2. Focus on Behaviour:**

The main emphasis of behaviouralism is upon the political behaviour of the individuals. They insist upon the collection and analysis of data regarding individual's behaviour in political activity. They argued that , it must be clear that the behaviour of the individuals is moulded by his own psychological make-up and the social atmosphere in which he lives.

#### **3. Scientific outlook and objectivity:**

Behaviouralism stresses the special importance of the scientific outlook and objectivity. The use of more and more scientific means that inspired several political philosophers to consider political science as a value free science.

#### **4. Methodological Revolution:**

Behaviouralism brought about a methodological revolution in political science. They started to adopt the methods of natural sciences like observation, survey, interviews, research, case studies, dated collection, statistical analysis, quantifications, measurement etc. in political science.

#### 5. **Inter- disciplinary study:**

The political behaviour of an individual is a part of the total social behaviour of all the individuals. In order to get a proper understanding of political problems, a modern researcher needed the help of other social sciences. According to Lipson "we have now reached the point where all social science must, operate with a common conceptional scheme and vocabulary". Eulou observed: " A man's political behaviour is only one of his total behaviour as a social being, political behaviour analysis must be interdisciplinary....."

#### 6. **Invention of Scientific Theory**

The main aim of the behaviouralists is to build a scientific theory with the help of observation and experimentation, which may be able to predict things and be applied universally.

#### **Characteristics of Behaviouralism as given by David Easton**

David Easton, one of the most important exponents and founders of the behaviouralist political school of thought, has summed up eight characteristics of this approach. They are regularities, verification, techniques, quantification, values, systematisation, pure science and integration. These are called 'Intellectual Foundation Stones' of Behaviouralism.

1. **Regularities:** Discoverable uniformities in political behaviour and can be expressed in generalisations.
2. **Verifications:** Empirical or scientific verifications of human behaviour for scientific result.
3. **Techniques:** Emphasises the adoption of correct technique for acquiring and interpreting the scientific data.
4. **Quantification:** Precision in the recording of data and the statement of finding requires measurement and quantification.
5. **Values:** Political science is the scientific study of politics in its functional aspects, carried through empirical methods and has nothing to do with moral or ethical questions.
6. **Systematization:** Research in political science must be theory-oriented and theory-directed and also closely interrelated.
7. **Pure Science:** In order to solving social problems they make research and developed scientific theories.
8. **Integration:** They applied inter-disciplinary approach for the better understanding of political phenomena.

The behaviouralists made significant achievements in the development and refinement of the tools and techniques of research. Political science has been benefited in certain areas like voting studies, study of political elites and public opinion as a result of the behavioural revolution. The developments in the behavioural sciences, thus are "a good deal more revolutionary in the realm of technique than that of validated and expanded theory".

### **Criticism of behavioural approach**

1. Behavioralism concerns more with techniques than result.
2. They emphasise the importance of behavioural effect at the cost of institutional effect.
3. Politics can never be value-free as held by behavioralists.
4. They have been concentrating their study mainly on the static subjects rather on the current problems.
5. It is difficult to study the ever changing behaviour of man because the emotions, ideas and thinking go on changing continuously.

### ***Post-Behavioural Approach***

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

### **Features of Post-Behaviouralism**

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

#### **1. Opposition to value-free social science :**

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

#### **2. A Movement of Protest:**

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

#### **3. Intellectual Movement :**

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

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

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

#### **Characteristics of post-behaviouralism as given by David Easton:**

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

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

#### ***Marxian approach***

Marxian approach to study of political science is basically different from the traditional and modern approaches. Marxian approach provides us a theory of social change and scientific philosophy which help to understand the laws of social development. Its main ideas are found in the 'Communist Manifesto' and 'Das Capital, the two monumental work of Karl Marx.

In order to understand the Marxian approach to political science we must to know the liberal views on politics first, since these two systems poles apart. According to the liberal theorists, the state is an instrument of public good, that the sovereignty is rested in the people and above all that democracy is the best form of government. The liberals also believe that the authority of state is based on the general will and that the aim of the state is to ensure the welfare of the people.

Marx rejects the formal or liberal approach of conventional political analysis and puts forth a more comprehensive sociological analysis of politics. According to Marx, the material conditions determine the ideological super-structure of society and politics is actually conditioned by the economic system. It holds that economic system determines the classes structure and as there is a change in the means of production, distribution system and exchange, so there is corresponding change in the relations of masters and slaves, the feudal lords and the serfs, the capitalists and the workers, the dominant and the dominated classes.

Marxism holds the view that all phenomena that we experience are material, concrete and objective. Again it holds that all phenomena are characterised by internal contradictions. The process of development through internal contradictions is called Dialectical Process. So to understand any phenomena one must grasp its nature as changing. Human life necessitates the consumption of certain articles. These articles are really produced by men. The way by which these articles are produced is called means of production. The relations of production divided men into two basic classes. They are the class controlling means of production through ownership or otherwise and the class which contribute its labour power. These classes are opposed to each other because their interests are mutually opposed. This leads to class conflict or class struggle.

The Marxist stand for class war, encourage class consciousness, and prepare the people for a revolution to alter the existing class dominated capitalist system. According to Karl Marx the only basis of the subject of politics is power and that to an integration of all powers- political, economic and ideological. Marx had a quite different attitude towards the individual. He felt that a man is first a social creature and then only a political creature. His life should be seen through the prism of society. The dominant class in the society has invented the state to hold on economic power and exploit the other classes in the society. A man cannot have separate existence from the society and he should seek his salvation through the society not individually. This state of contradictions can end only in the establishment of a socialistic society.

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## CHAPTER -II

### THE STATE

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

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

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

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

#### **Definitions of state**

The term 'state' has been defined differently by various political thinkers. Some of the popular definitions are given below:

To quote Mac Iver " some writers define the state as essentially a class structure, others regard it as an one organisation that transcends class and stands for the whole community. Some interpret it as a power system, others as welfare system. Some view entirely as a legal construction either in the old Austinan sense which made it a relationship of the governors and governed or as a community organized for action under legal rules. To some it is a necessary evil and to a very few , an evil that will some day be unnecessary"

1. According to Bodin, the state is " an association of families and their common possessions , governed by supreme power and by reason".
2. Dr. Garner- "A state is a community of persons more or less numerous, permanently occupying a definite portion of territory independent or nearly so of external control of possessing an organised government to which the great body of inhabitants render habitual obedience"
3. Woodrow Wilson- "The state is a people organised for law within a definite territory".
4. H.J. Laski- "State is a territorial society divided into government and subject claiming with its allotted physical area, a supremacy over all other institutions".
5. Bluntschli- "The state is politically organised people of a definite territory".

6. Holland defines the state as " a numerous assemblage of human beings generally occupying a certain territory amongst whom the will of the majority or class made to prevail against any of their number who oppose it ".

7. Aristotle defined the state as " a union of families and villages having for its end a perfect and self - sufficing life by which we mean a happy and honourable life".

8. According to Marxist opinion ; " the state arose as a result of division of society into antagonistic classes for the purpose of curbing the exploited majority. The state is the political organisation of ruling classes which uses it for the purpose of suppressing the resistance of its class enemies. It is an organisation for the maintenance of the rule of one class over the other classes. To achieve this the state possesses such instrument of power as an army , the courts, a police force, etc."

9. The modern conception of the state, Views of **Gabriel Almond and Robert Dahl** : Almond used the term " political system" instead of the state. According to him" political system is the system of interactions to be found in all independent societies which perform the functions of integration and adaptation ( both internally and vis-a-vis other societies) by means of employment, or threat of employment , of more or less legitimate physical compulsion". " The Political System" he explains, " is the legitimate, order maintaining or transforming system in the society".

### **Elements of the State**

The above definitions given by various writers show that there are four elements of a state namely Population, Territory, Government and Sovereignty. Of these four elements, the first two are physical , the third political and the fourth spiritual. The essential four elements are discussed below.

#### **1. POPULATION**

Since state is a human institution and highest of all human associations there can be no state without human beings. state can exist in an uninhabited land. There is no limit for the number of citizens in a state. According to Plato, an ideal state should consist of 5040 , while Aristotle fixed the population of state at 10.000. However, in the modern times the scholars have not ventured to fix any upper or lower limits of population. Their number should either be too small to be self sufficient nor too large to be well governed. The People's Republic of China is the largest state in respect of population and San Marino in Italy is the smallest.

The modern state gives preference to the big size population because, the bigger the population, the greater will be its man power. They can fight for a longer period of time during the war period. This is the reason why Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and communist Russia encouraged mothers to have more issues. Such mothers were called "Heroine mothers". While the problem of these countries is one of decline of population, the problem of state like India is one of phenomenal increase in her population. The acceptable rule, as Dr. Garner says that, population must be sufficient to provide a governing body and number of persons to be governed and of course sufficient to support a state organisation.

#### **2.TERRITORY**

A modern state cannot exist without territory. Nomadic tribes and gypsies wandering from one place to another could not form a state. But no limit can be laid down on territory as in population.

The largest state in size is the former U.S.S.R ,whose area covered about one by sixth of the world, whereas Vatican in Rome has an area of about 4square miles. The advantage of small state is that they remain compact and well governed. But at the same time, they are at great disadvantage as in the matters of difference and natural resources. But size is no index of greatness . Any how the modern age is definitely of large territorial state because a large state can mobilise all its resources for the economic and social welfare and defence.

### 3. GOVERNMENT

Government is an essential element of the state. It is the agency through which the will of the state is formulated, expressed and realised. It is the duty of the government to protect the sovereignty and integrity of the state, maintain law and order, protect citizens from external aggression, solve the dispute among citizen and work for the all round development of the people. Hence Government is indispensable because there can be no civilised existence without it.

Government may vary from state to state. Democracy is popular in India, England, America, France, Italy etc, communist government is popular in Nepal and Military government in Pakistan, Turkey etc.

### 4. SOVEREIGNTY

Sovereignty means supremacy of the state. It is the most important element of the state. It is sovereignty that differentiates the state from all other social organisation. Since state is supreme in internal and external matters. Sovereignty is of two types-internal sovereignty and external sovereignty. Internal sovereignty means that the state has no control over the institutions and the people of the state. External sovereignty means that the state is free from the control of other states.

