Bridge Course 2022-23
Basic Fundamental Principles of Political Science

Curriculum prepared
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<h1 style="text-align:center; color:red;">Bridge Course 2022-23
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Duration: 15 days

Overview

After board examinations many students from non-arts or non-Political Science background opt for Political Science Honors. These students are entirely unacquainted of the basic fundamental principles of Political Science, thus to give them an idea of what political science is essentially all about, Department of Political Science offers Bridge course for them.

For a student of Political Science it is expected to know the significance of constitution for a country, and what the different kinds of governments are, what are the organs of government, what kind of functions these organs perform, what rights are assured by constitution of India to its citizens. As the government at the center cannot reach to the bottom level there is important role for the local bodies to play as well.

To understand the political system that prevailed in India in the past, it makes sense to study the ancient political thought, in the same way study of modern Indian political thought has its own role to play in giving us an idea of the change Indian society has passed through and what is the current status of things. Political ideologies like liberalism, Marxism, Socialism etc. put to the fore a scheme of idealistic political system that should be brought into being and has its own positive and negative aspect.

To give students a grip over the subject it is also important to give them an idea of the changes in world order from bipolar to unipolar to multipolar world, and the developments at both the regional and global levels that have emerged to challenge world peace and order.

Syllabus

- What is the Political science, Mining and Definitions
- Importance of Constitution
- Types of Governments(Parliamentary and Presidential form of government)
- Rights in Constitution of India
- Organs of Indian Government (Legislative, Executive and Judiciary)
- Concepts
- Ideologies
- Local Self Rule
- Relevance of studying Ancient and Modern Indian Political thought
- Political Institutions (political parties, Pressure Groups and Media)
- International Relations and its role
- International Organizations (UNO)

Course Learning Outcomes

1. Students will exhibit acquaintance of basic terms, concepts and principles of Political Science
2. It will help the students to advance their scholarly skills necessary for advancement in the course.
3. It will facilitate the learners to interpret comprehensively and to understand minutely the political literature.
4. Students will understand the significance of studying Political Science Honors and the challenges which they will face through their graduation.

What is the Political science, Mining and Definitions?

Human knowledge is basically divided into two extensive categories. One is Natural Science and the other one is Social Science.

Natural science deals with the physical world such as land, weather, water, forests, etc, whereas social science deals with the human being, their collective social life, and activities.
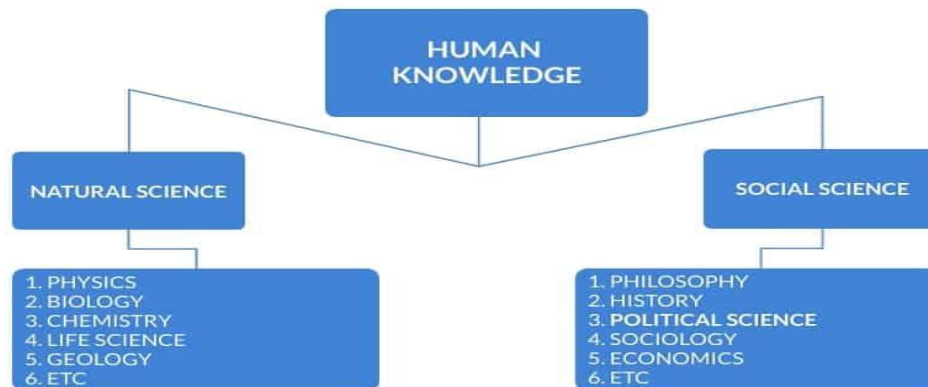
Chapter 1

Mining of Political Science

Political Science, traditionally, begins and ends with the state. So considered, it is the study of the state and government. The modern view of Political Science lays emphasis on its being the study of power and authority. Political Science also explains its ever-widening scope. Its scope includes study of the state and the study of political system; covering the study of government, study of power; study of man and his political behaviour and study of political issues which influence politics directly or indirectly. In this lesson, you will study some of the core concepts like Justice and its relevance to citizens.

Political Science is that part of social science which deals with the foundations of the state and the principles of the government.

J W Garner, "Politics begins and ends with the state."

R G Gettel wrote that Politics is the "study of the state in the past, present and future".

Harold J Laski stated in the same vein that the study of Politics concerns itself with the life of men and women in relation to organized state.

Thus as a social science, Political Science deals with those aspects of individuals in society which relate to their activities and organizations devoted to seeking of power, resolution of conflicts and all these, within an overall framework of the rule and law as laid down by the state.

Growth of the Discipline of Political Science

Systematic study of Politics started with the Greeks in the fourth century BC. Philosophers like Plato and Aristotle used it in the most comprehensive sense. Aristotle called Politics a "master science". For him, it comprised of not only the institutions of state or government but also family, property and other social institutions. Politics, for the Greeks, was an all-encompassing activity.

The ancient Greek view about Political Science was mainly ethical. In contrast, the ancient Romans considered the legal aspect of Politics more important for their governance. Individual and the State during the middle Ages, Political Science became a branch of religious order of the Church. Political authority was, then, subordinated to the authority of the Church.

As the state grew in size and became more complex, Political Science acquired a realistic and secular (non-religious) approach. After the Industrial Revolution, the role of the State, which was limited to

maintenance of law and order and providing defence against external aggression, underwent considerable changes with the emergence of the new economic system called capitalism.

In the twentieth century, after the Second World War, the 'behavioural approach' offered new dimension of Political Science. The behavioural movement in American Political Science in the 1950s and the 1960s placed a lot of emphasis on the 'science' part of Politics. It wanted to model Politics after the methods followed by natural sciences like Physics, Botany, etc. The behaviour lists built theory inductively from empirical propositions.

Those who follow inductive method would come to the conclusion after study, observation and experiment. For example, when some behaviour lists saw African-Americans (Blacks)of the southern United States of America (USA) voted for the Democratic Party of the United States, they came to the conclusion that the African-Americans do vote for the Democrats.

This behavioural approach shifted the focus of its study from political institutions and structures to their functions. It placed stress on political activity and the behaviour of men and women who control these institutions. It replaced the study of ideas by the study of facts, evidence and behaviour. It considered political activity manifested in behaviour as the true subject of Political Science.

A political activity may be in the form of an individual contesting an election. It may be the activity of a group seeking the adoption of a particular policy in its favour by the government. As different people pursue different interests, such activities tend to generate disagreement, competition and conflict. But the distinctive quality of Politics is that it includes physical coercion or force by the government. It may and usually does involve the persuasive influence and effort of the government to resolve conflicts through its balanced policy decisions.

Politics is also viewed as a process whereby individuals, groups or communities seek to achieve their specific but conflicting goals. Politics, as the process, seeks to allocate resources (Easton calls it, values) authoritatively. Politics, as the study of structures, institutions, processes and activities, recognizes the possibility of the use of power. The Marxist approach, which is derived from the writings of the nineteenth century German philosopher Karl Marx, views Politics as a study of

Irreconcilable conflicts between the two classes 'haves' (those who have private property, or simply the rich) and the 'have-nots' (those who do not have any private property, or simply the poor); in other words, the exploiters and the exploited. The emancipation of the have-nots will come only through a revolution which would put an end to the institution of private property, thus changing the class society to the classless society. But Politics, as against the Marxist view, has another view also, the liberal view

Chapter -2

Iimportance of Constitution

Today, most countries in the world have a Constitution. While all democratic countries are likely to have a Constitution, it is not necessary that all countries that have a Constitution are democratic. There can be several purposes for drafting a constitution, they are:

- ❖ To provide a set of basic rules that allow for minimal coordination amongst members of society.
- ❖ To specify who has the power to make decisions in a society. It decides how the government will be constituted.
- ❖ To set some limits on what a government can impose on its citizens. These limits are fundamental in the sense that government may never trespass on them.
- ❖ To enable the government to fulfill the aspirations of a society and create conditions for a just society.

Therefore, it can be understood that the constitution allows coordination and assurance. On the other hand, it can limit the powers of the government.

Further Reading:

Significance of Constitution in India

SIGNIFICANCE OF
THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

This article brings out the need for a Constitution in a country. The most important purpose of a Constitution is it draws a limit on the power of the Government by outlining a framework within which the Government must function. For example – irrespective of who is the President of India, the powers and functions of the Office of the President remain the same.

A Constitution also serves the following purposes. These purposes also indicate the significance of the Constitution

➢ It specifies who has the power to decide who will form the government. The Indian Constitution clearly specifies that India will have a democratic form of government indicating that the people of the country will chose the Government.

➢ It lays down the functions of the government. Governance basically involves three core functions – making laws, enforcing these laws and adjudicating on disputes arising in the process of enforcing these laws. According to the Indian Constitution, the legislature (Parliament at the Centre and Legislative Assemblies in the States) are responsible for framing laws; the Union Executive (Prime Minister and Council of Ministers) and State Executive (Chief Minister and Council of Ministers) at the centre and the states respectively along with the bureaucrats are responsible for enforcing laws; and the Indian Judiciary (the Supreme Court, High Courts and lowers courts) are responsible for adjudication of disputes. Thus a country on the basis of the above mentioned functions will have three organs of Governance – Executive, Legislature and Judiciary.

➢ It indicates the relationship between the three organs of governance. Apart from specifying the powers of each organ of governance, the Indian Constitution has also laid down an effective mechanism of checks and balances between the three organs of governance, to ensure that none of the three become too powerful.

➢ It limits the powers of the government to ensure that the Government doesn't become arbitrary. The most common way of limiting the power of Government is by guaranteeing certain fundamental rights and safeguards to the citizens. The Constitution of India restricts the power of government through the fundamental rights enshrined in it.

➢ It enables the government to work towards achieving the aims and aspirations of the society. Any society would have certain aspirations that include peaceful co-existence, economic and social equality, progress and development. Government support and contribution is vital for achieving these common goals. While the aspirations and aims (Sovereign, Social, Secular, Democratic, Republic, Justice, Equality, Liberty) of the Constitution of India spelt out in its Preamble reflect

the aspirations of the Indian society, the Directive Principles of the State Policy in Indian Constitution prescribe measures the Government should take in order to achieve the common good of the people and the overall development of the society.

Important Features of Indian Constitution

Every written constitution in the world has its own unique characteristics, and no exception is the Indian Constitution. But the Indian Constitution has many prominent features that distinguish it from the other Constitutions. This article clearly explains the Indian Constitution's 8 key features.

1. World's Longest Constitution

The Indian Constitution contains 395 articles and 12 schedules, making it the world's longest written constitution. Just compare it with other countries Constitutions. For example, the UK has no written constitution, while the US Constitution contains only seven articles.

Not only this but since 1951 about 90 articles and more than 100 amendments have been added. However, since the articles are not added separately as part of an existing article (e.g. Article 21A, 35A etc.) the total number of articles remains the same at 395.

2. Taken from various sources

The Indian Constitution was framed from multiple sources including the 1935 Government of India Act and Other Countries Constitutions.

In addition to these, the Constitutions of Canada, Australia, Germany, the U.S.S.R., and France also adopted various provisions.

3. Federal System with Unitary Features

Federal System with Unitary the Indian Constitution includes all the federal characteristics of governance such as dual government system (center and state), division of powers between the three state organs (executive, judiciary and legislature), constitutional supremacy, independent judiciary and bicameralism (lower and upper house).

Nevertheless, the Indian Constitution is unique in that it includes many unitary features such as a strong centre, all India services common to the center and the states, emergency provisions that can transform the Constitution into a unitary one if necessary, appointment of governors by the president on the advice of the center, etc.

Indeed, Article 1 clearly states that India is a ' Union of States ' rather than a federation of States. In India, the states did not come together to form the centre (or Union) like in the case of the USA which is the purest form of a federation. Rather, for administrative convenience, it is the center that created the states. Article 3 of the Indian Constitution makes Parliament the sole authority to create new states clearly indicating that the Indian Constitution is of a unitary nature with certain federal characteristics.

4. Parliamentary Form of Government

On the pattern of the British parliamentary system of government, the Indian Constitution has opted for the parliamentary form of government. The key characteristics of the parliamentary form of government are:

 ➢ Executive are members of the legislature
 ➢ Collective responsibility to the legislature of the Council of Ministers
 ➢ Rule of the majority party
 ➢ Prime Minister's or chief minister's leadership in the state
 ➢ Lower house dissolution (Lok Sabha and state assemblies)
 ➢ Government form of the Cabinet
 ➢ 5. Balance between the Sovereignty of Parliament and Judicial Supremacy

A fine balance has been struck between parliamentary sovereignty and judicial supremacy by the Indian Constitution. The Supreme Court is vacuumed by Articles 13, 32 and 136 with the power of

judicial review. By its power of judicial review, it can strike down any parliamentary law as unconstitutional.

On the other hand, the Parliament, being the representative of the people's will, has the authority to make laws, and it can also amend the major part of the Constitution through its video vested powers under Article 368.

6. Independent and Integrated Judicial System In India, unlike the United States where there is a two-tiered judiciary, a single judicial system prevails with the Supreme Court at the top, the State and District High Courts and other subordinate courts below and subject to the supervision of the High Courts.

It is the duty of all levels of courts in India to enforce both central and state laws unlike in the US, where federal courts adjudicate on federal matters and state courts on state matters.

Not only is the judiciary system well fully integrated in India, but because of the following provisions it is also independent

- ❖ Appointment of judges of Supreme Court and High Courts by collegium system
- ❖ Removal of judges in Parliament through an impeachment procedure that is very difficult to pass
- ❖ Supreme Court judges salaries, pensions, and allowances are charged to India's Consolidated Fund
- ❖ Power to punish for self – disregard
- ❖ Ban on judges practice after retirement…etc

7. Directive Principles of State Policy

In Part IV of the Constitution, the Directive Principles of State Policies (DPSPs) aims to make India a welfare state. Therefore, **Dr. B.R. Ambedkar** calls the Directive Principles as the Indian Constitution's novel feature. The Principles of the Directive are inherently unjustifiable, that is, they are not enforceable for their violation by the courts.

Their usefulness, however, lies in their moral obligation to apply these principles to the state in making laws. As such, the principles of the directive are fundamental to the country's governance.

8. Combination of rigidity and flexibility

The Indian Constitution strikes a fine balance between rigidity and flexibility when it comes to ease of modification. Article 368 lays down two types of modifications:

1. Some provisions may be amended by a special parliamentary majority, i.e. a 2/3rd majority of the members of each House present and vote and majority (i.e. more than 50 %) of each House's total membership.

2. Some other provisions can be amended by a special parliamentary majority and with half of the total states ratifying them. This ensures that with the widest possible majority, the Constitution is amended.