### Origin of State

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

The theories advanced so far by the political thinkers on the origin of the state are;

- The theories of divine origin.
- The theory of force
- The theory of social contract
- The patriarchal theory
- The matriarchal theory and
- The Evolutionary theory or Historical theory

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

### The Evolutionary theory or Historical theory

This is the most scientific theory on the origin of the state. The theory assumes that a state is a historical growth. The state is neither the result of an artificial creation nor it originated at a period of time. To quote Leacock “the state is a growth , an evolution , the result of a gradual

process running through all the known history of man and reading into remote and unknown part". John Morley, Gettel, Garner, Burgess and Leacock are the supporters of this theory.

### **The Elements of the origin of the state**

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

#### **1.Kinship**

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

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

#### **2.Religion**

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

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

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

#### **3.Force**

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

**War and conflict help in the amalgamation of families into clans , of clans into tribes and tribe into larger units that become the state. With the weakening of kinship , the application of forces become necessary for the maintenance of peace and order. The coercive force exercised by the leader eventually developed into political sovereignty.** This resulted in

the domination of the strong over the weak. According to Mac Iver conquest and domination paved the way for the emergence of the state.

#### 4. Economic Activities

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

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

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

#### 5. Political Consciousness

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

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

#### Marxian Theory of State

Marxian Theory of State emerged as a protest against the Liberal Theory of State. The exponents of this theory are Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Marxism believes in 'Dialectical Materialism' and the materialistic interpretation of history. He was totally against the Liberalists view of state as a natural institution or an artificial body created by the free will of the individuals and exists to promote the well being of all the people. He believed that the state originated at a certain stage of economic development. The society broke into classes, and the state which arose, was controlled by the dominant class. This created a wide gap between the haves the have-nots and led to class struggle. Thus the state becomes a class institution and it is used to promote the interests of the ruling and exploiting classes.

Frederick Engels throws ample light on this point by stating that " The state has not existed from all eternity . There have been societies that did without it , that had no conception of the State and the State power. At a certain stage of economic development , which was necessarily bound up with the cleavage of society into classes, the state becomes a necessity owing to cleavage".

Lenin , the founder of Communist Party in Russia, further clarified this point by saying that." State is an organ of the oppression of one class by another and it create order which legalises and perpetuates this oppression by moderating the collision between the classes".

Marxism holds the view that all phenomena that we experience are material, concrete and objective. Again it holds that all phenomena are characterised by internal contradictions . The process of development through internal contradictions is called Dialectical Process. So to understand any phenomena one must grasp its nature as changing. Human life necessitates the consumption of certain articles. These articles are really produced by men . The way by which these articles are produced is called means of production. The relations of production divided men into two basic classes. They are the class controlling means of production through ownership or otherwise and the class which contributes its labour power. These classes are opposed to each other because their interests are mutually opposed. This leads to class conflict or class struggle.

In the Marxian theory, the state is first of all considered as superstructure and so the nature of the state depends on the nature of mode of production . Again Marxian theory holds that the state is a system of violence and coercion, historically created in the class societies in order to maintain and protect the mode of production . The state ensures the dominance and exploitative power of the class that owns the means of production . Thus state becomes a class institution. It is used to promote the interests of the ruling and exploiting classes . Thus state arises in class societies and it is an instrument of exploitation.

Marx and Lenin interpreted the functions of the state mainly in terms of the use of legalised violence and forces of the state; The Neo Marxist theorists like Antonio Gramsci have drawn attention to the control of ideas and opinions of ruled and exploited class . Their purpose is to legitimise the power of the state in terms of moral ideological grounds. Thus the Marxist view of the state promotes the domination of the class or classes that own the means of production by a combination of methods ie. The use of direct force and through the hegemonic creation of consensus and consent.

According to the Marxian view, state exists only in class societies because it is an instrument of class domination. As soon as classes disappear , the state will automatically disappear. Marx believed in the classless and stateless society. He said that after the communist revolution , dictatorship of the Proletariat Class will be established , the capitalist or bourgeoisie class will be liquidated and the state will wither away, and a classless and stateless society will emerge.

## **FUNCTIONS OF MODERN STATES**

### **Essential functions and Optional functions** |

- Maintenance of law and order.
- Protect life, liberty, property of the people.
- Determination of contract rights between individuals.
- Defining and punishing crime.
- Administration of justice.
- Determination of political duties, privileges and relations of citizens.
- Maintenance of foreign relations, protection of its sovereignty –internal and external.
- Financial functions like taxation, currency, and coinage etc.
- Military functions.

### **Optional Function.**

- Regulation of trade and industry.
- Regulation of wages.
- Management of transportation.
- Maintenance of communication system.
- Maintenance of sanitation
- Providing education etc.

CHAPTER - III  
**SOVEREIGNTY**

The word sovereignty is derived from the Latin word “superanus” which means supreme or paramount. Although the term sovereignty is modern yet the idea of sovereignty goes back to Aristotle who spoke of the "supreme power of the state". In this technical form it was first used by the French writer Bodin in his book 'Republic'. According to Bodin “sovereignty is the supreme power of state over citizens and subjects unrestrained by law.”

Sovereignty is the most important characteristic which distinguishes the state from all other organizations. The state is supreme and it is above all individuals as well as associations. In one word we can say sovereignty denotes the supremacy of the state internally and externally. Hence the concept of sovereignty is one of the most fundamental concepts in the study of political science. Definitions of sovereignty.

1. "Sovereignty is the supreme power of state over citizens and subjects unrestrained by law."  
- Bodin
2. “Sovereignty is the supreme political power vested in him whose acts are not subject to any other and whose will cannot be overriden”  
- Grotious
3. "By sovereignty I understand the original, absolute, unlimited universal power over the individual subject and all association of subject. It is an derived and independent power to command and compel obedience  
- Burgass
4. "Sovereignty is the supreme will of the state" - Willoughby
5. Sovereignty is the "commanding power of the state; it is the will of the nation organised in the state, it is the right to give unconditional orders, to all individuals in the territory of the state"  
- Duguit
6. "Sovereignty is the daily operative power of framing and giving efficacy to the laws"  
-Woodrow Wilson

**Two aspects of sovereignty**

There are two aspects of sovereignty: internal sovereignty and external sovereignty.

**Internal sovereignty-** It refers to the supreme authority exercised by the state over the people and territory that it controls. It is absolute in authority over all individuals or associations within the state. It issues orders to all men and all associations within that area and it receives orders from none. The will of the state is absolute and it is subject to no legal limitations. In the words of Laski, "Sovereignty is legally over an individual or group, he possesses Supreme Coercive Power."

**External sovereignty-** By external sovereignty we mean that the state is independent of any compulsions or interference from the part of other states. Each independent state reserves the authority to renounce trade treaties and to enter into military agreements. Thus by external

sovereignty we mean that every state is independent of other states .In other words, external sovereignty means national freedom.

### **Characteristics of sovereignty**

According to Garner, following are the characteristics or attributes of sovereignty:

1. **Permanence:** It is the chief characteristic of sovereignty. Sovereignty lasts as long as an independent state exists. The death of a King or the overthrow or the change of a particular system of the government does not lead to the destruction of sovereignty. Justice Sutherland of U.S.A. said " Rules come and go ; governments end and forms of government change ; but sovereignty is never held in suspense". This is the reason why people in England used to say "King is dead, long live the King".

2. **Exclusiveness:** The sovereign power is exclusive prerogative of the state and is not shared by it with any other authority or group. In the state there can be only one sovereign who can legally compel obedience from all persons and associations within its jurisdiction. By this we mean that there can be no two sovereigns in one independent state. If two sovereigns exist in a state the unity of that state will be destroyed. There cannot exist another sovereigns state within the existing sovereign state.

3. **All comprehensiveness:** The state is all comprehensive and the sovereign power is universally applicable. Every individual and every association of individuals is subject to sovereignty of the state. No association or group of individuals however rich or powerful, cannot resist or disobey the sovereign authority. Sovereignty makes no exception and grants no exemption to any one.

4. **Inalienability:** Sovereignty is inalienable. By inalienability we mean that the state cannot part with its sovereignty .In other words we can say that the sovereign or the sovereign state does not remain, "if the sovereign or the state transfers his or its sovereignty to any other person or any other state. Sovereignty is the life and soul of the state and it cannot be alienated without destroying the state itself.

5. **Indivisibility:** It is the essence of sovereignty. Sovereignty cannot be divided without being destroyed . The division of sovereignty leads to the disunity of state. In the words of Gettell " the concept of divided sovereignty is a contradiction in terms . If the sovereignty is not absolute ,no state exists; if sovereignty is divided , more than one state exists ".American statesman Calhaun has declared" sovereignty is an entire thing to divide it is to destroy it. It is the supreme power in a state and we might just as well speak of half square or half a triangle as half a sovereignty".

6. **Absoluteness:** Absoluteness of sovereignty means that there is no legal power within the state or outside the state superior to it. The authority of the sovereign is not subject to any internal or external limitations. He is absolute and unlimited the sovereign is entitled to do whatever he likes.

### **Types of Sovereignty**

## **Legalistic view of Sovereignty or Austinian Theory of Sovereignty Or Monistic Theory of Sovereignty**

This is also known as monistic theory of sovereignty, this theory finds its expression in the works of John Austin an English jurist of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. He explains his theory in his book "Lectures on Jurisprudence". He formulated his theory based on the teachings of Hobbes and Bentham.

His theory of sovereignty may be summarised as follows.

“ if a determinate human superior, not in the habit of obedience to a like superior, receives habitual obedience from the bulk of a given society, that determinate superior is sovereign in that society, and the society(including the superior)is a society political and independent, law is the command of a determinate human superior to an inferior”.

An analysis of Austinian theory of sovereignty shows the following distinctive features of sovereignty and law.

1. According to Austin, in every independent society there is a sovereign power and this sovereign is a determinate person or body of persons.
2. The power of sovereign is legally unlimited. There is no law to limit the powers of the sovereign.
3. The sovereign receives habitual obedience from the bulk of its people. Obedience must be a matter of habit not merely occasional.
4. The power of the sovereign is indivisible. The sovereign power is absolute and incapable of limitations.
5. Laws are the commands of the superior and without the superior. There can be no law.

In short, Austin affirms the existence of supreme power, which is determinate, absolute, inalienable, indivisible, all comprehensive and permanent.

Critical views

Many writers have severely criticised Austin's theory of sovereignty. Henry Maine, Laski, Sidwick are its main critics.

According to Henry Maine, in many empires of the east, there was nothing corresponding to the determinate superior of Austin. He gives the example of Maharaja Ranjith Singh of Punjab, who exercised despotic powers over his subjects but was at the same time bound by the customary laws of the community. No sovereign can ignore the social customs of the society. So Maine concludes that sovereignty has never been absolute.

Hence sovereignty is divisible and it must be divided between the state and various other associations.

Another criticism is that Austin's theory of sovereignty is difficult to apply in the existing states. In the USA it is difficult to locate Austin's sovereignty. Neither the union nor the state governments can be called sovereign because the power of each is specified and limited by the constitutions.

Austin's contention that sovereignty is absolute and unlimited has also been challenged. Sovereignty is never absolute in the real sense of the term. No sovereign has unlimited power. The

sovereign may be legally unlimited but there are political and historical limits. Bluntchli says “the state is not almighty, for it is limited externally by the rights of the other states and internally by the rights of its individual members”. Thus there are external and internal limitations over the sovereign.

It is also argued that the theory of Austin would lead to legal despotism. There should be limitations on the powers of the various organs of government.

From the above critical analysis, the concept of sovereignty is unrealistic. Austin has ignored the social force and influences which lie at the back of legal sovereignty. His theory lays under stress on the legal aspect of sovereignty and ignores the force of public opinion. Law is not merely a command of the sovereign but also an instrument of social welfare. In spite of these defects, Austin’s theory of sovereignty is clear, matter of fact and logical.

### **Pluralistic view of sovereignty**

Pluralism and Pluralistic theory of sovereignty was a reaction against the Monistic or Absolute theory of sovereignty. The Pluralists, unlike the monists, believe that sovereignty is not the exclusive prerogative of the state and is shared by the various groups and associations in the society. It was a reaction against unlimited state and sovereignty. It was a voice to control, limit and divide the sovereignty of the state. It was a movement of labour, economic, religious, professional association and unions for the fulfilment of demands of price and powers against state.

According to pluralists, sovereignty resides not only with the states but it resides with many other institutions. There exist many social, political, cultural and economic, institutions in the society and many of these institutions are prior to the state. For Maine concludes that Austin’s theory is inconsistent with the idea of popular sovereignty. Democracy is based on the principle that sovereignty resides in the people. But according to Austin the sovereign is a determinate person and everybody else is subordinate to him. Austin does not take into account political sovereignty. He ignores the massive influences of the political sovereign.

Austin’s definition of law which forms the basis of his theory cannot be accepted. According to him, law is the command given by a superior to an inferior. But in fact, all laws do not flow from the sovereign. In every society there are customary laws which have grown up through usages. According to Duguit, “law is binding not because it is made by state but because it is necessary for the attainment of social solidarity”. Laski finds the individual conscience to be the true source to law.

Austin’s contention that sovereignty is indivisible also has been rejected. In every political society there is a division of functions. The pluralists challenge the claim of the state to enjoy supremacy on the ground that society consists of several associations and the state is only one among them. Hence the state cannot be endowed with sovereign power of the community, example family and church are prior to the state. According to pluralists, the state is not only the supreme institution. On the contrary like other institutions the state is also one of the institutions of society. Thus the state does not reserve the authority to exercise sovereignty according to his will. Sovereignty is not his private property. The pluralistic state is therefore “simply a state in which there exists no single source of authority”.

Harold Laski, J N Figgis, Earnest Barker, G D H Cole A. D. Lindsay, Duguit, Maclver and others are the exponents of pluralism.

### **The following are the main points of pluralism.**

1. Society is not unity but unity in diversity. There are many interests in society.
2. The state is an association like many other associations of society. Sovereignty and state are not all comprehensive.
3. The state can not have unlimited and absolute sovereignty.
4. Sovereignty of the state is not indivisible. It should be divided between the state and other association.
5. As man has to owe allegiance also to other organisation and associations of society. His total allegiance is not and can not be towards the state.
6. Law is not the command of the sovereign as it is based on moral and natural rules, customs, traditions etc.
7. The external sovereignty of the state is restricted by international laws.

### **Criticism**

1. The state is needed to control various type of institutions existing in society. It is the sovereign state that brings about unity and regulates all the association existing in society. The supporter of pluralism have to realise the need of the state for this purpose.
2. If sovereignty is divided among various associations existing in society , the division lead to the restriction of sovereignty. As a result anarchy will prevail in society and there will be chaos.
3. Many of the pluralists believe that law is superior to the state and the state is controlled by law. But this hypothesis is wrong because laws are framed by the state.
4. It is a mere illusion and not a reality that other associations are equal in status to the state.
5. If the associations in a state are transferred limited sovereignty, society will deteriorate and mutual dispute will arise.
6. State is needed for protecting people from the excess of associations.

Pluralism has not been able to have a solid base, so far as its attack on sovereignty is concerned. It can be termed as a misfired shot on the state sovereignty. Pluralism is a weak theory. It is unpractical so far as politics is concerned ,anarchic as a social theory, unscientific as an economic theory and ambiguous as legal theory.

## CHAPETER IV

### LAW , LIBERTY, EQUALITY, JUSTICE, RIGHTS, AND DUTIES.

#### LAW - MEANING AND DIMENSIONS

It is difficult to give an exact definition of law. Laws have different meanings at different times. It prescribes the general conditions of human activity in the state. It refers to body of rules which regulate and guide human conduct in various spheres of state and individual activities. It is a body of principles recognized and applied by the state through a set of institutions. They are virtually commands, ordering or prohibiting certain actions and affect everyday life and society in a variety of ways. The policies of the state are expressed through law and disobedience to laws involves punishment.

#### **Definitions.**

The term law is derived from the old Teutonic root 'lag' which means something which lies fixed. In English language the term law is used to denote something which is uniform. The Oxford dictionary defines law as "a rule of conduct imposed by an authority". Some of the definitions of law are as follows:

1. Woodrow Wilson: " law as the portion of that established thought and habit which has gained distinct and formal recognition in the sphere of uniform rules backed by the authority and power of the government".
2. John Austin: " law as a command of a sovereign who receives habitual obedience from the people living within his jurisdiction".
3. Holland : " A law is a general rule of external human action enforced by a sovereign political authority ".
4. Salmond: " Law is a collection of the rules which the state recognises and applies in the administration of justice".
5. T.H.Green: " The law is a system of rights and obligations which the state enforces".
6. Pound : " The law constitutes body of principles recognised or enforced by public and regular tribunals in the administration of justice".
7. Krabbe : "Law is the expression of the judgements of value which we human beings make by virtue of our disposition and nature".

From the above definitions there are certain characteristics of law:

1. Law is concerned with the external actions of the people.
2. Law is definite and is universally applicable.
3. Law is enforced by the supreme authority of the state.
4. Law is essential for maintaining peace and order in the state.
5. Violation of law is a crime and is punishable.

6. Law is concerned with the external behaviour of man.
7. Obedience of law is compulsory .
8. Law is meant for the welfare of all.

#### **SOURCES OF LAW.**

According to Holland , Customs ,Religion , Equity , Judicial Decisions, Scientific Discussion and Legislation are the major sources law.

##### **1. CUSTOMS :**

Customs play a decisive role in the framing of the laws. It is the earliest source of law and play an important role in the growth of laws. Most of law spring from the customs and are recognised by the state. In every society people observe certain common rules of conduct. These rules of conduct are popularly known as customs. It may be defined "as a body of rules universally accepted and followed due to their utility". When the state came into existence it recognised some of the customs and these acquired the status of law.

##### **2. RELIGION :**

In primitive society religion played a decisive role in the framing of laws. Like customs religion has been the earliest school of law. It highly influenced and regulated the social conduct of the people. With the passage of time , the religious principles went deep into human psychology. The modern jurists had to incorporate the religious principles in the body of law. In India we can get the Hindu Law based on the Code of Manu, the Mohammedian Law based on Quran and the Christian Law based on the Bible. In ancient India, it was the duty of the King to uphold Dharma and the source of the Dharma was the Vedas.

##### **3. EQUITY:**

Another source of law is equity. It means fairness or justice. Judges in every country have contributed a lot towards the process of law making .They make new laws in the course of their judicial decisions. Sometime a case about which existing laws are silent may come up before a judge. In such case , he will give his judgement by consulting his own sense of justice and fair-play. In the words of Gilchrist , " Equity is an informal method of making new law or altering old law, depending on intrinsic fairness or equality of treatment".

##### **4. JUDICIAL DECISIONS OR ADJUDICATIONS;**

Judicial decisions play an important role in the framing of laws . Gettell said that the state " arose not as the creator of law but as the interpreter and enforcer of custom". The function of the Judge is to interpret and declare law. Through its interpretations , the Judge makes new laws and later on recognised by the state. In this way judicial decisions are another source of law.

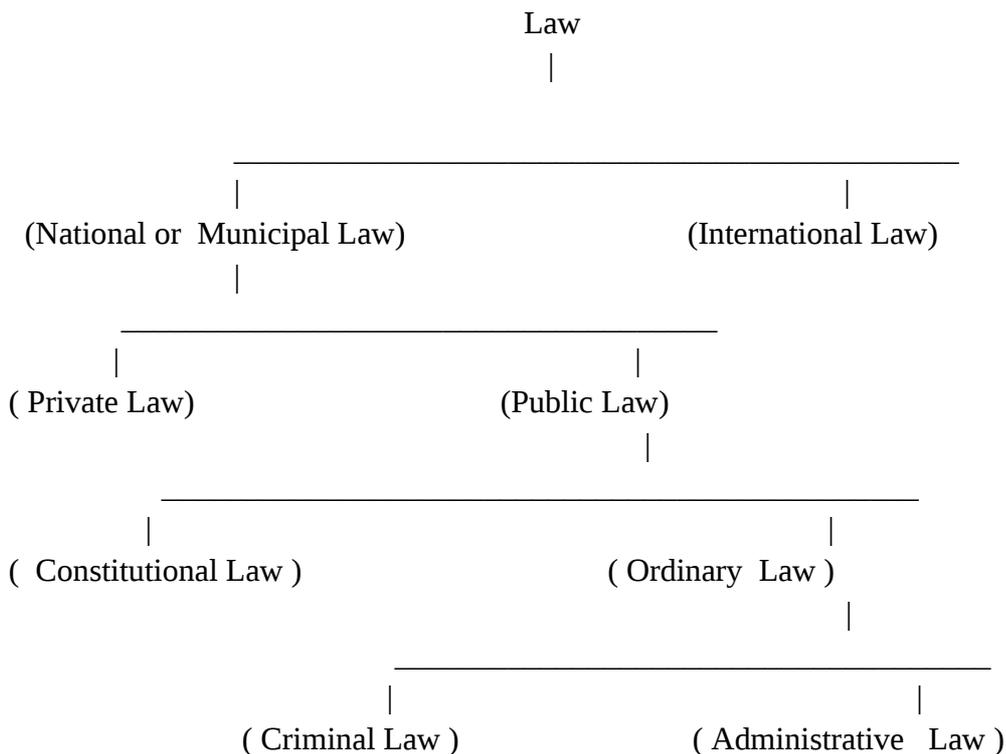
##### **5. SCIENTIFIC COMMENTARIES.**

Scientific discussion and commentaries are the another source of law. The commentaries or writings of great jurists sometime become the important source of law . They are valuable for the lawyer and judge. It is referred during the discussions of a particular case in a court of law." It provides the basis for new law , not the new law itself" Firstly the commentary appears for the convince of argument, but later on which the authority is recognised and it becomes law. For example the commentaries of Blackstone and Coke greatly influence to British legal system.