At the same time, in the manner of the ordinary legislative process, certain provisions of the Constitution can be amended by a simple majority of Parliament. Such amendments are not within the scope of Article 368.

There are many other features of the Indian Constitution such as Fundamental Rights, Fundamental Duties, Emergency Provisions, Universal Adult Franchise, etc. but the constitution's most important features that define and distinguish it from the other World Constitutions have been listed above.

<h1 style="text-align:center; color:red;">Chapter -3</h1>

Types of Governments (Parliamentary and Presidential form of government)

As a society, we have always have flourished when we lived together in communities. A country is nothing but one giant community, and like every community, it must be governed. Let us study about the main purpose and functions of the government. We will also see the three forms of government, democracy, autocracy and oligarchy.

Forms of government by power source

Term	Description	Examples
Autocracy	Autocracy is a system of government in which supreme power (social and political) is concentrated in the hands of one person or polity, whose decisions are subject to neither external legal restraints nor regularized mechanisms of popular control (except perhaps for the implicit threat of a coup d'état or mass insurrection). Absolute monarchy (such as Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Oman, Brunei and Eswatini) and dictatorships (also including North Korea) are the main modern day forms of autocracy.	❖ Aztec Empire ❖ Russian Empire ❖ Saudi Arabia ❖ Brunei ❖ North Korea
Democracy	Democracy, meaning "rule of the people", is a system of government in which the citizens exercise power directly or elect representatives from among themselves to form a governing body, such as a parliament. Democracy is sometimes referred to as "rule of the majority". Democracy is a system of processing conflicts in which outcomes depend on what participants do, but no single force controls what occurs and its outcomes. This does include citizens being able to vote for different laws and leaders.	➢ France ➢ Germany ➢ India ➢ Indonesia ➢ Philippines ➢ Canada ➢ United States
Oligarchy	Oligarchy, meaning "rule of the few", is a form of power structure in which power rests with a small number of people. These people might be distinguished by nobility, wealth, family ties, education or corporate, religious or military control. Such states are often controlled by families who typically pass their influence from one generation to the next, but inheritance is not a necessary condition for the application of this term.	❖ Russian Federation ❖ South Africa (1948–1994) ❖ Argentine

		Conservative Era (1880-1916)

Presidential and Parliamentary System of Governments

There are basically two forms of democratic government systems Presidential and Parliamentary. India follows a parliamentary form of government modeled on Britain's. Our founding fathers had strong reasons for adopting this, as opposed to the presidential system. In this article, we compare both systems for the polity and governance sections of the

Apart from the parliamentary and presidential systems, there can also be a hybrid system incorporating features of both systems. The chief difference between these systems is the extent of power separation between the legislative, the executive and the judiciary. Another major difference between the presidential and parliamentary systems is the accountability of the executive to the legislature.

First, we will discuss both forms of government systems enumerating their merits and drawbacks and then do a comparison of both the systems..

Presidential System of Government

In a presidential system, the head of the government leads an executive, that is distinct from the legislature. Here, the head of the government and the head of the state are one and the same. Also, a key feature is that the executive is not responsible to the legislature.

Features of the Presidential System

1. The executive (President) can veto acts by the legislature.
2. The President has a fixed tenure and cannot be removed by a vote of no-confidence in the legislature.
3. Generally, the President has the power to pardon or commute judicial sentences awarded to criminals.
4. The President is elected directly by the people or by an electoral college.

Merits of Presidential System

The advantages of the presidential system are given below:

- ❖ **Separation of powers:** Efficiency of administration is greatly enhanced since the three arms of the government are independent of each other.
- ❖ **Expert government:** Since the executive need not be legislators, the President can choose experts in various fields to head relevant departments or ministries. This will make sure that people who are capable and knowledgeable form part of the government.
- ❖ **Stability:** This type of government is stable. Since the term of the president is fixed and not subject to majority support in the legislative, he need not worry about losing the government.

There is no danger of a sudden fall of the government. There is no political pressure on the president to make decisions.

❖ **Less influence of the party system:** Political parties do not attempt to dislodge the government since the tenure is fixed.

Demerits of Presidential System

The disadvantages of the presidential system are given below:

➢ **Less responsible executive:** Since the legislature has no hold over the executive and the president, the head of the government can turn authoritarian.

➢ **Deadlocks between executive and legislature**: Since there is a more strict separation of powers here, there can be frequent tussles between both arms of the government, especially if the legislature is not dominated by the president's political party. This can lead to an erosion in efficiency because of wastage of time.

➢ **Rigid government:** Presidential systems are often accused of being rigid. It lacks flexibility.

➢ **Spoils system:** The system gives the president sweeping powers of patronage. Here, he can choose executives as per his will. This gives rise to the spoils system where people close to the president (relatives, business associates, etc.) get roles in the government.

Parliamentary System of Government

India chose a parliamentary form of government primarily because the constitution-makers were greatly influenced by the system in England. Another reason the founding fathers saw was that the parliamentary model would only work to accommodate the varied and diverse groups within our population. Also, the strict separation of powers in the presidential system would cause conflicts between the two branches, the executive and the legislature, which our newly-independent country could ill-afford.

There are more parliamentary forms of government in the world than there are presidencies. In this system, the parliament is generally supreme and the executive is responsible to the legislature. It is also known as the Cabinet form of government, and also 'Responsible Government'.

Features of the parliamentary system

1. **Close relationship between the legislature and the executive:** Here, the Prime Minister along with the Council of Ministers from the executive and the Parliament is the legislature. The PM and the ministers are elected from the members of parliament, implying that the executive emerges out of the legislature.

2. **Executive responsible to the legislature:** The executive is responsible to the legislature. There is a collective responsibility, that is, each minister's responsibility is the responsibility of the whole Council.

3. **Dual executive:** There are two executives – the real executive and the titular executive. The nominal executive is the head of state (president or monarch) while the real executive is the Prime Minister, who is the head of government.

4. **Secrecy of procedure:** A prerequisite of this form of government is that cabinet proceedings are secret and not meant to be divulged to the public.

5. **Leadership of the Prime Minister:** The leader of this form of government is the Prime Minister. Generally, the leader of the party that wins a majority in the lower house is appointed as the PM.

6. **Bicameral Legislature:** Most parliamentary democracies follow bicameral legislature.

7. **No fixed tenure:** The term of the government depends on its majority support in the lower house. If the government does not win a vote of no confidence, the council of ministers has to resign. Elections will be held and a new government is formed.

Although India follows this system chiefly influenced by the British model, there are a few differences between the Indian and British systems. They are:

- ✓ In India, the PM can be from either the Rajya Sabha or the Lok Sabha. In Britain, the PM will always be from the lower house, the House of Commons.
- ✓ In Britain, the speaker once appointed, formally resigns from his/her political party. In India, the speaker continues to be a member of his/her party though he/she is expected to be impartial in the proceedings.
- ✓ The concept of a shadow cabinet is absent in India. In Britain, the opposition forms a shadow cabinet that scrutinizes the actions and policies of the government. It also offers alternative programmers.

Merits of Parliamentary System

The advantages of the parliamentary system are as follows:

- ❖ **Better coordination between the executive and the legislature:** Since the executive is a part of the legislature, and generally the majority of the legislature support the government, it is easier to pass laws and implement them.
- ❖ **Prevents authoritarianism:** Since the executive is responsible to the legislature, and can vote it out in a motion of no confidence, there is no authoritarianism. Also, unlike the presidential system, power is not concentrated in one hand.
- ❖ **Responsible government:** The members of the legislature can ask questions and discuss matters of public interest and put pressure on the government. The parliament can check the activities of the executive.
- ❖ **Representing diverse groups:** In this system, the parliament offers representation to diverse groups of the country. This is especially important for a country like India.
- ❖ **Flexibility:** There is flexibility in the system as the PM can be changed easily if needed. During the Second World War, the British PM Neville Chamberlain was replaced by Winston Churchill. This is unlike the presidential system where he/she can be replaced only after the entire term or in case of impeachment/incapacity.

Demerits of Parliamentary System

The disadvantages of the parliamentary system are as follows:

- ➢ **No separation of powers:** Since there is no genuine separation of powers, the legislature cannot always hold the executive responsible. This is especially true if the government has a good majority in the house. Also, because of anti-defection rules, legislators cannot exercise their free will and vote as per their understanding and opinions. They have to follow the party whip.
- ➢ **Unqualified legislators:** The system creates legislators whose intention is to enter the executive only. They are largely unqualified to legislate.
- ➢ **Instability:** Since the governments sustain only as long as they can prove a majority in the house, there is instability if there is no single-largest party after the elections. Coalition governments are generally quite unstable and short-lived. Because of this, the executive has to focus on how to stay in power rather than worry about the state of affairs/welfare of the people.
- ➢ **Ministers:** The executive should belong to the ruling party. This rules out the hiring of industry experts for the job.

- **Failure to take a prompt decision:** Since there is no fixed tenure enjoyed by the Council of Ministers, it often hesitates from taking bold and long-term policy decisions.
- **Party politics:** Party politics is more evident in the parliamentary system where partisan interests drive politician's more than national interests.
- **Control by the bureaucracy:** Civil servants exercise a lot of power. They advise the ministers on various matters and are also not responsible to the legislature.

Comparison of Presidential and Parliamentary Systems
A tabulated comparison of Presidential and Parliamentary systems

Basis	Parliamentary	Presidential
Executive	Dual	Single
Accountability	Executive accountable to legislature	Executive not accountable to legislature
Ministers	Only from among MPs	People outside the legislature can be appointed
Dissolution of lower house	PM can dissolve before the expiry of the term	President cannot dissolve
Tenure	Not fixed	Fixed

Chapter-4

Rights in Constitution of India

Articles 12-35 of Indian Constitution deal with Fundamental Rights. These human rights are conferred upon the citizens of India for the Constitution tells that these rights are inviolable. Right to Life, Right to Dignity, Right to Education etc. all come under one of the six main fundamental rights. Fundamental rights are a very important topic in the polity section of the UPSC exam. It is a basic static portion of the syllabus but it is highly dynamic in the sense that it is featured in the daily news in some form or the other. Hence, it is highly important for the IAS exam.

In this article, you can read all about 6 fundamental rights of India:

1. **Right to Equality**
2. **Right to Freedom**
3. **Right against Exploitation**
4. **Right to Freedom of Religion**
5. **Cultural and Educational Rights**
6. **Right to Constitutional Remedies**

Introduction to Six Fundamental Rights (Articles 12 to 35)
Under this section, we list the fundamental rights in India and briefly describe each of them.

1. Right to Equality (Articles 14 – 18)

Right to equality guarantees equal rights for everyone, irrespective of religion, gender, caste, race or place of birth. It ensures equal employment opportunities in the government and insures against discrimination by the State in matters of employment on the basis of caste, religion, etc. This right also includes the abolition of titles as well as untouchability.

2. Right to Freedom (Articles 19 – 22)

Freedom is one of the most important ideals cherished by any democratic society. The Indian Constitution guarantees freedom to citizens. The freedom right includes many rights such as:

- ✓ Freedom of speech
- ✓ Freedom of expression
- ✓ Freedom of assembly without arms
- ✓ Freedom of association
- ✓ Freedom to practise any profession
- ✓ Freedom to reside in any part of the country

Read more on the Right to Freedom in the linked article.

Some of these rights are subject to certain conditions of state security, public morality and decency and friendly relations with foreign countries. This means that the State has the right to impose reasonable restrictions on them.

3. Right against Exploitation (Articles 23 – 24)

This right implies the prohibition of traffic in human beings, *begar*, and other forms of forced labour. It also implies the prohibition of children in factories, etc. The Constitution prohibits the employment of children less than 14 years in hazardous conditions.

4. Right to Freedom of Religion (Articles 25 – 28)

This indicates the secular nature of Indian polity. There is equal respect given to all religions. There is freedom of conscience, profession, practice and propagation of religion. The State has no official religion. Every person has the right to freely practice his or her faith, establish and maintain religious and charitable institutions.

5. Cultural and Educational Rights (Articles 29 – 30)

These rights protect the rights of religious, cultural and linguistic minorities, by facilitating them to preserve their heritage and culture. Educational rights are for ensuring education for everyone without any discrimination.

6. Right to Constitutional Remedies (32 – 35)

The Constitution guarantees remedies if citizens' fundamental rights are violated. The government cannot infringe upon or curb anyone's rights. When these rights are violated, the aggrieved party can approach the courts. Citizens can even go directly to the Supreme Court which can issue writs for enforcing fundamental rights.

Features of Fundamental Rights

- ➢ Fundamental rights are different from ordinary legal rights in the manner in which they are enforced. If a legal right is violated, the aggrieved person cannot directly approach the SC bypassing the lower courts. He or she should first approach the lower courts.
- ➢ Some of the fundamental rights are available to all citizens while the rest are for all persons (citizens and foreigners).
- ➢ Fundamental rights are not absolute rights. They have reasonable restrictions, which mean they are subject to the conditions of state security, public morality and decency and friendly relations with foreign countries.

> - They are justifiable, implying they are enforceable by courts. People can approach the SC directly in case of violation of fundamental rights.
> - Fundamental rights can be amended by the Parliament by a constitutional amendment but only if the amendment does not alter the <u>basic structure of the Constitution</u>.
> - Fundamental rights can be suspended during a national emergency. But, the rights guaranteed under Articles 20 and 21 cannot be suspended.
> - The application of fundamental rights can be restricted in an area that has been placed under martial law or military rule.

Also, in the news:

Fundamental Rights Available Only to Citizens

The following is the list of fundamental rights that are available **only to citizens** (and not to foreigners):

1. Prohibition of discrimination on grounds of race, religion, caste, gender or place of birth (Article 15).
2. Equality of opportunity in matters of public employment (Article 16).
3. Protection of freedom of:(Article 19)

   - ❖ Speech and expression
   - ❖ Association
   - ❖ Assembly
   - ❖ Movement
   - ❖ Residence
   - ❖ Profession

Protection of the culture, language and script of minorities (Article 29).
Right of minorities to establish and administer educational institutions (Article 30).

Importance of Fundamental Rights

Fundamental rights are very important because they are like the backbone of the country. They are essential for safeguarding the people's interests.

According to Article 13, all laws that are violative of fundamental rights shall be void. Here, there is an express provision for <u>judicial review</u>. The SC and the High Courts can declare any law unconstitutional on the grounds that it is violative of the fundamental rights. Article 13 talks about not just laws, but also ordinances, orders, regulations, notifications, etc.