##### **6. LEGISLATION**

Legislation is the modern and most important source of law especially in democratic countries. Legislature constantly repeals and amends the old laws which are outdated. It makes new laws to meet the requirements of time. It is absorbing other sources of laws. Hence in the words of Woodrow Wilson " All means of formulating laws tend to be swallowed up in one great, deep and broadening sense, legislation". Gilchrist says " it is the chief source of law and is tending to supplant the other sources. Customs and equity are both largely replaced by legislative acts. The codification of law tends to narrow down the field of judicial decisions as a source of law and scientific commentaries are used merely for discussions".

#### KINDS OF LAWS



#### 1. International Law :

It is a body of rules which governs the relationship among independent sovereign states. These laws are not framed by any sovereign law making authority nor is any sovereign authority to enforce them. These laws are meant for regulating the conduct of various state in the world.

#### 2. National or Municipal Law:

It is the body of the rule interacted by the state and governs the rights and duties of the citizen towards each other and towards the state within the municipal boundaries. While International Law is the law between the states, National or Municipal Law is the law within the state.

#### 3. Public Law :

It is the law which determines the relationship between the state and the citizens. According to Holland , "the public law is concerned with the organization of the state , the limits on the functions of the government and the relation between the state and the citizens".

#### 4. **Private Law :**

It is the body of rules which governs the relationship of people among themselves. It regulates and determine the relations of citizens to one another. In the words of Holland," the parties concerned the private individuals above and between whom stands the state as an impartial arbiter".

#### 5. **Constitutional Law :**

It is the supreme law of the land . The laws that define, interpret and regulate the functions of the government are known as Constitutional Law. It is through these laws that various organs of the government are regulated and relation between the state and citizens are established. It may be written or unwritten and usually enacted by a constituent assembly setup for framing the constitution.

#### 6. **Ordinary Law:**

The Ordinary Law is framed by the government as the part of national law by which the relations of individuals are determined. It is permanent in nature and considered to be the part of the law of the land.

#### 6. **Administrative Law:**

Administrative Law is the part of public law which regulates the conduct of public officials in discharge of their duties.

Administrative Law determines the mutual rights and duties of public officials and the citizens. This law is not administered by the the ordinary courts but by the administrative courts. In the words of Dicey, Administrative Laws interpret the office and the responsibilities of government servants.

#### 7. **Common Law:**

Common law is based on customs, traditions, and usages. They are recognised and enforced by courts in England. When this common law attain in written form it is known as civil law.

### **LIBERTY**

The term liberty is derived from the Latin word 'liber' which means free. It has been defined in various ways The centre theme of liberty is the absence of all restraints and freedom to do whatever one likes. But it is not possible to have such a liberty while living in society. Man is a social animal and he is living in society. He must , therefore , adjust his liberty with due regarding to the liberty of others. Regulation of human conduct and behaviour is indispensable in social life. The fundamental maxim of liberty is that law is the condition of liberty. Prof. Barker has pointed out that just as the absence of ugliness does not mean presence of beauty, so the absence of all restrains does not mean the presents of liberty. Freedom is a very precious condition without which neither the state nor the individuals can make any progress.

#### **Definitions**

1. **G.D.H Cole** defines liberty **“as the freedom of every individual to express without external hindrance in his personality.”**

2. **Prof.Seeley** defines liberty **“as the absence of restraints or the opposite of over government.”**

3. **Herbert Spencer** --“**Liberty is the freedom to do whatever one likes provided it does not injure the feelings of others.**”

4. **Gandhi** -- "**Liberty does not mean the absence restraint but it lies in development of Liberty.**"

5. 'Liberty' According to **Burns**, "**means liberty to grow to one's natural height, to develop one's abilities**".

6. **Harold Laski maintains**, " without rights there cannot be liberty because, without rights , men are the subjects of law unrelated the needs of personality"

### **NATURE OF LIBERTY**

#### **Negative Concepts of liberty**

Berlin defines Negative Liberty as a freedom from interference from others. It means absence of unreasonable restraints. Simply negative liberty means, the absence of coercion by individuals or institutions over interference into the private sphere of an individual. It assures dichotomy between two areas of activity , the area of public authority and area of private life. How wider or narrow are the two respective areas is a matter of discussion and determined by social and economic circumstances. Liberty is wider and activity is also wider if interference from others is minimum.

Liberty alone can enable a person to develop his personality . The state should guarantee only non-interference by one with the other. So far as the choice of the individual is concerned, he must be his own master. The individualist school of thought was the main supporter of negative concept of liberty.

The major exponents of negative concept of liberty are J.S.Mill, Herbert Spencer , Bentham, Smith etc.

#### **Positive Concepts of Liberty**

Positive concept of liberty means that the state creates positive conditions for a good life. It demands conditions which are essential for self development of the individuals. Every individual must enjoy the benefit of social life. In the words of Laski , " liberty means the eager maintenance of that atmosphere in which men can have the opportunity to be their best selves". Thus positive concept of liberty means the removal of hindrances from the way of good life and the creation of equal opportunities for all. All the modern democratic states have more or less accepted this positive concept of liberty.

Positive concept of liberty was advocated by Laski, T.H. Green, Kant, Hegel.

#### **Kinds of Liberty**

##### **1. Natural Liberty:**

Natural liberty is generally identified with unlimited and unrestricted freedom. Natural liberty according to Hobbes, is the absolute right of man in the state of nature to all things including the right to kill other man. In the social life no man enjoys natural liberty since he is subject to regulations and rules named by the government and moral pressures of society.

The advocates of natural liberty hold that man is free by nature and that it is civilization, which is responsible for his bondage. Rousseau was the chief exponent of the concept of natural liberty, and natural liberty existed in that state of nature. He says men lost his natural liberty with emerges of the state or civil society.

## **2. Civil Liberty:**

Civil liberty implies freedom enjoyed by the people in civil society. Civil liberty is created by the civil rights guaranteed by the state. The more the civil rights, the more the civil liberty. According to Gettle, "civil liberty consists of the rights and privileges which the state creates and protects for its subjects". It is manifested in concrete terms in rights such as the right of freedom, the right of life, freedom of speech and expression, property, association, education etc.

## **3. Political Liberty:**

Political liberties are based on the political rights of an individual and is the freedom to participate in the political life and affairs of the state. Political liberty is essentially associated with democracy and it makes a state into a democratic one. Without political liberty neither the state can be democratic nor the individual can enjoy full civil liberties. The two essential conditions necessary for the existence of political liberties are education and free press. It consists of the right to vote, right to stand for election, right to hold public office and the right to criticise the government.

## **4. Economic Liberty:**

Economic liberty implies that the basic necessities of life should be assured to everybody. It means absence of economic disparities, exploitation, insecurity, unemployment and starvation. Economic liberty is said to be the mother of all other liberties. Civil and political liberties become meaningless in the absence of economic liberty. In his book 'Grammar of Politics', Prof: Laski defines economic liberty thus: "By economic liberty, I mean security and the opportunities to find reasonable significance in the earning of one's daily bread.....".

## **5. Moral Liberty:**

Moral liberty implies the right of an individual to act according to his conscience. It means the freedom of an individual to act as rational being. It is given an opportunity to express and develop his personality. It is possible in a democratic state and not in a totalitarian state. In totalitarian state people are expected to act according to the orders of the government and not according to their inner conscience.

## **6. National Liberty**

National liberty implies the liberty of the nation or the country. It exists where the nation or the community is independent and sovereign. It means that, a nation which is completely free from foreign domination. Every nation has a birthright to regulate its national life as it likes. If a nation is under the control of others, no cultural, social, economic and political developments are possible.

### **Safeguards of Liberty**

#### **1. Establishment of Democracy.**

Liberty can exist only in a democratic form of government. In a democratic government run by the elected representatives of the people, government is accountable to and removable by the people. In this system, political power really resides in the hands of the people.

## **2. Fundamental Rights :**

Another prerequisite of liberty is that there should be a supreme law of the country, namely, the constitution. It is the only constitution that confines the authority of the state. Constitution of democratic countries like America and India, which should incorporate certain fundamental rights to the people, these rights protect the personal liberties of citizens from the state interference. Thus constitution safeguards the liberty of the people and it is a custodian of those liberties.

## **3. Independence of Judiciary:**

The judges are the interpreters of the constitution and the courts are the custodians of the liberty of the people. So liberty can be enjoyed if there is an independent judiciary. It is completely free from the influence of legislature and executive. Only an impartial and independent judiciary can safeguard the rights and liberties of the people.

## **4. Eternal vigilance:**

Lord Bryce has aptly remarked, "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty". People should be conscious of their rights and duties and they should be always ready to safeguard them. They should always be alert and ready to resist any irresponsible interference or encroachment on liberty from the state.

## **5. Separation of powers:**

Another condition of liberty is that there should be separation of powers. Separation of powers is an effective safeguard for individual liberty. In the interests of individual liberty, legislature, executive and judiciary wings of the government should be vested in separate and distinct organs, each independent of the other.

## **6. Rule of Law:**

Rule of law is an essential prerequisite of liberty. It means equality before law and equal protection of law. Nobody is above law, law applies to everyone equally and violation of law will be punished equally. It also means that no person can be deprived of his life, liberty and property except in accordance with law. In the rule of law the government work must be done in accordance with the procedure prescribed by law. Thus the rule of law is an effective instrument of individual liberty.

## **7. Decentralisation of Powers:**

Decentralisation of powers ensures a large participation of people in the democratic process of the country, reduces work load and improves the efficiency of the government and prevents the rise of dictatorship. Laski observes that "the more widespread distribution of power in the state, the more decentralised its character .....". So at every level of administration there should be representation of the people and that is essential for safeguarding the liberty of the people.

## **8. Absence of special of privilege :**

Another prerequisite of liberty is that none in society should enjoy any privileges based on caste, sex, colour, religion, language, region or any other ground. If in a state when certain persons are given special privileges, the rights of the common man cannot be safeguarded. The existence of special privileges for some spoils the spirit of liberty and that creates chaos and confusion in the society. So absence of special privileges is an essential safeguard of the liberty.

### 9. Free and Independent Press.

This is another essential condition of liberty. A free and independent press ensures liberty of individuals. It makes available objective and unbiased news, criticises government policies and enables the people from correct attitudes towards various problems of the day. This information helps the people to choose their representatives in elections.

### 10. Healthy Party System.

This is necessary in a democratic set-up as it provides choice to the people in elections. It is also an important instrument for improving the political consciousness among the people. It is the best safeguard of people's liberty as it enables them to resist unjust and cruel laws.

#### Relationship between law and Liberty .

Liberty exists only in a ordered state. The state frames laws and the sovereign state operates through these laws. Now it is universally accepted that laws are the protectors of liberty and liberty ceases to existence independence of law.

Law is actually the condition of liberty. First of all law provides congenial atmosphere for the smooth running civil life in society. Law punishes the criminal and defend the rights of the individuals. Secondly law guarantees the enjoyment of individual rights and duties and protect them from hinders. Thirdly, constitution is the custodian of liberty. Only the constitution that confines the authority of the state and protects the fundamental rights of the people.

## EQUALITY

Equality, like liberty is one of the fundamental pillars of democracy. The American Declaration of Independence in 1776 proclaims that "**We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal**". The French Declaration of Rights of Man (1789) also emphasises "Men are born, and always continue, free and equal in respect of their rights".

The Charter of United Nations also recognizes equality in international sphere when it says : "**The organization is based on the principles of sovereign equality of all its members**".

Equality means that all men are equal and should be entitled equal, opportunity and treatment. It was the growth of individualism, that is responsible for the fresh interest in the issue of equality. In the beginning, the focus of attention was equality by birth i.e. natural equality and equality before law i.e. legal equality. In the 18'th century liberalism that leads to socio- legal equality and in the 19'th century economic and political equality, gained momentum.

#### Definitions

1. "**Equality does not mean the identity of treatment or the sameness of reward. If a brick-layer gets the same reward as a mathematician or a scientist, the purpose of society will be defeated. Equality, therefore, means first of all absence of social privileges. In the second place it means that adequate opportunities are laid open to all**" -LASKI

2. " Equality is derived from the supreme value of the development of in each like and equally , but each along its own different time and its own separate motion". - BARKER

### **Kinds of Equality**

#### **1. Social equality :**

Social equality means that all citizens are entitled to enjoy equal status in society and no one is entitled to special privileges. There may be rational distinction in the society with regard to occupation and professions, but the feeling of inferiority and superiority should not be attached to these. It stands for all should be treated equally in the eyes of law, no discrimination on grounds of colour, caste, creed, sex, religion etc. , removal of social stigmas like untouchability . On the 10'th December ,1948. UNO, declared the charter of Human Rights which laid stress on social equality.

#### **2. Political Equality**

Political Equality implies that everyone has equal access to the avenues of power. All citizens whatever may be their differences in status , education and wealth should have an equal voice in the management of public affairs and in holding public offices. Universal adult franchise is the expression of political equality. All democratic countries are based the principle of "one man , one vote , one value" is faithfully adopted. Equality of opportunity in getting elected and in holding public offices , freedom of expression and association and rights to seek redressal of public grievances are the important pillars of political equality.

#### **3. Economic Equality:**

Economic equality involves a certain level of income and removal of gross inequalities of wealth. Economic equality is the prerequisite for the existence and enjoyment of political, social and legal equality. It does not mean equal distribution of wealth, which is not practical, but prevent the concentration of wealth in a few hands. Economic condition of an individual essentially influences his political condition.

#### **4. Legal Equality:**

Legal equality or equality before law is fundamental to legal justice. Legal equality implies that all are alike in the eye of law and that are entitled to its equal protection. The rich and poor , the high and low should all be treated alike. No distinction should be made between man and man on the ground of social status , religious faith or political opinion. In short, Legal equality or equality before law implies absence of discrimination. The Rule of Law is practiced in the Great Britain and many other countries of the world.

### **Conditions Necessary for Realising Equality**

1. Equality is attained when accidental advantages of birth and wealth are eliminated and success or failure is made upon ability and character of individuals.
2. It is realised when the law removes all discrimination based on caste, class, community, religion, race or sex.
3. Equality is achieved when equal claims for adequate opportunities are recognised and no one person , or class or community is sacrificed for the sake of another .
4. Lastly ,equality is attained when the claims all to a minimum standard of education, housing , food are recognised and there is guarantee against economic insecurity.

## JUSTICE

The term 'justice' is derived from the Latin word "justicia" which means joining or fitting, or of bound or tie. The concept of justice has been analysed and defined differently by philosophers, political thinkers, economists, sociologists and religious leaders. It has been changing from time to time, depending upon the conditions and circumstances prevailing in each age. It has to coordinate and draw a harmonious balance between rights and duties of the people living in the society. It is connected with the moral, social, economic, political, and legal relations of an individual with others.

According to John Rawls, "Our justice of the social scheme depends eventually on how fundamental rights and duties are assigned and the economic opportunities and social conditions in the various sections of society". Thus, the theory of justice has two meanings, broader meaning and a narrower meaning. In the broader meaning, there are two views- (a) justice is an eternal or absolute concept and (b) relative concept - differs from society to society.

In the narrow meaning of justice is associated with a legal system and legal process in a society. In this sense, it is related to the settlement of disputes through judicial bodies.

### Definitions

1. "Justice consists of a system of understanding and procedures through which each is accorded what is agreed upon as fair".

- **Charls Marriam**

2. "Justice is the reconciler and the synthesis of political values; it is their union in an adjusted and integrated whole"

- **Barker**

3. "from each according to his capacity, to each according to his need" - Saint Simon

- **Saint Simon**

4. "All social primary goods - liberty and opportunities, income and wealth and the basis of self respect - are to be distributed equally unless an unequal distribution of any or all of these goods is to be advantage of least favoured".

- **John Rawls**

### Kinds of Justice or Dimensions of justice

#### 1. Legal Justice:

This is the narrow concept of justice and is associated with the legal system and the legal procedure existing in the society. The court of law interprets the law and applies the law after hearing the parties involved in a dispute. Here, justice is what is administered by the court of law and the interpretation of the Judge is considered as an embodiment of justice. Justice in the legal sense requires the following conditions.

- a. Just and reasonable non-discriminatory laws.
- b. The administration of justice by free and independent courts.
- c. Inexpensive judicial process.
- d. Court procedure should be simplified and avoid delay in justice.

e. There should be a Rule of Law in the country.

## 2. **Political Justice :**

Political Justice stands for a free and fair participation of people in the political sphere. Universal adult franchise is the expression of Political Justice. All liberal democratic countries are based on the principle of "one man , one vote , one value" which is faithfully adopted. Political institutions should be representative in character. Equality of opportunity in getting elected and in holding public offices , freedom of expression and association and rights to seek redressal of public grievances are the important pillars of political justice.

## 3. **Social Justice:**

The concept of Social Justice is based on the belief that all human beings are equal and that no discrimination should be made on the ground of race, religion, caste, sex, or place of birth. It has three implications.: (a) equal social opportunities (b) special attention to weaker sections. (c) removal of social evils

## 4. **Economic Justice :**

Economic justice implies non-discrimination between man and man on the basis of economic viability. It stands for by assuring adequate means of livelihood to all, by making provisions for adequate working conditions, for equal pay for equal work, fair distribution of resources, equal economic opportunities to all people etc. The concept of economic justice was emphasised by the socialistic thinkers.

## 5. **Marxists view.**

Marxists believe that economic justice cannot be achieved unless private property and capitalist control of production are abolished completely. They think that economic rights and economic equality along with can ensure economic justice. Further, they believe that in the absence of economic justice , people cannot achieve legal, political and social justice. Karl Marx emphasises economic justice with the guiding principle " from each according to his ability , to each according to his needs".

## **Rights and Duties**

The rights are essential for the adequate development of human personality and for human happiness. Rights are the necessary conditions for the personal , social, economic, political, mental and moral development of individuals . Rights are the social requirement of a social man for the development of his personality and society at large. Laski defined rights as " those conditions of social life without which he cannot seek, in general, to be himself at his best and every state is known by the right it maintains ".

## **Definition**

1. " rights are nothing more and nothing less than those social conditions which are necessary or favourable to the development of personality".

- **Dr.Beniprasad**

2."right is a power claimed and recognised as contributory to common good".

- **T.H. Green**

3."rights are those condition of social life without which no man can be his best self".

- **Pro. Laski**

4. Rights as " the external conditions necessary for the greatest possible development of the capacities of the personality"

- **Prof. Barker**

5. " One's natural rights are one's natural power".

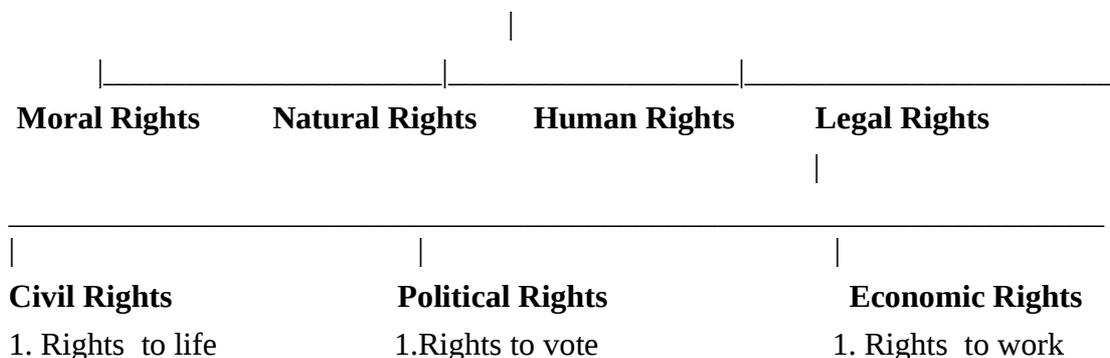
- **Hobbes**

### Characteristics of rights

1. **Rights are social in their application** : only by living in a society a man can satisfy his needs and realised what is best in him. The question of rights therefor arise only in society. A lonely man in a lonely island has no rights because there is no one to attack him or to encroach his individuality.
2. **Rights are related to human needs** : they are those condition or opportunities without which we cannot develop our power or latent opportunities.
3. **Rights are not absolute**: if circumstances demand certain restriction can be put on the enjoyment of rights with a view to secure the larger interest of society.
4. **Rights are not permanent**: The content of rights is changing according to the changing needs and aspirations of s society. For example before the invention of printing press freedom of expression was not considered necessary.
5. **Rights are general in character**: Rights are general in sense that opportunities for self developments should be equally available to all. There cannot be any discrimination as far as the application of rights.
6. **Rights implies duties**: Every right has a corresponding duty. If I have a right, the enjoyment of my rights implies a duty on part of others. Rights are real only to extent to which they have been excepted by others as an obligation.
7. **Rights are relative with functions**: The number of rights possessed by an individual must correspond to the contribution makes to society. The president of a country enjoys more rights than his peon because his contribution is definitely greater than the peon.