Amendability of Fundamental Rights

Any changes to the fundamental rights require a constitutional amendment that should be passed by both the Houses of Parliament. The amendment bill should be passed by a **special majority** of Parliament.

As per the Constitution, Article 13(2) states that no laws can be made that take away fundamental rights.

The question is whether a constitutional amendment act can be termed law or not.

In the Sajjan Singh case of 1965, the Supreme Court held that the Parliament can amend any part of the Constitution including fundamental rights.

But in 1967, the SC reversed its stance taken earlier when in the verdict of the Golaknath case, it said that the fundamental rights cannot be amended.

In 1973, a landmark judgement ensued in the **Kesavananda Bharati case**, where the SC held that although no part of the Constitution, including Fundamental Rights, was beyond the Parliament's amending power, the "basic structure of the Constitution could not be abrogated even by a constitutional amendment."

This is the basis in Indian law in which the judiciary can strike down any amendment passed by Parliament that is in conflict with the basic structure of the Constitution.

In 1981, the Supreme Court reiterated the Basic Structure doctrine.

It also drew a line of demarcation as April 24th, 1973 i.e., the date of the Kesavananda Bharati judgement, and held that it should not be applied retrospectively to reopen the validity of any amendment to the Constitution which took place prior to that date.

Doctrine of Severability

This is a doctrine that protects the fundamental rights enshrined in the <u>Constitution</u>.

It is also known as the Doctrine of Separability.

It is mentioned in Article 13, according to which all laws that were enforced in India before the commencement of the Constitution, inconsistent with the provisions of fundamental rights shall **to the extent of that inconsistency** be void.

This implies that only the parts of the statute that is inconsistent shall be deemed void and not the whole statue. Only those provisions which are inconsistent with fundamental rights shall be void.

Doctrine of Eclipse

This doctrine states that any law that violates fundamental rights is not null or void ab initio, but is only non-enforceable, i.e., it is not dead but inactive.

This implies that whenever that fundamental right (which was violated by the law) is struck down, the law becomes active again (is revived).

Another point to note is that the doctrine of eclipse applies only to pre-constitutional laws (laws that were enacted before the Constitution came into force) and not to post-constitutional laws.

Chapter -5

Organs of Indian Government (Legislative, Executive and Judiciary)

Separation of Powers

In India, a separation of functions rather than of powers is followed. Unlike in the US, in India, the concept of separation of powers is not adhered to strictly. However, systems of checks and balances have been put in place in such a manner that the judiciary has the power to strike down any unconstitutional laws passed by the legislature.

What is the Legislature?

The chief function of the legislature is to enact laws.

- ➢ It is the basis for the functioning of the other two organs, the executive and the judiciary.
- ➢ It is also sometimes accorded the first place among the three organs because until and unless laws are enacted, there can be no implementation and application of laws.

What is the Executive?

The executive is the organ that implements the laws enacted by the legislature and enforces the will of the state.

- ❖ It is the administrative head of the government.
- ❖ Ministers including the Prime/Chief Ministers and President/Governors form part of the executive.

What is the Judiciary?

The judiciary is that branch of the government that interprets the law, settles disputes and administers justice to all citizens.

- ✓ The judiciary is considered the watchdog of democracy, and also the guardian of the Constitution.
- ✓ It comprises of the Supreme Court, the High Courts, District and other subordinate courts.

Constitutional Status of Separation of Power in India

The doctrine of separation of powers is a part of the basic structure of the Constitution, although not specifically mentioned. The legislature cannot pass a law violating this principle. The functions of the three organs are specifically mentioned in the Constitution.

Let us take a look at some of the articles of the Constitution which suggest separation of powers.

Article 50: This article puts an obligation over the State to separate the judiciary from the executive. But, since this falls under the Directive Principles of State Policy, it is not enforceable.

Article 123: The President, being the executive head of the country, is empowered to exercise legislative powers (Promulgate ordinances) in certain conditions.

Articles 121 and 211: These provide that the legislatures cannot discuss the conduct of a judge of the Supreme Court or High Court. They can do so only in case of impeachment.

Article 361: The President and Governors enjoy immunity from court proceedings.

There is a system of **checks and balances** wherein the various organs impose checks on one another by certain provisions.

- ❖ The judiciary has the power of judicial review over the actions of the executive and the legislature.
- ❖ The judiciary has the power to strike down any law passed by the legislature if it is unconstitutional or arbitrary as per Article 13 (if it violates Fundamental Rights).
- ❖ It can also declare unconstitutional executive actions as void.
- ❖ The legislature also reviews the functioning of the executive.
- ❖ Although the judiciary is independent, the judges are appointed by the executive.
- ❖ The legislature can also alter the basis of the judgment while adhering to the constitutional limitation.

Checks and balances ensure that no one organ becomes all-too powerful. The Constitution guarantees that the discretionary power bestowed on any one organ is within the democratic principle.

Constituent Assembly and Separation of Powers

There are chiefly two reasons why the Constituent Assembly did not insert the separation of powers doctrine explicitly in the Constitution.

1. The founding fathers thought that it was too late to be inserting this principle as the Constitution was already drafted.
2. Also, India adopted the British parliamentary form of government. So, they thought it was better to avoid adopting a complete separation of powers doctrine like the American model.

Relationship between Legislature and Judiciary

Even though the functions of the executive and the judiciary are well-defined in the Constitution, the system of checks and balances ensures that each one can impose checks on the other.

➢ The judiciary can strike down laws that it considers unconstitutional or arbitrary.
➢ The legislature, on its part, has protested against judicial activism and tried to frame laws to circumvent certain judgements.
➢ Judicial activism is said to be against the principle of separation of powers.
➢ There have been instances where the courts have issued laws and policies through judgements. For example, the Vishakha Guidelines where the SC issued guidelines on sexual harassment.
➢ In 2010, the SC directed the government to undertake the distribution of food grains.
➢ If the judiciary oversteps its mandate and crosses over into the territory of the legislature or the executive, it is called judicial overreach.

Judicial Supremacy and Parliamentary Sovereignty

To strike a balance between the judiciary and the legislature, the Indian constitution uses the following principles:

✓ The doctrine of Parliamentary Sovereignty has been adapted from the British Constitution.
✓ The doctrine of Judicial Supremacy has been adapted from the American Constitution.
✓ The power of judicial review of the Supreme Court of India is narrower in scope than the Supreme Court of the USA.
✓ The Constitution of India guarantees 'established procedure by law' in Article 21 instead of the 'due process of law' provided in the American Constitution.
✓ The Indian Constitution has opted for an amalgamation of Britain's principle of parliamentary sovereignty and the judicial supremacy of the USA.
✓ The Supreme Court, on the one hand, can declare the parliamentary enactments as unconstitutional using the power of judicial review.
✓ The Parliament, on the other hand, can amend a large chunk of the Constitution using its constituent power.

Relationship between Legislature and Executive

The Constitution states that the executive branch of the State (Council of Ministers) shall be collectively responsible to the Legislature (Lok Sabha). This implies that the Parliament should supervise the work of the government and hold it accountable for its actions.

➢ In a parliamentary form of government, the executive is not separated from the legislature in that the members of the council of ministers are members of the legislature.
➢ The executive loses power when it loses the confidence of the legislature. The executive/council of ministers is dismissed if it loses the legislature's confidence before its tenure is over. So, the legislature controls the executive through a vote of no-confidence.
➢ The head of government and head of state are different. The head of the government is the Prime Minister while the head of state is the President.

- The parliament makes laws in general broad terms and delegates the powers to the executive to formulate detailed policy and implement them.
- In a presidential form of government, the executive is not accountable to the legislature. One person is the heads of both the State as well as the government. A minister need not be from the legislature.

Relationship between Executive and Judiciary

There are several provisions in the Constitution that make the judiciary independent. This is because, it is believed that for a democracy to remain efficient and effective, the judiciary must be independent. The judiciary is said to be the guardian of the constitution. If the executive also assumes judicial powers that sort of a government tends to become oppressive.

However, there are some judicial functions which are performed by the executive as well. They are:

1. The appointments of the judges are made by the executive.
2. The President and the Governors also enjoy the power to pardon, reprieve, etc. These are direct judicial functions.
3. Under the system of administrative adjudication, the executive agencies have the power to hear and decide cases involving particular fields of administrative activity.

The judiciary also performs some executive functions. It can review the actions of the executive and declare them void if found unconstitutional.

Checks and Balances

The strict separation of powers that was envisaged in the classical sense is not practicable anymore, but the logic behind this doctrine is still valid. The logic behind this doctrine is of polarity rather than strict classification meaning thereby that the centre of authority must be dispersed to avoid absolutism. Hence, the doctrine can be better appreciated as a doctrine of checks and balances.

- In Indira Nehru Gandhi's case, Chandrachud J. observed No Constitution can survive without a conscious adherence to its fine checks and balances. Just as courts ought not to enter into problems intertwined in the political thicket, Parliament must also respect the preserve of the courts. The principle of separation of powers is a principle of restraint which "has in it the precept, inmate in the prudence of self-preservation; that discretion is the better part of valour".
- The doctrine of separation of powers in today's context of liberalization, privatization and globalization cannot be interpreted to mean either "separation of powers" or "checks and balance" or "principles of restraint", but "community of powers" exercised in the spirit of cooperation by various organs of the state in the best interest of the people.

Judicial Overreach

The Supreme Court has been accused time and again of pronouncing judgements that are often termed as judicial legislation. This happens when in the guise of giving guidelines and creating principles, they assume the powers of the legislature, for instance, by laying down the basic structure doctrine, the Supreme Court has put limitations on the legislature's power to make and amend laws. The judiciary through the collegiums system has also been accused of infringing on powers of other branches. The essential function of the judiciary is to interpret the law rather than to be keen in the appointment of judges. After all, ours is a parliamentary form of democracy wherein parliamentarians are elected by people and they have to face the people, they are filling the slogan of "We the People"; as compared to this, judges are enjoying fixed tenure. They are accountable to none as such and they should concentrate on justice delivery rather than the appointments.

Basic Concepts in Political Theory

Law Meaning

A study of the basic concept of political theory should begin with discussion of the idea of law in the sense that the state is a legal association. The state is distinguished from society, nation and other association by virtue of its coercive power - a power that issues in the form of law. The state operates through the government and the government interprets the will of the state through law. Law is the vehicle of sovereignty. The function of the state is not only limited to the execution of law, it is also to enforce law in just manner. Law regulates life and without law there is chaos and confusion. Thus the central idea in law is that of control. In a democratic society it is a technique with a purpose - it is the sum of the social influences regularly recognized and applied by the state in the administration of justice. In Political Science, we use the term law to describe a body of rules to guide human action. The word 'law' comes from the old Teutonic root 'lag' which means to lay, to place, to set or to fix something in an even manner. Law is for this reason, something positive or 'imposed'. In a deeper sense the word 'law' originates from the Latin word 'jus' means a bend or tie. Thus law means a system of rules hold to be binding or obligatory which aimed at realizing justice. Woodrow Wilson defines "law is that portion of the established thought and habit which has gained distinct and formal recognition in the shape of uniform rules backed by the authority and power of the government". To sum up, law has the following features.

1. Law is an expression of the will of the state and expressed by the only constituted authority;
2. Law is enforced by the state;
3. Law is concerned only with the external aspect of human actions;
4. Law is universal in its application;
5. The violation of law may lead to punishment;
6. The aim of law is individual and general welfare;

Liberty Meaning

The theme of liberty is integrally connected with the theme of rights. It is the provision of rights with their due enforcement by the state that ensures freedom to a citizen and thereby enables him to seek the best possible development of his personality. The term 'liberty' comes from the Latin word 'liber' that means 'free'. The meaning of liberty generally taken a wrong way as it is identified with the absence of restraints and limitations. No man can be absolutely free. In the sense of unrestrained freedom, liberty is not possible in society. Thus viewed, liberty means man's right to do what he wants for the sake of making the best possible development of his personality. Social life is regulated by a set of principles or norms that make man's life civilized. These restraints lay down the line of distinction between good and bad, right or wrong, moral and immoral, legal and illegal. In fine, the real meaning of liberty should be understood with this point in view that the liberty of an individual is relative to that of others. Liberty is defined by Mahatma Gandhi as follows, "liberty does not mean the absence of restraint but it lies in development of liberty." According to JohnSeeley, "liberty is the opposite of over-government". The meaning of liberty has two dimensions negative and positive. In a negative sense, it implies the absence of restraints as far as possible. Negative liberty meant that there should not be any hindrance in the path of one's actions. Here the point of stress is that restraint is bad, because it effects curtailment of individual freedom. J. S. Mill and F. A. Hayek, John Locke, Thomas Hobbes, Adam Smith, Jeremy Bentham are exponents of negative liberty. Mill maintained that there should not be any hindrance in the path of man. Hayek says that every individual has some assured area of personal freedom with which others cannot interfere. The negative view of liberty is not appreciated in the present times. Now individual liberty is sought to be reconciled with state

authority. Restraints are essential if the state desires to achieve the goal of public welfare. The positive concept of liberty admits that there must be compulsion if liberty is to have a practical meaning. It is a contribution of T. H. Green. He defines it as a positive power of doing something that is worth enjoying in common with others. Since man is social creature, his life should be regulated by certain social bonds. Hegel, Rousseau, Herder, Marx, H. J. Laski, Barker are other advocates of positive liberty. Liberal versus Marxist View, The Marxist interpretations regarding real meaning and nature of liberty hinge mainly on the nature and scope of economic liberty available in the pattern of social life. The liberals define liberty as a bundle of rights that enable a man to seek the best possible development of his personality. They do not bother for the kind of social life of man. On the other hand, the Marxist view of liberty covers the case of man's life in the society he lives and the conditions he is subjected to. It follows that in the Marxist view; there can be no real freedom unless the capitalist system is replaced with the socialist system. The Marxist concept of liberty rejects the case of 'free will' as the ingredient of liberty. Man is not only a social creature who can understand the pattern of his social existence and then change it by means of his conscious revolutionary social activity. It is quite obvious that Marxist view of liberty cannot be appreciated by the liberal thinker's who identify liberty with constitutional government, political democracy and orderly administration based on common law system. They are, Milton Freidman, Louis Fischer and Arthur Koestler.

Dimensions or Kinds of Liberty

Simply stated, liberty implies a condition of freedom especially opposed to political subjection, imprisonment or slavery. In a wider sense, it is a multiple concept having these important varieties.

Equality

Meaning Equality

like liberty, is an important pillar of democracy. In common parlance the term equality is used for identity of treatment and identity of rewards. However, this is not a correct use of the term because absolute equality is not possible. Like liberty, equality has also been assigned both negative and positive meaning. In the negative sense, equality means the absence of special privileges. It implies the absence of special privileges. It implies the absence of barriers like birth, wealth, caste, colour, creed, etc. In the positive sense, equality means provision of adequate opportunities for all the members of the society. It may be observed that adequate opportunities do not mean equal opportunities, but nobody should be barred from any opportunity on any grounds. Therefore, equality really means the provision of adequate opportunities toall citizens without any discrimination. Nobody should be debarred from certain facilities simply because of his status, caste, creed, etc. In short, equality implies the following things. First, all persons should be provided with adequate opportunities for the development of the personality. Second, no class or caste or group enjoys special privileges that are not available to other members of the society. Third, there should not be any discrimination among members of society and if there is any discrimination it should be based on reasonable grounds, that means, positive discrimination fourth, rights are equally distributed among all and all have equal access to opportunities leading to authority

Dimensions of Equality

The concept of equality is dynamic one and has kept on changing according to times. Accordingly different scholars have suggested different dimensions or kinds of equality. Laski mentions only two kinds of equality - political and economic. Lord Bryce refers to four kinds of equality - civil, political, social and natural.

Justice

Meaning

The concept of justice occupies a prominent position in political theory. Different people attached different meanings to the term justice at different times and places. The word justice is derived from the Latin word 'justitia' that means joining of fitting. In the words of Rafel "the idea of justice is plainly concerned with the general ordering of the society." Plato interpreted justice in terms of functions and Aristotle interpreted justice in the sense of fairness and equality. The idea of justice is a dynamic affair. As such, its implications change with the passage of time. What was justice in the past may be injustice today or vice versa of justice;

First, the concept is related to dealings amongst human beings. Second, it implies impartiality in the treatment of various persons and requires that no discrimination should be ma e amongst the various members of religion, caste, sex, place of birth, family, etc. Third, justice does not essentially mean doing away with all types of discrimination. It permits some sort of discrimination on reasonable grounds. For example, the special treatment promised to the backward classes under the Indian Constitution does not violate the concept of justice. Fourth, it emphasizes the importance of personal dignity and all those actions, which restrict the rights, and freedom of the individuals as derogatory or unjust. However, this doesn't preclude imposition of restrictions on the freedom of the individual in larger interest of the members of society. Fifth, the concept of justice is intimately connected with the concept of equality. Absence of equality is considered as a violation of the principle of justice. For example, legal justice implies the existence of a feeling of fraternity among the members of society or a group. Finally, justice implies due consideration of the natural limitations. In short, justice tries to reconcile the individual rights with the social good.

Dimensions of Justice

The concept of justice has four-fold dimensions - legal, political, social and economic. It shall be desirable to deal with these dimensions of justice in some details.

Rights

Meaning Rights,

Liberty and equality are three inter-related themes; possession and enjoyment of rights without any distinction makes liberty and equality meaningless. In order to live, man must have some rights; in order to develop his personality to the best possible extent, he must have some particular rights. If state is the first condition of a civilized life, the civilized life requires a set of special rights that a man must have. According to Laski, "rights are those conditions of social life without which no man can seek to be himself at his best." A proper definition of right has three ingredients. First, it is a claim of the individuals. However, not every claim can be a right; the claim should be of a common interest or something which is capable of universal application. Secondly, a claim of the individual must receive social recognition. For instance, an individual's claim that receives social recognition if every individual wills in the same direction. Finally, we come to the point of political recognition. Rights are, like moral declarations, until they are protected by the state. The state translates socially recognized claims of moral rights into terms of law and thereby accords them legal recognition. It, therefore, acts like a coercive agency to prevent the operation of selfish wills of the individuals.

Dimensions or Kinds of Rights

Rights are of different kinds. A watertight classification of rights is not possible because of its interrelated nature. Laski puts rights into two categories - general and particular. But Barker divides them into three main heads relating to fraternity, equality and liberty.

Modern Concepts of Political Science

Power, Influence, Authority, Legitimacy, Political Culture, Political Socialisation, Modernisation and Political Development

<div align="center">**Chapter-7**</div>

Political Ideologies

A political ideology is a set of ethical ideals, principles, doctrines, myths or symbols of a social movement, institution, or a large group. These political ideologies explain how society should function, and offers a blueprint for a certain social order

List of Political Ideologies
The following table will give a list of political ideologies along with their subtypes.

List of Political Ideologies

Political Ideology	Subtypes of Political Ideology
Anarchism	➢ Classical anarchism ➢ Individualist anarchism ➢ Libertarianism ➢ Social anarchism ➢ Insurrectionary anarchism
Authoritarianism	✓ Absolute monarchism ✓ Autocracy ✓ Despotism ✓ Dictatorship ✓ <u>Imperialism</u> ✓ Oligarchy ✓ Police-State ✓ Totalitarianism ✓ Plutocracy ✓ Theocracy
Communitarianism	❖ Communitarian corporatism ❖ Mutualism ❖ Distributism ❖ Eurasianism
Communism	➢ Barracks communism ➢ Leninism ➢ Stalinism ➢ Marxism ➢ Naxalism
Conservatism	✓ Authoritarian conservatism

	✓ Bioconservatism ✓ Black conservatism ✓ Civic conservatism ✓ Classical conservatism
Corporatism	❖ Absolutist corporatism ❖ Communitarian corporatism ❖ Conservative corporatism ❖ Economic corporatism ❖ Mutualist movement ❖ National syndicalism ❖ Neo-feudalism
Democracy	• Associative democracy • Bioregional democracy • Bourgeois democracy • Cellular democracy • Majoritarianism • Producerism • Sortitionism
Environmentalism	✓ Bright green environmentalism ✓ Deep green environmentalism ✓ Light green environmentalism ✓ Free-market environmentalism
Fascism and Nazism	❖ Classical fascism ❖ Crypto-fascism ❖ Eco-fascism ❖ Neo-fascism ❖ Neo-Nazism
Identity politics	• Age-related rights movements • Animal-related rights movements • Disability-related rights movements
Feminism	✓ Neo-feminism ✓ Radical feminism ✓ First-wave feminism ✓ Second-wave feminism ✓ Third-wave feminism ✓ Fourth-wave feminism

Liberalism	✓ Neoclassical liberalism ✓ Neo-liberalism ✓ Ordoliberalism ✓ Secular liberalism ✓ Social liberalism ✓ Technoliberalism ✓ <u>Secularism</u>
Libertarianism	• Classical liberal radicalism • Eco-socialism • Free-market anarchism • Paleolibertarianism • Propertarianism
Nationalism	❖ Bourgeois nationalism ❖ Civic nationalism ❖ Cultural nationalism ❖ Diaspora nationalism
Populism	✓ Conservative populism ✓ Economic populism ✓ Liberal populism ✓ Reactionary populism ✓ Social populism
Progressivism	• Economic progressivism • Social progressivism • Techno-progressivism • Transnational progressivism
Socialism	❖ Democratic socialism ❖ Reformist socialism ❖ Marxist revisionism ❖ Revolutionary socialism ❖ Ba'athism ❖ Nasserism

1. Anarchism: Anarchism is a type of political philosophy and movement that is against all forms of authority and rejects involuntary and forceful notions of hierarchy. Anarchism calls for the abolition of the state, which it holds to be undesirable, unnecessary and harmful. Historically, it is commonly associated with anti-capitalism and socialism.

2. Authoritarianism: Authoritarianism is a form of a political ideology that rejects political pluralism. It employs strong central power to preserve its political status. Authoritarianism regimes may be either autocratic, oligarchic and military in nature. Military dictatorships are the most common examples of Authoritarianism.

3. Communitarianism: Communitarianism is an ideology which stresses on the connection between the individual and the community. Its main belief is that an individual's identity and personality is shaped by relationships within the community, with a smaller degree of development being stressed upon individualism.

4. Communism: Communism is a social, philosophical, political and economic ideology whose main objective is the formation of a society where there is common ownership and the means of production are owned by the common masses without the presence of social classes, money and the state.

5. Conservatism: Conservatism, is a cultural, social and political philosophy that promotes and seeks to preserve traditional social institutions. The core principles of conservatism may vary from region to region depending on the traditions and practices of the region, but they all oppose modernism and seek a return to traditional values.

6. Corporatism: Corporatism is a political ideology which advocates the organization of society by corporate groups, such as agricultural, labour, military, business, scientific, or guild associations, on the basis of their common interests.

7. Democracy: Democracy refers to a form of government where the people have the power to choose their governing legislators or the authority to decide on the legislation.

8. Environmentalism: Environmentalism is a broad ideology and social movement that is concerned with environmental protection and improvement of the ecology so that both humans and animals can live peacefully in their respective environments.

9. Fascism and Nazism: Fascism a political ideology, which espouses authoritarianism, ultranationalism, with characteristics of dictatorial power, forcible suppression of opposition and rigidity of society and economy.Nazism, on the other hand, is a form of fascism with a disdain for liberal democracy and parliamentary democracy.

10. Identity Politics: Identity politics is an ideological as well as a political approach, where people of a particular race, religion, gender, social background or any other identifying factors develop political agendas that are based on issues which may affect their lives.

11. Feminism: Feminism is a range of social movements, political movements, and ideologies that aim to define and establish the political, economic, personal, and social equality of the genders.

12. Liberalism: Liberalism is a political and moral philosophy based on liberty, consent of the governed and equality before the law.

13. Libertarianism: Libertarianism is a political ideology with liberalism as a core principle of its core foundation.

14. Nationalism: Nationalism is an idea and movement that holds that the nation should be congruent with the state. As a movement, nationalism tends to promote the interests of a particular nation, especially with the aim of gaining and maintaining the nation's sovereignty (self-governance) over its homeland.

15. Populism: Populism is a political stance which stresses on the idea of "people" and often spins a narrative of people vs a group of elites.

17. Progressivism: Progressivism is a philosophy in politics that supports social reform. It is based on the idea that progress and advancements in science, technology, and economic development are vital to the improvement of humanity as a whole.

Evolution of Local Self-Government (Panchayati Raj System) in India

We know there is a government in India at the Center and State levels. But there is another important system for local governance. The foundation of the present local self-government in India was laid by the Panchayati Raj System (1992).

But the history of Panchayati Raj starts from the self-sufficient and self-governing village communities. In the time of the Rig-Veda (1700 BC), evidence suggests that self-governing village bodies called 'sabhas' existed. With the passage of time, these bodies became panchayats (council of five persons).

Panchayats were functional institutions of grassroots governance in almost every village. They endured the rise and fall of empires in the past, to the current highly structured system.

What is Local self-government

Local self-government implies the transference of the power to rule to the lowest rungs of the political order. It is a form of democratic decentralization where the participation of even the grass root level of the society is ensured in the process of administration.

History of local administration

The village panchayat, as a system of administration, began in the British days, as their offer to satisfy the demands for local autonomy. They opened up the governance of the lowest levels to the citizens. The GoI act, 1935 also authorizes the provinces to enact legislations.

How did the concept of local self-government evolve in India?

Even though such minor forms of local governance was evident in India, the framers of the constitutions, unsatisfied with the existing provisions, included **Article 40** among the Directive Principles, whereby:

"The state shall take steps to organize village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government."

Later, the conceptualization of the system of local self-government in India took place through the formation and effort of four important committees from the year 1957 to 1986. It will be helpful if we take a look at the committee and the important recommendations put forward by them.

1. Balwant Rai Mehta Committee (1957)

Originally appointed by the Government of India to examine the working of two of its earlier programs, the committee submitted its report in November 1957, in which the term '**democratic decentralization**'first appears.

The important recommendations are:

- Establishment of a three-tier Panchayati Raj system – gram panchayat at village level (direct election), panchayat Samiti at the block level and Zila Parishad at the district level (indirect election).
- District Collector to be the chairman of Zila Parishad.
- Transfer of resources and power to these bodies to be ensured.

The existent National Development Council accepted the recommendations. However, it did not insist on a single, definite pattern to be followed in the establishment of these institutions. Rather, it allowed the states to devise their own patterns, while the broad fundamentals were to be the same throughout the country.

Rajasthan (1959) adopted the system first, followed by Andhra Pradesh in the same year. Some states even went ahead to create four-tier systems and **Nyaya panchayats**, which served as judicial **bodies.**

2. Ashok Mehta Committee (1977-1978)

The committee was constituted by the Janata government of the time to study Panchayati Raj institutions. Out of a total of 132 recommendations made by it, the most important ones are:

- ❖ Three-tier system to be replaced by a two-tier system.
- ❖ Political parties should participate at all levels in the elections.
- ❖ Compulsory powers of taxation to be given to these institutions.
- ❖ Zila Parishad to be made responsible for planning at the state level.
- ❖ A minister for Panchayati Raj to be appointed by the state council of ministers.
- ❖ **Constitutional recognition to be given to Panchayati Raj institutions.**

Unfortunately, the Janata government collapsed before action could be taken on these recommendations.

3. G V K Rao Commitee (1985)

Appointed by the Planning Commission, the committee concluded that the developmental procedures were gradually being taken away from the local self-government institutions, resulting in a system comparable to **'grass without roots'.**

- ✓ Zila Parishad to be given prime importance and all developmental programs at that level to be handed to it.
- ✓ Post of DDC (District Development Commissioner) to be created acting as the chief executive officer of the Zila Parishad.
- ✓ Regular elections to be held

4. L M Singhvi Commitee (1986)

Constituted by the Rajiv Gandhi government on 'Revitalisation of Panchayati Raj institutions for Democracy and Development', its important recommendations are:

- Constitutional recognition for PRI institutions.
- Nyaya Panchayats to be established for clusters of villages

Though the 64th Constitutional Amendment bill was introduced in the Lok Sabha in 1989 itself, Rajya Sabha opposed it. It was only during the Narasimha Rao government's term that the idea finally became a reality in the form of the **73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment acts, 1992**.

Panchayati Raj System under 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendment acts, 1992

The acts of 1992 added two new parts IX and IX-A to the constitution. It also added two new schedules – 11 and 12 which contains the lists of functional items of **Panchayats and Municipalities.** It provides for a three-tier system of **Panchayati Raj** in every state – at the village, intermediate and district levels.

What are Panchayats and Municipalities?