### CLASSIFICATION OF RIGHTS

#### KINDS OF RIGHTS



- |  |  |  |
|--|--|--|
| 2. Rights to freedom                             | 2. Rights to contest elections                           | 2. Rights to leisure & rest              |
| 3. Personal security                             | 3. Rights to form political parties                      | 3. Rights to form trade union            |
| 4. Rights to property                            | 4. Rights to hold public meetings                        | 4. Rights to adequate wages              |
| 5. Rights to expression ,<br>Speech & free press | 5. Rights to criticise govt:&<br>disobey its unjust laws | 5. Rights against exploitation           |
| 6. Freedom of assembly                           | 6. Rights to petition                                    | 6. Rights to social security             |
| 7. Freedom to form unions &<br>associations      | 7. Rights to public office                               | 7. Rights to equal pay for equal<br>work |
8. Rights to equality before law and equal protection of law.

Rights are four categories :they are Natural Rights , Legal Rights, Moral Rights and Human Rights. Legal Rights further subdivided into three groups ie. Civil Rights , Political Rights and Economic Rights.

### 1. **Natural Rights :**

By natural rights we mean those rights which are enjoyed by the people even before the origin of state. According to writers like Hobbes and Locke, natural rights were those rights which are enjoyed by the Individuals in the state of nature. According to Rousseau natural rights were those ideal rights which are enjoyed by the individuals before the origin of the state. The old view with regard to nature rights is not accepted today. The only sense in which the theory of natural rights accepted is that these rights are considered to be natural and essential for the individual whether they are actually recognised or not.

### 2. **Legal rights:**

Legal rights are those rights which are secured by the state and guaranteed through its laws. Legal rights may be defined as the claims recognised by the state. These rights are enforced by the state through its police and courts .Legal rights are embodied in the constitution. Legal rights are further divided into three categories, namely civil rights, political rights and economic rights.

#### A. **Civil rights:**

They are those rights without which no civilised life is possible. Civilised life is impossible under the fear of being hurt, attacked, killed or our property confiscated. Civil rights are considered to be primary and more vital than the other two. The important civil rights are protection of life and property, right to education, right to family, right to freedom of speech and expression.

#### B. **Political rights:**

They are those rights which enable the people to have a share in the administration of the country. By exercising the political rights the individual participates in the affairs relating to the administration of the country. The important political rights given to the citizens are right to vote,

the right to stand as candidate for the elections, the right to hold government office and the right to criticise the government.

### **C. Economic rights:**

Political and civil rights are meaningless unless some economic rights are guaranteed. Economic rights are the right to work, the right to adequate wages and right to reasonable hours of work. These economic conditions are very essential for the economic and political progress of man.

### **Moral Rights**

Moral rights are based on our morality, justice, or conscience and they are not guaranteed by any legal authority. Moral rights are largely based on religious belief and the moral conceptions of the people in any society. Therefore, they differ from society to society. They arise out of man's moral sense. Ritchie defines moral rights as "the claim of an individual on others recognised by the society irrespective of its recognition by the state".

## **4. Human Rights.**

Human rights are rights inherent to all human beings without any discrimination on ground of nationality, region, language, origin, etc. These rights are often expressed and guaranteed by law, which is in the form of treaties, customary international law and such other general principles.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR- December 10, 1948) constitutes for the most significant effort in the direction of protection, preservation and promotion of human rights in the international sphere. The UHRD has been termed "as an historic event of the profound significance and one of the greatest achievement of the United Nations".

## CHAPTER -V

### POLITICAL SYSTEM

#### Systems Analysis - Political System Meaning and Characteristics.

##### Meanin and definition

The concept of political system has assumed great importance today. Morden political scientists used the term **political system** instead of **state and government**. The concept of political system came to political science from biology through anthropology and sociology. Talcott Parsons and Robert K Merton exercised great influence on the use of the concept of the system in political analysis. They influenced political scientists like Gabriel Almond, David Easton, Karl Deutsch and Abraham Kaplan and others.

A system is seen as an assembly of Interdependence parts ( sub-systems) who interact among themselves. Interdependence implies that a change in one part influences other parts , ultimately affecting the entire system. In other words, a system is a collection of interrelated parts which receives inputs, acts upon them in an organised or planned manner and thereby produces certain outputs.

##### Definitions:

1. Political System as “ that system of interactions to be found in all independent societies which perform the functions of integration and adaptation by means of the use of legitimate physical compulsion “  
- **Almond**
2. “A Political System is that system of interactions in any society through which binding and authoritative allocations of value are made and implemented”  
-- **Easton**
3. “ the Political System includes not only governmental institutions such as legislatures, courts and administrative agencies, but all structures in their political aspect” - **Almond and Powell**

The concept of political system has assumed great importance today. Because it refers to the study of governments in its empirical dimensions and also from a strictly inter-disciplinary stand point. The new term political system reflects the new way of looking at the political phenomena. In the past the focus of the study of political science was on formal institutions like state and government. Extra political factors or conditions which affect political events and institutions were completely ignored. But later political scientists became aware of the fact that in all societies the formal governmental institutions are shaped and limited by informal groups, their attitude and behaviour. Since these formal factors influence political processes the study of it is also necessary. In this context the study of political system offers more comprehensive frameworks for political analysis.

According to Robert. A. Dahl “any collection of elements that interact in some way with one another can be considered a system”. E g, a galaxy, a football team, a legislature ,a political party. Political system is only one such a system. Model of political system was first developed by David Easton ,an American political scientist. Easton defines political system as the authoritative allocation of values, which broadly constitutes the political process. It is, in this sense that political system has been described as an open system. In other words, allocation of values is made because there are corresponding demands from the society or environment.

Almond defines a political system as the system of interaction to be found in all independent societies, which performs the functions of integration and adaptation by means of the employment

or threat of employment of more or less legitimate physical compulsion. Thus political system is not the only system that makes rules and enforces them. But it is the only system that uses compelling forces or coercive force.

Almond further explains that the political system includes not only the governmental structures such as legislatures, courts and administrative agencies, but all structures in their political aspect. Among these are traditional structures such as kinship ties, caste groupings; and anomie phenomena such as demonstrations, riots, assassinations as well as formal organisation like political parties interest groups and media of communication.

Political system, according to Robert A Dahl, any persistent pattern of human relationships that involves to a significant extent control, influence, power or authority can be called a political system.

### **Characteristics of political system**

Almond gives five essential characteristics of a political system they are:

1. **Universality of political system:** It implies that all political system whether developing or developed have political structures. This means that they have a legitimate pattern of interaction by mean of which internal and external order is maintained.
2. **Universality of political structures:** all political system have some structures that perform some functions: though with varying degrees of frequency.
3. **Universality of political functions:** to study political system one should take into consideration the role of the factors of initiate, communication, authorisation, modification, voting, representation, Interpretation and the like with the study of non state institutions like political parties, interest groups, elites, mass media agencies etc. That constitute the infrastructure of a political system.
4. **Multi-functionality of political structures:** all political structures are multifunctional. In a political system the courts not only adjudicate, they also legislate. The bureaucracy is one of the most important source of legislation. The legislative bodies effect both administration and adjudication. Political parties and pressure groups initiate legislation and participate in the national administration. The means of communication represents interests and affect the working of all the three departments of a political organisation.
5. **Culturally mixed character of political system:** all political system are culturally mixed in character. No political system is quite modern or western in the same sense as no individual is fully mature

### **Input-Output Analysis**

Systems analysis has two derivatives namely input-output analysis and structural-functional analysis. Input- output analysis is closely associated with the name of David Easton.

Easton views the political system is basically an input- output mechanism, just as a means where by certain kinds of inputs are converted into output. It presupposes political system as consisting of interacting roles structures and sub systems and of the underlying psychological aspects that affect these interactions. It involves a process that may be viewed as consisting of inputs from the environment or from within the political system and the production of outputs into

the environment. Outputs may produce changes in the environment which in turn may affect the political system.

**Inputs:** inputs are in the form of **demands** and **supports** each having four categories of activity .

**Demands:** demands are of four types. David Easton defines demands as the raw materials out of which finished products called decisions are manufactured.

1. Demands for allocation of governments and services such as wage and hour laws, educational opportunities, housing and medical facilities.
2. Demands for regulation of behaviour such as control over markets, provisions for public safety, rules relating to marriage ,health and sanitations etc.
3. Demands for participation in political system such as right to vote, to seek election, to hold office ,to organise procession, to petition against public officials etc. and
4. Demands for communication and information such as communication of policy intent from the political elites or display of the power of political system in periods of threats or ceremonial occasions.

**Support:-** supports are divided into four types.

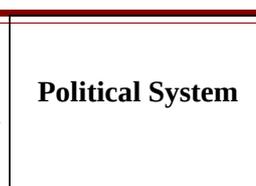
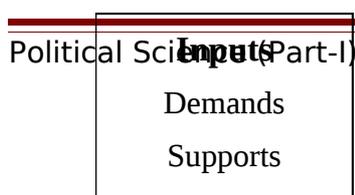
1. Material support such as payment of taxes.
2. Obedience to law, rules and regulations.
3. Participatory support such as voting ,political discussion, and other forms of political activity and
4. Attention paid to government communication and giving respect to public authority, symbols and ceremonials.