- Panchayat and Municipality are the generic terms for the governing body at the local level. Both exist as three tier systems – at the lower, intermediate and upper levels.
- The 73rd Constitutional Amendment act provides for a *Gram Sabha* as the foundation of the Panchayati Raj system. It is essentially a village assembly consisting of all the registered voters in the area of the panchayat. The state has the power to determine what kind of powers it can exercise, and what functions it has to perform at the village level.
- The 74th Constitutional Amendment act provides for three types of Municipalities:
    1. **Nagar Panchayat** for a transitional area between a rural and urban area.
    2. **Municipal Council** for a small urban area.
    3. **Municipal Corporation** for a large urban area.
- Municipalities represent **urban local self-government.**
- Most of the provisions of the two acts are parallel, differing only in the fact that they are being applied to either a Panchayat or a Municipality respectively.
- Each Gram sabha is the meeting of a particular constituency called *ward.*
- Each ward has a representative chosen from among the people themselves by *direct election*.

- The chairperson of the Panchayat or Municipality at the intermediate and district level are elected from among these representatives at the immediately lower level by *indirect election*.

Types of Urban Local Government

There are eight types of urban local governments currently existing in India:

1. Municipal Corporations.
2. Municipality.
3. Notified area committee.
4. Town area committee.
5. Cantonment board.
6. Township.
7. Port trust.
8. Special Purpose agency

How are the elections held in the local government bodies?
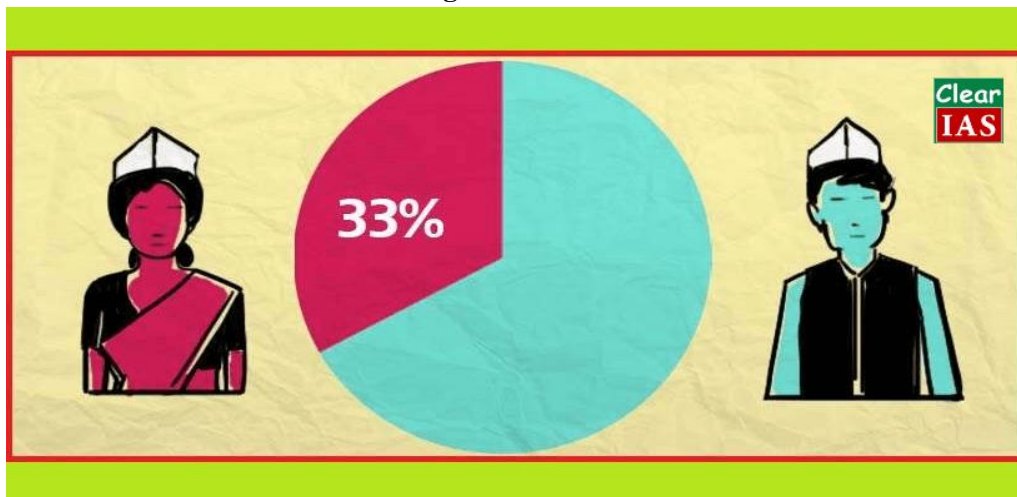
- All seats of representatives of local bodies are filled by people chosen through *direct elections.*
- The conduct of elections is vested in the hands of the State election commission.
- The chairpersons at the intermediate and district levels shall be elected *indirectly from among the elected representatives at the immediately lower level.*
- At the lowest level, the chairperson shall be elected in a mode defined by the state legislature.
- Seats are reserved for SC and ST proportional to their population.
- Out of these reserved seats, not less than one-third shall be further reserved for women.
- There should be a blanket reservation of one-third seats for women in all the constituencies taken together too (which can include the already reserved seats for SC and ST).
- The acts bar the interference of courts in any issue relating to the election to local bodies.

What are the Qualifications needed to be a member of the Panchayat or Municipality?

Any person who is qualified to be a member of the state legislature is eligible to be a member of the Panchayat or Municipality.

"But he shall not be disqualified on the ground that he is less than 25 years of age if he has attained the age of 21 years"

This means that unlike the state legislature, a person needs to attain only 21 years of age to be a member of panchayat/municipality.

What is the duration of the Local Government bodies?

➢ The local governing bodies are elected for a term of five years.
➢ Fresh elections should be conducted before the expiry of the five-year term.
➢ If the panchayat/municipality is dissolved before the expiry of its term, elections shall be conducted within six months and the new panchayat/municipality will hold office for the remainder of the term if the term has more than six months duration.
➢ And for another five years if the remaining term is less than six months.

What are the Powers invested on these Local Government bodies?

The powers of local bodies are not exclusively defined. They can be tailor-fitted by the state governments according to the environment of the states.In general, the State governments can assign powers to Panchayats and Municipalities that may enable them to prepare plans for economic development and social justice. They may also be authorized to levy, collect, or appropriate taxes.

Summary

To conclude, local self-government is one of the most innovative governance change processes our country has gone through. The noble idea of taking the government of a country into the hands of the grass root level is indeed praiseworthy.

However, like any system in the world, this system is also imperfect. Problems of maladministration and misappropriation of funds are recurring. But this shall not stand in the way of efficient governance; and if these ill practices are rooted out, there would be no comparisons around the world to our system of local self-government.

Chapter 9

Distinctive features of indian and western political though

Political philosophy

Although in antiquity great civilizations arose in Egypt and Mesopotamia, in the Indus Valley, and in China, there was little speculation about the problems of political philosophy as formulated in the West. The Code of Hammurabi (c. 1750 BCE) consists of rules propounded by the Babylonian ruler Hammurabi as a representative of God on Earth and is mainly concerned with order, trade, and irrigation; the *Maxims of Ptahhotep* (c. 2300 BCE) contains shrewd advice from the Egyptian vizier on how to prosper in a bureaucracy; and the *Artha-sastra* of Kautilya, grand vizier to Chandragupta Maurya in the late 4th century BCE, is a set of Machiavellian precepts on how to survive under an arbitrary power. To be sure, the Buddhist concept of dharma (social custom and duty), which inspired the Indian emperor Ashoka in the 3rd century BCE, implies a moralization of public power, and the teachings of Confucius in the 6th century BCE are a code of conduct designed to stabilize society, but there is not, outside Europe, much speculation about the basis of political obligation and the purpose of the state, with both of which Western political philosophy is mainly concerned.

An authoritarian society is taken for granted, backed by religious sanctions, and a conservative and arbitrary power is generally accepted.

Code of Hammurabi

In contrast to this overwhelming conservatism, paralleled by the rule of custom and tribal elders in most primitive societies, the political philosophers of ancient Greece question the basis and purpose of government. Though they do not separate political speculation from shrewd observations that today would be regarded as empirical political science, they created the vocabulary of Western political thought.

Plato

The first elaborate work of European political philosophy is the *Republic* of Plato, a masterpiece of insight and feeling, superbly expressed in dialogue form and probably meant for recitation. Further development of Plato's ideas is undertaken in his *Statesman* and *Laws*, the latter prescribing the ruthless methods whereby they might be imposed. Plato grew up during the great Peloponnesian War between Athens and Sparta and, like many political philosophers, tried to find remedies for prevalent political injustice and decline. Indeed, the *Republic* is the first of the utopias, though not one of the more attractive, and it is the first classic attempt of a European philosopher to moralize political life.

Books V, VII–VIII, and IX of the *Republic* are cast as a lively discussion between Socrates, whose wisdom Plato is recounting, and various leisured Athenians. They state the major themes of political philosophy with poetic power. Plato's work has been criticized as static and class-bound, reflecting the moral and aesthetic assumptions of an elite in a slave-owning civilization and bound by the narrow limits of the city-state (polis). The work is indeed a classic example of a philosopher's vivisection of society, imposing by relatively humane means the rule of a high-minded minority.

The *Republic* is a criticism of current Hellenic politics often an indictment. It is based upon a metaphysical act of faith, for Plato believes that a world of permanent Forms exists beyond the limitations of human experience and that morality and the good life, which the state should promote, are reflections of these ideal entities (*see* Platonism). The point is best made in the famous simile of the cave, in which humans are chained with their faces to the wall and their backs to the light, so that they see only the shadows of reality. So constrained, they shrink from what is truly "real" and permanent and need to be forced to face it. This idealistic doctrine, known misleadingly as realism, pervades all Plato's philosophy: its opposite doctrine, nominalism, declares that only particular and observed "named" data are accessible to the mind. On his realist assumption, Plato regards most ordinary life as illusion and the current evils of politics as the result of the human pursuit of brute instinct. It follows that

unless philosophers bear kingly rule in cities or those who are now called kings and princes become genuine and adequate philosophers, and political power and philosophy are brought together…there will be no respite from evil for cities.

Only philosopher-statesmen can apprehend permanent and transcendent Forms and turn to "face the brightest blaze of being" outside the cave, and only philosophically minded people of action can be the saviors and helpers of the citizens.

Plato is thus indirectly the pioneer of modern beliefs that only a party organization, inspired by correct and "scientific" doctrines, formulated by the written word and interpreted by authority, can rightly guide the state. His rulers would form an elite, not responsible to the mass of the people. Thus, in spite of his high moral purpose, he has been called an enemy of the open society and the father of totalitarianism. But he is also an anatomist of the evils of unbridled appetite and political corruption and insists on the need to use public power to moral ends.

Having described his utopia, Plato turns to analyze the existing types of government in human terms with great insight. Monarchy is the best but impracticable; in oligarchies the rule of the few and the

pursuit of wealth divide societies the rich become demoralized and the poor envious, and there is no harmony in the state. In democracy, in which the poor get the upper hand, demagogues distribute "a peculiar kind of equality to equals and unequal impartially," and the old flatter the young, fawning on their juniors to avoid the appearance of being sour or despotic. The leaders plunder the propertied classes and divide the spoils between themselves and the people until confusion and corruption lead to tyranny, an even worse form of government, for the tyrant becomes a wolf instead of a man and "lops off" potential rivals and starts wars to distract the people from their discontent. "Then, by Zeus," Plato concludes, "the public learns what a monster they have begotten."

In the *Statesman* Plato admits that, although there is a correct science of government, like geometry it cannot be realized, and he stresses the need for the rule of law, since no ruler can be trusted with unbridled power. He then examines which of the current forms of government is the least difficult to live with, for the ruler, after all, is an artist who has to work within the limits of his medium. In the *Laws*, purporting to be a discussion of how best to found a polis in Crete, he presents a detailed program in which a state with some 5,000 citizens is ruled by 37 curators of laws and a council of 360. But the keystone of the arch is a sinister and secret Nocturnal Council to be "the sheet anchor of the state," established in its "central fortress as guardian." Poets and musicians will be discouraged and the young subjected to a rigid, austere, and exacting education. The stark consequence of Plato's political philosophy here becomes apparent. He had, nonetheless, stated, in the dawn of European political thought, the normative principle that the state should aim at promoting the good life and social harmony and that the rule of law, in the absence of the rule of philosopher-kings, is essential to this purpose.

Aristotle

Aristotle, who was a pupil in the Academy of Plato, remarks that "all the writings of Plato are original: they show ingenuity, novelty of view and a spirit of enquiry. But perfection in everything is perhaps a difficult thing." Aristotle was a scientist rather than a prophet, and his *Politics*, written while he was teaching at the Lyceum at Athens, is only part of an encyclopedic account of nature and society, in which he analyzes society as if he were a doctor and prescribes remedies for its ills. Political behavior is here regarded as a branch of biology as well as of ethics; in contrast to Plato, Aristotle was an empirical political philosopher. He criticizes many of Plato's ideas as impracticable, but, like Plato, he admires balance and moderation and aims at a harmonious city under the rule of law. The book is composed of lecture notes and is arranged in a confusing way—a quarry of arguments and definitions of great value but hard to master. The first book, though probably the last written, is a general introduction; Books II, III, and VII–VIII, probably the earliest, deal with the ideal state; and Books IV–VII analyze actual states and politics. The treatise is thus, in modern terms, a mixture of political philosophy and political science (*see also* Aristotelianism).

Like Plato, Aristotle thinks in terms of the city-state, which he regards as the natural form of civilized life, social and political, and the best medium in which human capacities can be realized. Hence his famous definition of man as a "political animal," distinguished from the other animals by his gift of speech and power of moral judgment. "Man, when perfected," he writes,

is the best of animals, but when separated from law and justice he is the worst of all, since armed injustice is the most dangerous, and he is equipped at birth with the arms of intelligence and wit, moral qualities which he may use for the worst ends.

Since all nature is pervaded by purpose and since humans "aim at the good," the city-state, which is the highest form of human community, aims at the highest good. Like sailors with their separate functions, who yet have a common object in safety in navigation, citizens too have a common aim—in modern terms survival, security, and the enhancement of the quality of life. In the context of the city-state, this high quality of life can be realized only by a minority, and Aristotle, like Plato, excludes those who are not full citizens or who are slaves; indeed, he says that some men are "slaves

by nature" and deserve their status. Plato and Aristotle aim at an aristocratic and exacting way of life, reflecting, in more sophisticated forms, the ideas of the warrior aristocracies depicted by Homer.

Having stated that the aim of the city-state is to promote the good life, Aristotle insists that it can be achieved only under the rule of law.

The rule of law is preferable to that of a single citizen; if it be the better course to have individuals ruling, they should be made law guardians or ministers of the laws.

The rule of law is better than that even of the best men, for

he who bids law rule may be deemed to bid God and reason alone rule, but he who bids men rule adds the element of the beast; for desire is a wild beast, and passion perverts the minds of rulers, even if they are the best of men.

This doctrine, which distinguishes between lawful government and tyranny, survived the Middle Ages and, by subjecting the ruler to law, became the theoretical sanction of modern constitutional government.

Aristotle also vindicates the rule of custom and justifies the obligations accepted by members of society: the solitary man, he writes, "is either a beast or a God." This outlook at once reflects the respect for custom and solidarity that has promoted survival in primitive tribal societies, even at the price of sacrificing individuals, and gives a theoretical justification for the acceptance of political obligation.

Like Plato, Aristotle analyzes the different kinds of city-states. While states are bound, like animals, to be different, he considers a balanced "mixed" constitution the best—it reflects the ideal of justice (*dikē*) and fair dealing, which gives every individual his due in a conservative social order in which citizens of the middle condition preponderate. And he attacks oligarchy, democracy, and tyranny. Under democracy, he argues, demagogues attain power by bribing the electorate and waste accumulated wealth. But it is tyranny that Aristotle most detests; the arbitrary power of an individual above the law who is responsible to no-one and who governs all alike with a view to his own advantage and not of his subjects, and therefore against their will. No free man can endure such a government.

The *Politics* contains not only a firm statement of these principles but also a penetrating analysis of how city-states are governed, as well as of the causes of revolutions, in which "inferiors revolt in order that they may be equal, and equals that they may be superior." The treatise concludes with an elaborate plan for educating the citizens to attain the "mean," the "possible," and the "becoming." The first implies a balanced development of body and mind, ability and imagination; the second, the recognition of the limits of mind and the range and limitations of talent; the third, an outcome of the other two, is the style and self-assurance that come from the resulting self-control and confidence.

While, therefore, Aristotle accepts a conservative and hierarchical social order, he states firmly that public power should aim at promoting the good life and that only through the rule of law and justice can the good life be attained. These principles were novel in the context of his time, when the great extra-European civilizations were ruled, justly or unjustly, by the arbitrary power of semidivine rulers and when other peoples, though respecting tribal custom and the authority of tribal elders, were increasingly organized under war leaders for depredation.

Cicero and the Stoics

Both Plato and Aristotle had thought in terms of the city-state. But Aristotle's pupil Alexander the Great swamped the cities of old Greece and brought them into a vast empire that included Egypt, Persia, and the Levant. Although city-states remained the locus of the civilization of antiquity, they became part of an imperial power that broke up into kingdoms under Alexander's successors. This imperial power was reasserted on an even greater scale by Rome, whose empire at its greatest extent reached from central Scotland to the Euphrates and from Spain to eastern Anatolia.

Civilization itself became identified with empire, and the development of eastern and western Europe was conditioned by it.

Since the city-state was no longer self-sufficient, universal philosophies developed that gave people something to live by in a wider world. Of these philosophies, Stoicism and Epicureanism were the most influential. The former inspired a rather grim self-sufficiency and sense of duty, as exemplified by the writings of the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius; the latter, a prudent withdrawal from the world of affairs.

The setting for political philosophy thus became much wider, relating individuals to universal empire—thought of, as in China, as coterminous with civilization itself. Its inspiration remained Hellenic, but derivative Roman philosophers reinterpreted it, and Roman legists enclosed the old concepts of political justice in a carapace of legal definitions, capable of surviving their civilization's decline.

Cicero lived during the 1st century BCE, a time of political confusion in which the old institutions of the republic were breaking down before military dictators. His *De republica* and *De legibus* (*Laws*) are both dialogues and reflect the Classical sense of purpose: "to make human life better by our thought and effort." Cicero defined the republic as an association held together by law; he further asserted, as Plato had maintained with his doctrine of Forms, that government was sanctioned by a universal natural law that reflected the cosmic order. Cicero expresses the pre-Christian Stoic attempt to moralize public power, apparent in the exacting sense of public responsibility shown by the emperors Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius in the 2nd century CE.

St. Augustine

When Christianity became the predominant creed of the empire under Constantine (converted 312) and the sole official religion under Theodosius (379–395), political philosophy changed profoundly. St. Augustine's *City of God* (413–426/427), written when the empire was under attack by Germanic tribes, sums up and defines a new division between church and state and a conflict between "matter" and "spirit" resulting from original sin and the Fall of Man from the Garden of Eden.

St. Augustine, whose *Confessiones* (397) is a record of a new sort of introspection, combined a Classical and Hebraic dualism. From the Stoics and Virgil he inherited an austere sense of duty, from Plato and the Neoplatonists a contempt for the illusions of appetite, and from the Pauline and patristic interpretation of Christianity a sense of the conflict between Light and Darkness that reflects Zoroastrian and Manichaean doctrines emanating from Iran. In this context worldly interests and government itself are dwarfed by the importance of attaining salvation and of escaping from an astrologically determined fate and from the demons who embody the darkness. Life becomes illuminated for the elect minority by the prospect of eternal salvation or, for those without grace, shrivels under the glare of eternal fires.

St. Augustine regarded salvation as predestinate and the cosmic process as designed to "gather" an elect to fill the places of the fallen angels and so "preserve and perhaps augment the number of the heavenly inhabitants." The role of government and indeed of society itself becomes subordinated to a "secular arm," part of an earthly city, as opposed to the "City of God." The function of government is to keep order in a world intrinsically evil.

Since Christianity had long played the main role in defense of the veneer of a precarious urban civilization in antiquity, this claim is not surprising. Constantine was a soldier putting to rights a breakdown in government, which nevertheless would continue in the West until the abdication of the last Western emperor in 476, though in the East the empire would carry on with great wealth and power, centred on the new capital of Constantinople (*see* Byzantine Empire).

St. Augustine thus no longer assumed, as did Plato and Aristotle, that a harmonious and self-sufficient good life could be achieved within a properly organized city-state; he projected his political

philosophy into a cosmic and lurid drama working out to a predestinate end. The normal interests and amenities of life became insignificant or disgusting, and the Christian church alone exercised a spiritual authority that could sanction government. This outlook, reinforced by other patristic literature, would long dominate medieval thought, for with the decline of civilization in the West the church became more completely the repository of learning and of the remnants of the old civilized life.

The Middle Ages

The decline of ancient civilization in the West was severe. Although technology continued to develop (the horse collar, the stirrup, and the heavy plow came in), intellectual pursuits, including political philosophy, became elementary. In the Byzantine Empire, on the other hand, committees of jurists working for the emperor Justinian (reigned 527–565) produced the *Codex constitutionum*; the *Digesta*, or *Pandectae*; the *Institutiones*, which defined and condensed Roman law; and the *Novellae consitutiones post codicem*; the four books are collectively known as the *Codex Justinianeus*, or *Code of Justinian*. The Byzantine basileus, or autocrat, had moral responsibility for guarding and harmonizing an elaborate state, a "colony" of heaven in which reason and not mere will ought to rule. This autocracy and the orthodox form of Christianity were inherited by the Christianized rulers of the Balkans, of Kievan Russia, and of Muscovy.

In the West, two essential principles of Hellenic and Christian political philosophy were transmitted, if only in elementary definitions, in rudimentary encyclopaedias. St. Isidore of Sevilla, in his 7th-century *Etymologiae* ("Etymologies"), for example, asserts that kings rule only on condition of doing right and that their rule reflects a Ciceronic law of nature "common to all people and mankind everywhere by natural instinct." Further, the Germanic tribes respected the civilization they took over and exploited; when converted, they revered the papacy. In 800 the Frankish ruler Charlemagne established a western European empire that would eventually be called holy and Roman (*see* Holy Roman Empire). The idea of a Christian empire coterminous with civilization thus survived in Western as well as Eastern Christendom.

John of Salisbury

After Augustine, no full-length speculative work of political philosophy appeared in the West until the *Policraticus* (1159), by John of Salisbury. Based on John's wide Classical reading, it centres on the ideal ruler, who represents a "public power." John admired the Roman emperors Augustus and Trajan, and, in a still predominantly feudal world, his book carried on the Roman tradition of centralized authority, though without its Byzantine autocracy. The prince, he insists, is he who rules in accordance with law, while a tyrant is one who oppresses the people by irresponsible power. This distinction, which derives from the Greeks, Cicero, and St. Augustine, is fundamental to Western concepts of liberty and the trusteeship of power.

John did not know Aristotle's *Politics*, but his learning is nevertheless remarkable, even if his political similes are unsophisticated. His favourite metaphor for the body politic is the human body: the place of the head is filled by the prince, who is subject only to God; the place of the heart is filled by the senate; the eyes, ears, and tongue are the judges, provincial governors, and soldiers; and the officials are the hands. The tax gatherers are the intestines and ought not to retain their accumulations too long, and the farmers and peasants are the feet. John also compares a commonwealth to a hive and even to a centipede. This vision of a centralized government, more appropriate to the memory of the Roman Empire than to a medieval monarchy, is a landmark of the 12th-century revival of speculative thought.

Aquinas

It is a far cry from this practical 12th-century treatise by a man of affairs to the elaborate justification of Christian kingship and natural law created by St. Thomas Aquinas in the 13th century, during the climax of medieval Western civilization. His political philosophy is only part of

a metaphysical construction of Aristotelian range—for Aristotle had now been assimilated from Arabic sources and given a new Christian content, with the added universality of the Stoic and Augustinian world outlook. Aquinas's *Summa theologiae* (1265/66–1273) purports to answer all the major questions of existence, including those of political philosophy. Like Aristotle, Aquinas thinks in terms of an ethical purpose. Natural law is discussed in the first part of the second book as part of the discussion of original sin and what would now be termed psychology, while war comes under the second part of the second book as an aspect of virtue and vice. Law is defined as "that which is regulation and measure." It is designed to promote the "felicity and beatitude" that are the ends of human life. Aquinas agrees with Aristotle that "the city is the perfection of community" and that the purpose of public power should be to promote the common good. The only legitimate power is from the community, which is the sole medium of people's well-being. In his *De regimine principum* (1266; *On the Government of Princes*), he compares society to a ship in need of a helmsman and repeats Aristotle's definition of man as a social and political animal. Again following Aristotle, he considers oligarchy unjust and democracy evil. Rulers should aim to make the "life of the multitude good in accordance with the purpose of life which is heavenly happiness." They should also create peace, conserve life, and preserve the state—a threefold responsibility.

Here is a complete program for a hierarchical society within a cosmic order. It combines the Hellenic sense of purpose with Christian aims and asserts that, under God, power resides in the community, embodied in the ruler but only for so long as the ruler does right. Hence the aphorism "St. Thomas Aquinas was the first Whig"—a pioneer of the theory of constitutional government. The society he envisages, however, is medieval, static, hierarchical, conservative, and based on limited agriculture and even more limited technology. Nonetheless, Thomism remains the most complete and lasting political doctrine of Roman Catholicism, since modified and adapted but not in principle superseded.

Dante

By the early 14th century the great European institutions, empire and papacy, were breaking down through mutual conflict and the emergence of national realms. But this conflict gave rise to the most complete political theory of universal and secular empire formulated in the medieval West, by the Italian poet and philosopher Dante Alighieri. In *De monarchia* (c. 1313), still in principle highly relevant, Dante insists that only through universal peace can human faculties come to their full compass. But only "temporal monarchy" can achieve this: "a unique princedom extending over all persons in time." The aim of civilization is to actualize human potentialities and to achieve that "fullness of life which comes from the fulfillment of our being."

Monarchy, Dante argues, is necessary as a means to this end. The imperial authority of the Holy Roman emperor, moreover, comes directly from God and not through the pope. The empire is the direct heir of the Roman Empire, a legitimate authority, or Christ would not have chosen to be born under it. In subjecting the world to itself, the Roman Empire had contemplated the public good.

This high-flown argument, part of the political warfare between the partisans of the emperor and pope that was then affecting Italy, drives to essentials: that world peace can be secure only under a world authority. That Dante's argument was impractical did not concern this medieval genius, who was writing more the epitaph than the prospectus of the Holy Roman Empire; he was concerned, like Aquinas, to create a political philosophy with a clear-cut aim and a universal view.

Out of the grand but impractical visions of the High Middle Ages in the 13th-century climax of Christian civilization, there emerged by early-modern times the idea of a well-governed realm, its authority derived from the community itself, with a program designed to ensure the solvency and administrative efficiency of a secular state. In spite of the decline of the civilization of antiquity in the West, the Greco-Roman sense of purpose, of the rule of law, and of the responsibility of power survived in Christian form.

The 16th to the 18th century

Machiavelli

In the thought of the Italian political philosopher Niccolò Machiavelli may be seen a complete secularization of political philosophy. Machiavelli was an experienced diplomat and administrator, and, since he stated flatly how the power struggle was conducted in Renaissance Italy, he won a shocking reputation. He was not, however, without idealism about the old Roman republic, and he admired the independent spirit of the German and Swiss cities. This idealism made him all the more disgusted with Italian politics, of which he makes a disillusioned and objective analysis. Writing in retirement after political disgrace, Machiavelli states firmly that,

since this is to be asserted in general of men, that they are ungrateful, fickle, false, cowards, covetous, and as long as you succeed they are yours entirely: they will offer you their blood, property, life, and children…when the need is far distant; but when it approaches they turn against you.

And again, *since the desires of men are insatiable, nature prompting them to desire all things and fortune permitting them to enjoy but few, there results a constant discontent in their minds, and a loathing of what they possess.*

This view of human nature, already expressed by Plato and St. Augustine, is here unredeemed by Plato's doctrine of Forms or by St. Augustine's dogma of salvation through grace. Machiavelli accepts the facts and advises the ruler to act accordingly. The prince, he states, must combine the strength of the lion with the cunning of the fox: he must always be vigilant, ruthless, and prompt, striking down or neutralizing his adversaries without warning. And when he does an injury, it must be total. For "men ought to be either well treated or crushed, because they can avenge themselves of lighter injuries, of more serious ones they cannot." Moreover, "irresolute princes who follow a neutral path are generally ruined." He advises that it is best to come down at the right moment on the winning side and that conquered cities ought to be either governed directly by the tyrant himself residing there or destroyed. Furthermore, princes, unlike private men, need not keep faith: since politics reflects the law of the jungle, the state is a law unto itself, and normal moral rules do not apply to it.

Machiavelli had stated with unblinking realism how, in fact, tyrants behave, and, far from criticizing their conduct or distinguishing between the just prince who rules by law and the tyrant whose laws are in his own breast, he considers that the successful ruler has to be beyond morality, since the safety and expansion of the state are the supreme objective. In this myopic view, the cosmic visions of Aquinas and Dante are disregarded, and politics becomes a fight for survival. Within his terms of reference, Machiavelli made a convincing case, although as an experienced diplomat he might have realized that dependability in fact pays and that systematic deceit, treachery, and violence usually bring about their own nemesis. Usually bring about their own nemesis.

Hobbes

The 17th-century English philosopher Thomas Hobbes, who spent his life as a tutor and companion to great noblemen, was a writer of genius with a greater power of phrase than any other English political philosopher. He was not, as he is sometimes misrepresented, a prophet of "bourgeois" individualism, advocating free competition in a capitalist free market. On the contrary, he was writing in a preindustrial, if increasingly commercial, society and did not much admire wealth as such but rather "honours." He was socially conservative and eager to give a new philosophical sanction to a hierarchical, if businesslike, commonwealth in which family authority was most important.

Philosophically, Hobbes was influenced by nominalist scholastic philosophy, which had discarded Thomist metaphysics and had accepted strict limitations on the powers of mind. He therefore based his conclusions on the rudimentary mathematical physics and psychology of his day and aimed at practical objectives—order and stability. He believed that the fundamental physical law of life was motion and that the predominant human impulses were fear and, among those above the poverty level, pride and vanity. Human beings, Hobbes argued, are strictly conditioned and limited by these laws,

and he tried to create a <u>science</u> of politics that would reflect them. "The skill of making, and maintaining Common-wealths," therefore,

consisteth in certain Rules, as doth Arithmetique and Geometry; not (as Tennis play) on Practise onely: which Rules, neither poor men have the leisure, nor men that have had the leisure, have hitherto had the curiosity, or the method to find out.