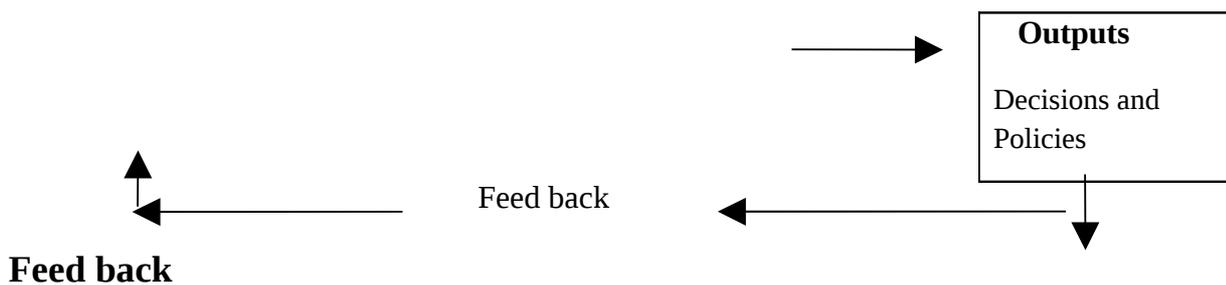
## Outputs

As demands are processed outputs flow out of the system into environment. The outputs of the political system –decisions and policies –fall into four categories and they are

1. Extractions such as taxes or personal services.
2. Regulations of behaviour.
3. Allocations or distributions of goods and services, opportunities and honour, and
4. Symbolic outputs such as policies statement, affirmations of values, display of political symbols

## ENVIRONMENT





Central to Easton's model of political system is his concept of feedback, which were basically a communication process. The feedbacks is a dynamic process through which information about the performance of the system is communicated back to it in such a way as to affect the subsequent behaviour of the system. Outputs are not the terminal points. They feed back in to the system and thereby influence its subsequent behaviour.

The system model and its derivative input-output analysis mark an improvement on earlier approaches to political analysis. It has great explanatory value when applied to the analysis of functioning political systems. But at the same time critics points out that like structural –functional analysis, input-output analysis also tries to maintain status quo. It seeks solutions to the problems concerning persistence, adaptation and regulation of a political system.

### Structural-Functional Analysis

As a derivative of the systems analysis, the structural-functional analysis is a means of explaining what political structures perform what basic functions in the political system and it is a tool of investigation . Structural-functional approach was first developed in disciplines like anthropology and sociology . In anthropology Radcliff Brown and Malinowski employed this approach in their investigation. In sociology Merton and Talcott Parsons did the same and with much more telling effect.

Structural-Functional approach seeks to discover the functions which an organism or a system must perform in order to exist or remain in operation . It then sets to find the structure but strictly in light of the function. `To put it in a simple form, a student of the structural-functional approach frames a question about the particular function to be performed and would then seek the answer about the structure performing that function.

He, for instance would not ask what does the human mouth (structure) do? His question instead would be how is the human organism fed? The answer would be through mouth. His way of asking question would be how is the function of seeing perform ? In short he frames functional questions and then seeks structural answers. This is structural-functional approach; through it would have been even more apt to call it structural-functional approach.

In political science ,the structural-functional theory was first applied in 1960 by Gabriel Almond and James Coleman to the study of non western politics .The primary interest of Almond lay in studying how political system change from the traditional to the modern. He regards the western political system especially that of the USA and Britain as the norm and all traditional societies are seen by him as moving towards that model. In short, traditional societies have the opposite properties to the modern political system. It may also be said

that they recognised a midpoint in the process of development which is called transitional . Thus political development is regarded as a change from the traditional system through a transitional stage to the modern system. The western political system is regarded as the model and all traditional societies are moving forwards it.

### **Evaluation of Structural-Functional Analysis**

The structural-functional analysis is applied to the all society: its basic tenet being that parts can be understood only in terms of the whole. Talcot parsons evolved this approach to study the social system that is treating the whole society as a system. Thus viewed a political system becomes a sub-system of the larger social system. But this approach may equally well be applied to a political system as an entity with its own structures functional requisites. The structural-functional analysis is thus a holistic frame work.

Secondly structural-functional analysis assumes that a political system as reached broad consensus on its basic values, goals and commitments. But such a system is the characteristics of developed countries . For a country recently liberated from colonial rule this approach may not be suitable. Structural-functionalism is therefore weak and unhelpful when applied to most of the developing countries, which are still in a process of evolving the necessary work of institutions and structures to make them an ongoing system.

Almond's analysis cannot be applied to the study of political development in communist countries. Because according to Almond's definition communist Russia does not have a political system due to the absence of autonomous structures to regulate the rule-making, rule-application and adjudication functions.

## CHAPTER - VI

### MAJOR CONCEPTS IN POLITICAL ANALYSIS (POWER- INFLUENCE – LEGITIMACY AND AUTHORITY)

#### POWER

Power is the vital element in the study of political science. Political science really studies how power is separated, how it is obtained, how it is retained and the various ways in which power can be expressed. Really power can be seen in all institutions and associations of society. But the speciality of the power of the state is that the state can afford to wield the strongest power since it can apply the severest sanctions like imprisonment and death penalty. The concern of political analysis is the study of power in all forms in human or social relation.

#### Definitions

1. “Power is ability to influence the behaviour of others in accordance with its own ends”.

-- Edward Shills

2. “power is the capacity to impose one’s will on others by reliance on effective sanctions for non compliance”.

- Schwarzenberger

Power is the capacity to affect others behaviour by the use or threat of the use of positive or negative sanction. So it is clear that power is relational and not personal property. One can have power only over others. It is from the behaviour of the people that power is assessed. Power is also situational. For example, the speaker of Lok Sabha who has power over the members of Lok Sabha in the context of parliamentary sessions does not have power over the other aspects of their social and political life. The dictators use power crudely and violent.

In every society where power exists man seek power. The success really depends on the capability of the power seeker. Once power is acquired the powerful tries to gain more power. Power once secured can be used to achieve a variety of ends like fame, reverence, security, respect, affection, wealth and many other values.

Charles Merriam was the first philosopher to make a detailed intellectual study of political power. He considered power as the basic concept of politics. Power is coercive and its ultimate sanction is force. Merriam’s solution to the problem of political power was its widest possible distribution. According to Russel, concentration of political power is destructive to human initiative and freedom. He observed that men who have the habit of power are unfit for friendly relation and negotiation.

In the opinion of Morgenthau, lust for power is common to all men. All politics is a struggle for power. He defines political power as “The mutual relations of control among the holders of public authority and between the latter and the public at large.” The most effective form of political power is the legitimised authority of the political system which make and implement decisions. According to Catlin, it is human nature to desire to have power. To Lasswell political process is the shaping, sharing and exercise of power or influence in general. He defines political power as participation in the making of decisions with severe sanction. The exercise of power does not rest generally on violence, force or coercion. It may equally rest on faiths, loyalties, habits or interests.

## AUTHORITY

Authority is a special kind of power. When political power gets legitimacy it becomes authority or the institutionalised power is called authority. Authority is the rights to rule. Power, when legitimised gives rise to authority, belief that the structure, procedures, acts, decisions, policies, officials or leaders of government possess the quality of rightness, propriety or moral goodness and should be accepted because of this quality is what we mean by legitimacy. Thus legitimacy is the legal power to act.

Authority can be seen not only in political system but also in other social systems. For example, in a family father has authority over the children. The power enjoyed by the state is legitimate. But in the social institutions power may be divorced from authority. In the social institution we can see the exercise of authority without right and right without authority.

Authority is the recognised right to exercise power irrespective of the sanctions the power holder is able to apply. For perpetuating a power relation it is highly necessary that power should be transformed into authority. There are various means for acquiring legitimacy. One of the means is the development of an ideology. An ideology may be fully utilised by the power holder to legitimise the use of his power.

Besides the use of ideology there are certain permanent sources where from the power holder may derived its legitimacy. According to Max Weber, there are three types of authority .They are: 1. Traditional Authority 2. Charismatic Authority and 3. Rational-Legal Authority.

### 1. Traditional Authority

Traditional Authority rests upon the long established customs, traditions and precedents. In traditional authority the present order is viewed as sacred, eternal and inviolable. The elder or the dominant person or group, usually defined by heredity, is thought to have been pre-ordained to rule over the rest. The subjects are bound to the ruler by personal dependence and a tradition of loyalty. In modern world, traditional authority only provided the basic of rule in a few dynastic monarchies of Middle-East countries.

### 2. Charismatic Authority :

Charismatic authority relies on the exceptional personal qualities , strength, magnetism, and some time supernatural qualities of a person. The charismatic personalities derive their rights to rule from their extra-ordinary qualities and they stimulates loyalty among their followers. They are inspiring figures who emerge in times of crisis and upheaval. The Christ, Gandhi, Martin Luther King or, indeed, Adolf Hitler are examples.

### 3. Rational-Legal Authority:

Rational-legal authority rests on laws , statutes, and rules and regulations. In this type of authority obedience is owed not an individual but to a set of the legally established principles – a government of laws , rather than men. Thus subordinates in an organisation must obey lawful commands from their superiors, irrespective of who occupies higher offices. Modern bureaucracies are the best example of organisations based on rational-legal authority.

Type	Basic	Example
Traditional	Custom and the established way of doing things	Monarchy
Charismatic	Intense commitment to the leader and his	Many revolutionary

	message	leaders
Legal-rational	Rules and procedures of office, not the persons	Bureaucracy.

### INFLUENCE

Political influence is the suitable outcome of possessions. Wealth, health, education, charm, and other things and the skill with which they are made use of it become the major factor of influence. In other words, influence is a person's capacity to affect others behaviour in a way willed by the former. In a society resources are distributed unequally among the people, so there is an unequal distribution of influence also in such a society. In such a society wealth become major factor of the influence. In India, religion is the major factor which influence elections and related democratic sphere. Mass media communication can very well be used for influencing the people.

We can distinguish between power and influence by saying that those who have got power, they can influence the conduct of others more easily than those who do not possess any power. It is admitted that power and influence are co-related terms but influence turn into power when sanctions enter.

### LEGITIMACY

Legitimacy is a similar concept of authority. It also refers to rightful power. It is used in different sense by political theorists and political scientists. Political theorists concerned with principles, they say a government is legitimate if it conforms to some moral principles- for example, that it has been fairly elected. Political scientists, on the other hand, are concerned with politics as it is. They say a government is legitimate if its citizens regard it as such. Whether a government is democratic is only one influence on legitimacy in this second sense.

Legitimacy is distinct from legality. Legitimacy refers to whether people accept the validity of a law, legality refers to whether the law was made in accordance with correct procedures, normally as laid down in the constitution.

### POLITICAL CULTURE

Political Culture is the part of Social Culture or General Culture. It consists of the attitudes, beliefs, emotions and values society that relates to political system. The term "Political Culture" was formulated and used first time by Gabriel Almond in fifties. According to Almond and Powell, "political culture consists of attitudes, beliefs, orientations towards values and skills which are current in an entire population, as well as those special propensities and patterns which may be found within separate parts of that population".

It may be defined by Kavanagh "A political culture is composed of attitudes, beliefs, emotions and values of society that relating to the political system and political issues. political culture relates to people's attitudes to politics. It includes political values, ideologies, national character and cultural tendencies."

The people of a given society share a common human nature. This common nature are expressed in the form of certain values, beliefs and attitudes which are transmitted from one generation to another by the processes of teaching and learning, whether formal or informal.

Political culture is a set values , beliefs , skills and attitudes within a political system operates . It is the pattern of individuals attitudes and orientations towards politics among the members of a political system. A study of political culture enables us to understand the political ideals and standards of behaviour people have set for them self in a polity. It is vary from country to country and constitutes the link between the behaviour of individuals and political events.

According to Almond and Powell political culture involves three components of orientations. They are :

- a. Cognitive Orientation: It imply the knowledge of people have about objects within their political system.
- b. Affective Orientation : It is the feeling of attachment, involvement , rejection and the like about political objects .
- c. Evaluative Orientation : It indicate their judgement opinion about the political objects, which usually involve applying value standards to political objects and events.

### **Classification of Political Culture**

**Almond and Powell** classify political culture into three: They are Parochial political culture , Subject political culture and Participant political culture .

1. **Parochial political culture :-** It is found in simple traditional and tribal societies in which people have no understanding or awareness of the political system. The political participation or general orientation is not possible in such societies. In such societies there is very little specialisation and where actors fulfil a combination of political, economic and religious role simultaneously. Their lifestyle, attitudes political values ideologies etc. are fully determined by the tribal culture ,tribal leaders and tribal politics.

#### **2. Subject political culture :-**

There people are aware of national political system or the governmental system and whether they like or not . Here the position of the subject in such a case essentially a passive one. It is mainly because he sees there is no role or possibility of influencing working of the system. This type of political culture is found in the subjects countries , monarchies, totalitarian, authoritarian system, etc.

#### **3. Participant political culture :-**

In such a system people are well conscious of their rights and duties. It exists in developed societies where citizens get ample opportunities to participate in the political affairs of the state. They develop a particular attitude towards the political system. political parties, pressure groups , intersts groups etc. fall in this category and decide for themselves what role they can play.

#### **4. Political sub-culture**

Political sub-culture is the part of political culture. In some political systems Political sub-cultures are very much predominant and because of this separatists groups and movements are developed. In a country having various races, cultures, languages, political sub-culture comes to be characteristic feature of the system. In recent years there have emerged in many countries political movements and crisis become the influence of Political sub-culture.

### **POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION**

Political Socialization is the part of general socialization processes. It is the process by which political culture is shaped at the individual level and at the community level and its transmitted from generation to generation. The process starts at an early age and continues throughout life. Political beliefs and attitudes developed in younger age, may undergo fundamental change in older age due to the contact with new education, changing social environment, new experiences in life and performance of political party. It is the process, or set of processes, through which people learn about politics and acquire political values.

#### **Definitions**

**Almond & Verba:** “ political socialisation is the process by which political culture are maintained and changed”.

**Allan R Ball:** Political socialisation as “ the establishment and development of belief about Political System”.

**Easton:** Political socialisation as “ those development and processes by which person acquire political orientation and pattern of behaviour”.

**Rush:** " Political socialisation is a process by which an individual becomes acquainted with the political system which determine the reaction to political phenomenon".

There are two types of political socialisation. **They are Manifest or Direct political socialisation and Latent or Indirect political socialisation.**

Manifest or Direct political socialisation is transmitting information, values or feelings, which are clearly political. An individual learns about the political structures, its functions, political process and political ideology under the influence of his family, teachers or from other agencies.

Latent or Indirect political socialisation means developing a general attitude to authority as a result of the relationship with his teachers, parents or other agencies. This general attitude may transform into his political orientation. Here the non-political attitudes ultimately transform into political orientation.

#### **AGENTS OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION**

There are various agents of political socialisation. The most important agencies are the following.

##### **1. FAMILY:**

Family is the first important agent of political socialisation. It plays a key role in moulding the character of child and his attitude towards politics. The collective decisions in the family influence the children. The participation in decision making in the families help the people in participating

political system. The children receive their primary political learning from the family. Political influence and learning are inculcated among the children by the parents. In the opinion of Almond and Powell that manifest political socialisation by the family can also have important effects. In developed liberal democracies, families are found to play very vital role in the manifest political socialisation.

## **2. EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS:**

The educational institution is the second and powerful influencing agent of political socialisation. It provides manifest transmission political knowledge to students. These are the important centres of propagating political ideas, values and pattern of political behaviour. Children getting education in a particular institution may develop particular kind of mind setup. We find that all political parties consider these institutions as a fertile land of politically educate the children as per their philosophy.

## **3. PEER GROUPS:**

Peer groups play an important role in shaping values orientations. These groups being friendly in nature can easily influence other's political views. Their interaction on political issues is spontaneous and not formal. The members of the groups are most willing to accept majority view about a political issue or value after discussion. In the liberal societies these groups are found to be active.

## **4. MASS MEDIA:**

Mass media plays a significant role in moulding the view of the children. In many cases political view is shaped on the basis of newspapers and electronic media reports. At present their role increasing rapidly in the process of political socialisation and brought political change in number of countries. According to Lucian Pye, "Socialisation through the mass media is the best short-run technique available and it is crucial to modernization".

## **5. POLITICAL PARTIES:**

Political party is another important agent of political socialisation. Political parties disseminate political education, ideological teaching, political knowledge and values, mobilize political action and train political leaders. It establishes a channel of communication between the government and the people. Parties take active role and interest to ensure people's participation and make suitable people for the functioning of democratic government. In short, the progress of political socialisation, to a considerable extent, depend upon the functioning of political parties.

## **6. RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS:**

The religious institutions play an important role, particularly in the developing countries and theocracies states in political socialisation. The people get easily influenced about the view of religious leaders on political issues. Religious influence is very high in Indian politics, especially in the regional politics. In India, many political leaders organized Cast and tribes association on political lines and propagate their viewpoints.

It is a difficult task to estimate the importance of different agents in socialising people. The party, media, educational institutions all mould the political culture and political socialisation.

## POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Political development is way of directional change and modernization to re-structuring the entire social, economic and political system. Development means the process of cumulative change and growth of a system. So political development refers to that process of change and growth of political system as whole. In the words of Rostow and Pye political development aims at “national political unity and broadening of the base of political unity and boarding of the base of political participation.”

Lucian Pye is the pioneer to analyse the concept of development in depth. In his book the ‘Aspects of Political Development’ he explained directions of political development.

- Political development as the political pre-requisite of economic development.
- Political development as the political typical of industrial societies.
- Political development as political modernization.
- Political development as the operation of nation state.
- Political development as administrative and legal development.
- Political development as mobilization and participation.
- Political development as the building of democracy.
- Political development as stability and orderly change.
- Political development as mobilization and power.
- Political development as one aspects of a multi-dimensional process of social change.

Lucian Pye observed three basic characteristic features of political developments are:

### **Equality ,Capacity and Differentiation.**

**Equality** - means that all are equal before law, equal protection of law, impersonalisation of offices, holding offices based on achievement and performance rather than traditional principles. This led to a greater sensitivity on the part of the people and a wider acceptance by them of universalistic laws.

**Capacity** - in political system stand for the management of public affairs, control controversy or cope with popular demand. It pointed out the efficiency and effectiveness of the government.

**Differentiation**- implies greater structural differentiation, functional specialisation and integration of the participating institutions. That means to perform specialized functions , specialization of structures are necessary.

Samuel Huntington observed that the maintenance of political stability as the ultimate goal of political development. According to him, the two areas as the basic elements of political development.

Firstly, a high degree of institutionalisation within a political system. It reflects high levels of adaptability, complexity, autonomy and coherence.

Secondly, increasing level of popular participation. It guaranteed people access to the decision making process at every level of social structures.

The indices of political development are: industrialization, urbanisation, spread of education and literacy, increasing exposure of the mass media, expansion of secular culture, growth of modern and efficient bureaucracy, apolitical character of the armed forces, rule of law and independency of judiciary, effective legislative bodies, political and administrative decentralisation, popular participation, increasing franchise and free elections, national integration etc.

### **POLITICAL MODERNIZATION**

Political Modernization is the process based upon rational utilization of resources and aimed at the establishment of a modern society. It refers to the development of sufficiently flexible and powerful institutional framework that should meet the growing demands and accommodating change. According to Ward, it is characterised "by its far-reaching ability to control or influence the physical and social circumstances of its environment and by value system which is fundamentally optimistic about the desirability and consequences of this ability".

It is the systematic sustained and powerful application of human energies to the rational control of man's physical and social environment for various purposes. Huntington describes it as a multi-faced process involving changes in all areas of human thought and activity. Thus Modernization is a process which means change in all the fields, social, cultural, psychological, economic and political but still it is an economic concept. It refers to change in the political culture and political institutions as a result of the process of modernization.

The major characteristics of Modernization

1. Application of technology and mechanisation.
2. Industrialisation and development.
3. Urbanisation and infra-structural development.
4. Rise in national income and per capital income.
5. Increase in literacy and educational institutions.
6. political participation and social involvement.
7. Development of mass-media techniques.
8. Social mobility
9. Differentiation and decentralization.
10. Cultivation of national identity.

Modernization is a multi faced process and it has several dimensions. At the psychological level it involves the change in the norms, values, attitudes and orientations of people.

At the intellectual level it involves a tremendous expansion of man's knowledge about his environment and the diffusion of this knowledge throughout the country through increased literacy , institutional development and mass communication.

At the demographic level, it implies improvement in the standard of living and progress towards the mobility of the people and modernization.

At the social level it has the tendency to replace the focus of individual loyalty to family and other primary groups , to voluntary associations , social participations and involvement.

At the economic level it involves the growth of market, modernisation in agriculture, improvement in commerce, development in industrialisation and widening economic activity.

In this way Political Modernization increases the capacity and capability of the political system to find and utilise the resources of the country . It also increase in the need for coordinated social action to solve all kinds of problems facing political system. Finally, it increases in political participation and political demands from the members of the society.

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