Hobbes ignores the Classical and Thomist concepts of a <u>transcendent</u> <u>law of nature</u>, itself reflecting divine law, and of a "<u>Great Chain of Being</u>" whereby the universe is held harmoniously together. Following the practical method of investigation advocated by the French philosopher <u>René Descartes</u>, Hobbes states plainly that power creates <u>law</u>, not law power. For law is law only if it can be enforced, and the price of security is one supreme <u>sovereign</u> public power. For, without it, such is the competitive nature of humanity, that once more than subsistence has been achieved, people are actuated by vanity and ambition, and there is a <u>war</u> of all against all. The true law of nature is self-preservation, he argues, which can be achieved only if the citizens make a compact among themselves to transfer their individual power to the "leviathan" (ruler), who alone can preserve them in security. Such a <u>commonwealth</u> has no <u>intrinsic</u> supernatural or <u>moral</u> sanction: it derives its original authority from the people and can command loyalty only so long as it succeeds in keeping the peace. He thus uses both the old concepts of <u>natural law</u> and contract, often <u>invoked</u> to justify resistance to authority, as a sanction for it.

Hobbes, like Machiavelli, starts from an assumption of basic human folly, competitiveness, and depravity and contradicts <u>Aristotle's</u> assumption that man is by nature a "political animal." On the contrary, human beings are naturally antisocial, and, even when they meet for business and profit, only "a certain market-fellowship" is engendered. All <u>society</u> is only for gain or glory, and the only true equality between individuals is their power to kill each other. Hobbes sees and desires no other equality. Indeed, he specifically discouraged "men of low degree from a saucy behaviour towards their betters."

The *<u>Leviathan</u>* (1651) horrified most of his contemporaries; Hobbes was accused of <u>atheism</u> and of "maligning the Human Nature." But, if his remedies were tactically impractical, in political philosophy he had gone very deep by providing the sovereign nation-state with a <u>pragmatic</u> justification and directing it to utilitarian ends.

Spinoza

The 17th-century Dutch Jewish philosopher <u>Benedict de Spinoza</u> also tried to make a scientific political theory, but it was more humane and more modern. Hobbes assumes a preindustrial and economically conservative society, but Spinoza assumes a more urban setting. Like Hobbes, he is <u>Cartesian</u>, aiming at a scientific basis for political philosophy, but, whereas Hobbes was <u>dogmatic</u> and <u>authoritarian</u>, Spinoza desired toleration and <u>intellectual</u> liberty, by which alone human life achieves its highest <u>quality</u>. Spinoza, reacting against the ideological wars of <u>religion</u> and skeptical of both <u>metaphysics</u> and religious <u>dogma</u>, was a scientific humanist who justified political power solely by its usefulness. If state power breaks down and can no longer protect them or if it turns against them, frustrates, or ruins their lives, then individuals are justified in resisting it, since it no longer fulfills its purpose. It has no intrinsic divine or <u>metaphysical</u> authority.

Locke

It was <u>John Locke</u>, politically the most influential English philosopher, who further developed this doctrine. His *<u>Two Treatises of Government</u>* (1690) were written to justify the <u>Glorious Revolution</u> of 1688–89, and his *<u>Letter Concerning Toleration</u>* (1689) was written with a plain and easy urbanity, in contrast to the baroque eloquence of Hobbes. Locke was a scholar, physician, and man of affairs, well-experienced in politics and business. As a philosopher he accepted strict limitations on the

faculties of the mind, and his political philosophy is moderate and sensible, aimed at a balance of power between the executive, the judiciary, and the legislature, though with a bias toward the last (*see* separation of powers; checks and balances).

His first *Treatise* was devoted to confuting the royalist doctrine of the divine right of kings by descent from Adam, an argument then taken very seriously and reflecting the idea of government as an aspect of the divinely ordained Great Chain of Being. If this order were broken, chaos would ensue. The argument was part of the contemporary conflict of the Ancients and the Moderns.

Locke tried to provide an answer by defining a limited purpose for political power, which purpose he considered to be "a right of making laws with penalties of death, and consequently all less penalties, for the regulating and preserving of property, and of employing the force of the community in execution of such laws, and in the defense of the commonwealth from foreign injury, and all this only for the public good." The authority of government derives from a contract between the rulers and the people, and the contract binds both parties. It is thus a limited power, proceeding according to established laws and "directed to no other end but the peace, safety, and public good of the people."

Whatever its form, government, to be legitimate, must govern by "declared and reasoned laws," and, as Locke wrote, since every man has a "property" in his own person and has "mixed his labour" with what he owns, government has no right to take it from him without his consent. It was the threat of attack on the laws, property, and the Protestant religion that had roused resistance to the Roman Catholic monarch James II. Locke is expressing the concerns and interests of the landed and moneyed men by whose consent James's successor, William III, came to the throne, and his commonwealth is strictly conservative, limiting the franchise and the preponderant power to the propertied classes (and to men, of course). Locke was thus no democrat in the modern sense and was much concerned to make the poor work harder. Like Hooker, he assumes a conservative social hierarchy with a relatively weak executive power and defends the propertied classes both against a ruler by divine right and against radicals. In advocating toleration in religion, he was more liberal: freedom of conscience, like property, he argued, is a natural right of all men. Within the possibilities of the time, Locke thus advocated a constitutional mixed government, limited by parliamentary control of the armed forces and of supply. Designed mainly to protect the rights of property, it was deprived of the right of arbitrary taxation or imprisonment without trial and was in theory responsible to all the people through the politically conscious minority who were thought to represent them.

Although Locke was socially conservative, his writings are very important in the rise of liberalism in political philosophy. He vindicates the responsibility of government to the governed, the rule of law through impartial judges, and the toleration of religious and speculative opinion. He is an enemy of the totalitarian state, drawing on medieval arguments and deploying them in practical, modern terms.

Burke

The 18th-century British statesman Edmund Burke, while elaborating Whig constitutional doctrine expressed with such common sense by Locke, wrote with more emotion and took more account of time and tradition. While reiterating that government is responsible to the governed and distinguishing between a political society and a mere mob, he thought that governments were trustees for previous generations and for posterity. He made the predominant political philosophy of the 18th-century establishment appear more attractive and moral, but he wrote no great single work of political philosophy, expressing himself instead in numerous pamphlets and speeches.

In his early *A Vindication of Natural Society* (1756), Burke is critical of the sufferings imposed by government, but his "Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents" defines and defends the principles of the Whig establishment. He invoked a transcendent morality to sanction a constitutional commonwealth, but he detested abstract political theories in whose name society is likely to be vivisected. He set great store by ordered liberty and denounced the arbitrary power of

the Jacobins who had captured the French Revolution. In his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) and *An Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs* (1791), he discerned in the doctrine of sovereignty of the people, in whose name the revolutionaries were destroying the old order, another and worse form of arbitrary power. No single generation has the right to destroy the agreed and inherited fabric of society, and "neither the few nor the many have the right to govern by their will." A country is not a mere physical locality, he argued, but a community in time into which people are born, and only within the existing constitution and by the consent of its representatives can changes legitimately be made. Once the frame of society has been smashed and its law violated, the people become a "mere multitude told by the head," at the mercy of any dictator who can seize power. He was realistic in predicting the consequences of violent revolution, which usually ends up in some kind of dictatorship. Burke, in sophisticated accents, spoke for the ancient and worldwide rule of custom and conservatism and supplied a needed romanticism to the calculating good sense of Locke.

Montesquieu

This sort of vision was developed and elegantly popularized by the cosmopolitan French savant Montesquieu, whose work *De l'esprit des loix* (1748; *The Spirit of Laws*) won immense influence. It was an ambitious treatise on human institutions and a pioneer work of anthropology and sociology. Believing in an ordered universe—for "how could blind fate have produced intelligent beings?"—Montesquieu examined the varieties of natural law, varying customs, laws, and civilizations in different environments. He made the pedestrian good sense of Locke seem provincial, though he admired him and the British constitution. Unfortunately, he overemphasized the separation of executive, judicial, and legislative powers, considerable in Locke's day but by his own time tending to be concentrated in the sovereignty of Parliament. This doctrine much influenced the founders of the United States and the early French Revolutionaries.

Rousseau

The revolutionary romanticism of the Swiss French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau may be interpreted in part as a reaction to the analytic rationalism of the Enlightenment. He was trying to escape the aridity of a purely empirical and utilitarian outlook and attempting to create a substitute for revealed religion. Rousseau's *Émile* (1762) and *Du contrat social* (1762; *The Social Contract*) proved revolutionary documents, and his posthumous *Considérations sur le gouvernement de Pologne* (1782; *Considerations on the Government of Poland*) contains desultory but often valuable reflections on specific problems.

There had been radical political slogans coined in medieval peasant revolts and in the 17th century, as in the debates following the revolt of radical officers in the Cromwellian army (1647), but the inspiration of these movements had been religion. Now Rousseau proclaimed a secular egalitarianism and a romantic cult of the common man. His famous declaration "Man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains" called into question the traditional social hierarchy: hitherto, political philosophers had thought in terms of elites, but now the mass of the people had found a champion and were becoming politically conscious.

Rousseau was a romantic, given to weeping under the willows on Lake Geneva, and his political works are hypnotically readable, flaming protests by one who found the hard rationality of the 18th century too exacting. But people are not, as Rousseau claims, born free. They are born into society, which imposes restraints on them. Casting about to reconcile his artificial antithesis between humanity's purported natural state of freedom and its condition in society, Rousseau utilizes the old theories of contract and transforms them into the concept of the "general will." This general will, a moral will that aims at the common good and in which all participate directly, reconciles the

individual and the community by representing the will of the community as deriving from the will of moral individuals, so to obey the laws of such a community is in a sense to follow one's own will, assuming that one is a moral individual.

Ideas similar to that of the general will became accepted as a basis for both the social-democratic welfare state and totalitarian dictatorships. And, since the idea was misapplied from small village or civic communities to great sovereign nation-states, Rousseau was also the prophet of a nationalism that he never advocated. Rousseau himself wanted a federal Europe. He never wrote the proposed sequel to the *The Social Contract*, in which he meant to deal with international politics, but he declared that existing governments lived in a state of nature, that their obsession with conquest was imbecilic, and that "if we could realize a European republic for one day, it would be enough to make it last forever." But, with a flash of realism, he thinks the project impracticable, because of human folly.

That the concept of general will was vague only increased its adaptability and prestige: it would both make constitutionalism more liberal and dynamic and give demagogues and dictators the excuse for "forcing people to be free" (that is, forcing people to follow the general will, as interpreted by the ruling forces). Rousseau could inspire liberals, such as the 19th-century English philosopher T.H. Green, to a creative view of a state helping people to make the best of their potential through a variety of free institutions. It could also play into the hands of demagogues claiming to represent the general will and bent on molding society according to their own abstractions.

T.H. Green

This kind of humanism was given a more elaborate philosophical content by the English philosopher T.H. Green, whose *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation* (1885) greatly influenced members of the Liberal Party in the British governments of the period 1906–15. Green, like John Stuart Mill and Tocqueville, wished to extend the minority culture to the people and even to use state power to "hinder hindrances to the good life." He had absorbed from Aristotle, Spinoza, Rousseau, and the German idealist philosopher G.W.F. Hegel an organic theory of the state. The latter, by promoting the free play of spontaneous institutions, ought to help individuals to "secure the common good of society [and] enable them to make the best of themselves."

While hostile to the abuse of landed property, Green did not advocate socialism. He accepted the idea that property should be private and unequally distributed and thought the operation of the free market the best way to benefit the whole of society; for free trade would, he thought, diminish the inequalities of wealth in a common prosperity. But Green would have extended the power of the state over education, health, housing, town planning, and the relief of unemployment—a new departure in Liberal thought. These recommendations are embedded in the most elaborate and close-knit intellectual construction made by any modern British political philosopher, and they laid the foundation of the British welfare state.

Liberal nationalism

Whereas Green avoided the extension of liberal and constitutional principles into international affairs, the Italian patriot and revolutionary prophet Giuseppe Mazzini made it his vision and became the most influential prophet of liberal nationalism. He envisaged a harmony of free peoples—a "sisterhood of nations"—in which the rule of military empires would be thrown off, the destruction of clerical and feudal privileges accomplished, and the emancipated peoples regenerated by means of education and universal suffrage. This vision inspired the more idealistic aspects of the Italian Risorgimento (national revival or resurrection) and of nationalistic revolts in Europe and beyond. Although, in fact, fervid nationalism often proved destructive, Mazzini advocated a united Europe of free peoples, in which national singularities would be transcended in a pan-European

harmony. This sort of liberal democratic idealism was catching, and even if it frequently inspired Machiavellian policies, it also inspired Pres. Woodrow Wilson of the United States—who, had he not been thwarted by domestic opposition, might well have made the Mazzini-inspired League of Nations a success. Moreover, the modern European Union owes much to the apparently impractical liberal idealism of Mazzini.

American constitutionalism

The founders of the United States were deeply influenced by republicanism, by Locke, and by the optimism of the European Enlightenment. George Washington, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson all concurred that laws, rather than men, should be the final sanction and that government should be responsible to the governed. But the influence of Locke and the Enlightenment was not entirely happy. Adams, who followed Washington as president, prescribed a constitution with a balance of executive and legislative power checked by an independent judiciary. The federal constitution, moreover, could be amended only by a unanimous vote of the states. Eager to safeguard state liberties and the rights of property, the founding fathers gave the federal government insufficient revenues and coercive powers, as a result of which the constitution was stigmatized as being "no more than a Treaty of Alliance." Yet the federal union was preserved. The civil power controlled the military, and there was religious toleration and freedom of the press and of economic enterprise. Most significantly, the concept of natural rights had found expression in the Declaration of Independence (1776) and was to influence markedly political and legal developments in the ensuing decades, as well as inspire the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (1789).

Anarchism and utopianism

While a liberal political philosophy within a framework of capitalistic free rade and constitutional self-government dominated the greatest Western powers, ounting criticism developed against centralized government itself. Radical utopianism and anarchism, previously expounded mainly by religious sects, became secularized in works such as *Political Justice* (1793) by William Godwin, *New View of Society* (1813) by Robert Owen, and voluminous anticlerical writings by Pierre-Joseph Proudhon.

The English philosopher William Godwin, an extreme individualist, shared Bentham's confidence in the reasonableness of humankind. He denounced the wars accepted by most political philosophers and all centralized coercive states. The tyranny of demagogues and of "multitudes drunk with power" he regarded as being as bad as that of kings and oligarchs. The remedy, he thought, was not violent revolution, which produces tyranny, but education and freedom, including sexual freedom. His was a program of high-minded atheistic anarchy.

The English socialist Robert Owen, a cotton spinner who had made a fortune, also insisted that bad institutions, not original sin or intrinsic folly, caused the evils of society, and he sought to remedy them by changing the economic and educational system. He thus devised a scheme of model cooperative communities that would increase production, permit humane education, and release the naturally benevolent qualities of humankind.

The French moralist and advocate of social reform Pierre-Joseph Proudhon attacked the "tentacular" nation-state and aimed at a classless society in which major capitalism would be abolished. Self-governing producers, no longer slaves of bureaucrats and capitalists, would permit the realization of an intrinsic human dignity, and federation would replace the accepted condition of war between sovereign states. Proudhon tried to transform society by rousing the mass of the people to cooperative humanitarian consciousness.

Saint-Simon and Comte

Another revolt against the prevalent establishment, national and international, was made by the French social philosopher Henri de Saint-Simon, who wanted to develop the Industrial Revolution so as to ameliorate the condition of the poorest classes. This would be achieved not through political revolution but through a government of bankers and administrators who would supersede kings, aristocrats, and politicians. If France were suddenly deprived of 3,000 leading scientists, engineers, bankers, painters, poets, and writers, he argued, the result would be catastrophic, but if all the courtiers and bishops and 10,000 landowners vanished, the loss, though deplorable, would be much less severe. Saint-Simon also demanded a united Europe, superseding the warring nation-states, with a European parliament and a joint development of industry and communication. He also invented a synthetic religion appropriate to a scientific phase of history, with a cult of Isaac Newton and the great men of science.

Saint-Simon's disciple Auguste Comte went farther. His *Cours de philosophie positive* (1830–42; *Course of Positive Philosophy*) and *Système de politique positive*, 4 vol. (1851–54; *System of Positive Polity*), elaborated a "religion of humanity," with ritual, calendar, a priesthood of scientists, and secular saints, including Julius Caesar, Dante, and Joan of Arc. Society would be ruled by bankers and technocrats and Europe united into a Western republic. This doctrine, backed by pioneering sociology, won much influence among intellectuals. Comte, like Saint-Simon, tackled the essential questions: how to deploy the power of modern technology for the benefit of all humankind; how to avoid wars between sovereign states; and how to fill the void left by the waning of Christian beliefs.

Hegel

Whereas the utopian reformers had discarded metaphysical arguments, the German idealist philosopher G.W.F. Hegel claimed to apprehend the totality of the cosmos by speculative cognition. Like Vico, he saw the past in terms of changing consciousness, but he viewed the historical process as one of "becoming" rather than as one of eternal recurrence. Hegel had no adequate historical data for his intuitions, since the whole of world history was less known then than it is today, but his novel sweep and range of theory proved an intoxicating substitute for religion. He divided world history into four epochs: the patriarchal Eastern empire, the brilliant Greek boyhood, the severe manhood of Rome, and the Germanic phase after the Reformation. The "Absolute," like a conductor, summons each people to their finest hour, and neither individuals nor states have any rights against them during their historically determined period of supremacy. Many felt some sense of anticlimax, however, when he claimed that the Prussian state embodied the hitherto highest self-realization of the Absolute (*see* Hegelianism). Not since St. Augustine had so compelling a drama been adumbrated. Hegel's drama, moreover, culminates in this world, for "the state is the divine idea as it exists on Earth."

Marx and Engels

Hegel was a conservative, but his influence on the revolutionaries Karl Marx and his collaborator Friedrich Engels was profound. They inherited the Hegelian claim to understand the "totality" of history and life as it progressed through a dialectic of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. But, whereas Hegel envisaged a conflict of nation-states, Marx and Engels thought that the dynamism of history was generated by inevitable class conflict economically determined. This was an idea even more dynamic than Hegel's and more relevant to the social upheavals that were a consequence of the Industrial Revolution. Marx was a formidable prophet whose writings prophesied an apocalypse and redemption. He was a deeply learned humanist, and his ideal was the fullest development of the human personality. But, whereas Plato was concerned with an elite, Marx cared passionately for the elevation of whole peoples.

The Marxist credo was all the more effective as it expressed with eloquent ferocity the grievances of the poor while predicting retribution and a happy ending. For the state, once captured by the class-conscious vanguard of the proletariat, would take over the means of production from the capitalists, and a brief "dictatorship of the proletariat" would establish genuine communism. The state would wither away, and individuals would at last become "fully human" in a classless society.

The powerful slogans of Marx and Engels were a natural result of the unbridled capitalism of laissez-faire, but politically they were naïve. In Classical, medieval, and humanistic political philosophy, the essential problem is the control of power, and to imagine that a dictatorship, once established, will wither away is utopian. As the Russian anarchist Mikhail Bakunin observed,

The revolutionary dictatorship of the doctrinaires who put science before life would differ from the established state only in external trappings. The substance of both is a tyranny of the minority over the majority in the name of the many and the supreme wisdom of the few.

The revolutionaries would vivisect society in the name of dogmas and "destroy the present order, only to erect their own rigid dictatorship among its ruins." (For a full account of Marxist philosophy, *see* Marxism.)

Marxist doctrines

Although many of Marx's original insights into socioeconomic processes and their effects on conventional political ideology and culture are now widely accepted, his specific historical prophecies were not fulfilled. The major proletarian revolutions, for example, came not in economically advanced countries but in economically underdeveloped ones (Russia and China), and the supposedly proletarian dictatorships they produced, far from withering away or being diminished by inexorable economic trends, became even more powerful and oppressive than the governments they replaced. Soviet and eastern European communism eventually collapsed in failure in 1989–91, to be replaced in Russia by a quasi-democratic capitalist oligarchy.

Lenin

The first and by far the most significant interpretation of Marx's doctrine was realized in the Soviet Union by Vladimir Ilich Lenin and developed by Joseph Stalin and was entirely authoritarian. According to Marx and Engels, the revolution could occur in Russia only after the bourgeois phase of production had "contradicted" the tsarist order, but Lenin was determined to take advantage of the opportunities provided by the upheaval of World War I to settle accounts directly with the "accursed heritage of serfdom." In the Russian Revolution of 1917, he engineered a coup that secured the support of the peasantry and the industrial workers. He also adopted the revolutionary theorist Leon Trotsky's idea of a "permanent revolution" from above by a small revolutionary elite (*see* Trotskyism).

Already in *What Is to Be Done?* (1902), Lenin had argued that an educated elite had to direct the proletarian revolution, and, when he came to power, he dissolved the constituent assembly and ruled through a "revolutionary and democratic dictatorship supported by the state power of the armed workers." In asserting the need for an elite of professional revolutionaries to seize power, Lenin reverted to Marx's program in *The Communist Manifesto* (1848) rather than conforming to the fated pattern of economic development worked out in *Das Kapital*, 3 vol. (1867, 1885, 1894).

In 1921 he further adapted theory to the times. His New Economic Policy sanctioned the development of a class of prosperous kulak peasantry to keep the economy viable. For Lenin always thought in terms of world revolution, and, in spite of the failure of the Marxists in central Europe and the defeat of the Red armies in Poland, he died in the expectation of a global sequel. Thus, in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1917), he had extended the class war into an inevitable conflict between European imperialism and the colonial peoples involved. He had been influenced by the English

historian J.A. Hobson's *Imperialism, a Study* (1902), which alleged that decadent capitalism was bound to turn from glutted markets at home to exploit the toil of "reluctant and unassimilated peoples."

But, as observed by Classical, medieval, and modern constitutionalist political philosophers, authoritarian regimes suffer the tensions of all autocracies. Marx himself might have thought that such planned autocracies had made the worst of his revelation.

Lukács and Gramsci

Many Marxist revisionists tended toward anarchism, stressing the Hegelian and utopian elements of his theory. The Hungarian philosopher György Lukács, for example, and the German-born American philosopher Herbert Marcuse, who fled Nazi Germany in 1934, won some following in the mid-20th century among those in revolt against both authoritarian "peoples' democracies" and the diffused capitalism and meritocracy of the managerial welfare state. Lukács's *Geschichte und Klassenbewusstsein* (1923; *History and Class Consciousness*), a neo-Hegelian work, claims that only the intuition of the proletariat can properly apprehend the totality of history. But world revolution is contingent, not inevitable, and Marxism is an instrument, not a prediction. Lukács renounced this heresy after residence in the Soviet Union under Stalin, but he maintained influence through literary and dramatic criticism. After Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin in 1956, Lukács advocated peaceful coexistence and intellectual rather than political subversion. In *Wider den missverstandenen Realismus* (1963; *The Meaning of Contemporary Realism*), he again relates Marx to Hegel and even to Aristotle, against the Stalinist claim that Marx made a radically new departure. Lukács's neo-Marxist literary criticism can be tendentious, but his neo-Hegelian insights, strikingly expressed, have appealed to those eager to salvage the more humane aspects of Marxism and to promote revolution, even against a modified capitalism and social democracy, by intellectual rather than political means.

The Italian communist philosopher Antonio Gramsci deployed a vivid rhetorical talent in attacking existing society. Gramsci was alarmed that the proletariat was being assimilated by the capitalist order. He took his stand on the already obsolescent Marxist doctrine of irreconcilable class war between bourgeois and proletariat. He aimed to unmask the bourgeois idea of liberty and to replace parliaments by an "implacable machine" of workers' councils, which would destroy the current social order through a dictatorship of the proletariat. "Democracy," he wrote, "is our worst enemy. We must be ready to fight it because it blurs the clear separation of classes."

Not only would parliamentary democracy and established law be unmasked, but culture too would be transformed. A workers' civilization, with its great industry, large cities, and "tumultuous and intense life," would create a new civilization with new poetry, art, drama, fashions, and language. Gramsci insisted that the old culture should be destroyed and that education should be wrenched from the grip of the ruling classes and the church.

But this militant revolutionary was also a utopian. He turned bitterly hostile to Stalin's regime, for he believed, like Engels, that the dictatorship of the workers' state would wither away. "We do not wish," he wrote, "to freeze the dictatorship." Following world revolution, a classless society would emerge, and humankind would be free to master nature instead of being involved in a class war. Gramsci was arrested by the Fascist government of Benito Mussolini in 1926 and spent the next 11 years in prison; he died shortly after his release for medical care in 1937.

Rawls

The publication of *A Theory of Justice* (1971), by the American philosopher John Rawls, spurred a revival of interest in the philosophical foundations of political liberalism. The viability of liberalism was thereafter a major theme of political philosophy in English-speaking countries.

According to the American philosopher <u>Thomas Nagel</u>, <u>liberalism</u> is the conjunction of two ideals: (1) individuals should have liberty of thought and speech and wide freedom to live their lives as they choose (so long as they do not harm others in certain ways), and (2) individuals in any society should be able to determine through majority rule the laws by which they are governed and should not be so unequal in status or wealth that they have unequal opportunities to participate in democratic <u>decision making</u>. Various traditional and modern versions of liberalism differ from each other in their interpretation of these ideals and in the relative importance they assign to them.

In <u>*A Theory of Justice*</u>, Rawls observed that a necessary condition of <u>justice</u> in any society is that each individual should be the equal bearer of certain rights that cannot be disregarded under any circumstances, even if doing so would advance the general welfare or satisfy the demands of a majority. This condition cannot be met by <u>utilitarianism</u>, because that ethical theory would <u>countenance</u> forms of government in which the greater <u>happiness</u> of a majority is achieved by neglecting the rights and interests of a minority. Hence, <u>utilitarianism</u> is unsatisfactory as a theory of justice, and another theory must be sought.

According to Rawls, a just society is one whose major political, social, and economic institutions, taken together, satisfy the following two principles:

1. Each person has an equal claim to a scheme of basic rights and liberties that is the maximum consistent with the same scheme for all.

2. Social and economic inequalities are permissible only if: (a) they confer the greatest benefit to the least-advantaged members of society, and (b) they are attached to positions and offices open to all under conditions of fair <u>equality of opportunity</u>.

The basic rights and liberties in principle 1 include the rights and liberties of democratic citizenship, such as the right to vote; the right to run for office in free elections; <u>freedom of speech</u>, assembly, and religion; the right to a fair trial; and, more generally, the right to the <u>rule of law</u>. Principle 1 is accorded strict priority over principle 2, which regulates social and economic <u>inequalities</u>.

Principle 2 combines two ideals. The first, known as the "difference principle," requires that any unequal distribution of social or economic goods (e.g., wealth) must be such that the least-advantaged members of society would be better off under that distribution than they would be under any other distribution consistent with principle 1, including an equal distribution. (A slightly unequal distribution might benefit the least advantaged by encouraging greater overall productivity.) The second ideal is <u>meritocracy</u>, understood in a very demanding way. According to Rawls, fair equality of opportunity obtains in a society when all persons with the same native talent (genetic inheritance) and the same degree of ambition have the same prospects for success in all competitions for positions that confer special economic and social advantages.

Why that justice supposes with Rawls requires an approximately egalitarian redistribution of social and economic goods? After all, a person who prospers in a market economy might plausibly say, "I earned my wealth. Therefore, I am entitled to keep it." But how one fares in a market economy depends on luck as well as effort. There is the luck of being in the right place at the right time and of benefiting from unpredictable shifts in <u>supply and demand</u>, but there is also the luck of being born with greater or lesser intelligence and other desirable traits, along with the luck of growing up in a nurturing <u>environment</u>. No one can take credit for this kind of luck, but it decisively influences how one fares in the many competitions by which social and economic goods are distributed. Indeed, sheer brute luck is so thoroughly intermixed with the contributions one makes to one's own success (or failure) that it is ultimately impossible to distinguish what people are responsible for from what they are not. Given this fact, Rawls urges, the only plausible justification of inequality is that it serves to render everyone better off, especially those who have the least.

Rawls tries to accommodate his theory of justice to what he takes to be the important fact that reasonable people disagree deeply about the nature of <u>morality</u> and the good life and will continue to

do so in any no tyrannical society that respects freedom of speech. He aims to render his theory noncommittal on these controversial matters and to posit a set of principles of justice that all reasonable persons can accept as valid, despite their disagreements.

Libertarian and communitarian critiques

Despite its wide appeal, Rawls's liberal egalitarianism soon faced challengers. An early conservative rival was libertarianism. According to this view, because people are literally the sole rightful owners of themselves, no one has property rights in anyone else (no person can own another person), and no one owes anything to anyone else. By "appropriating" unowned things, individuals may acquire over them full private ownership rights, which they may give away or exchange. One has the right to do whatever one chooses with whatever one legitimately owns, as long as one does not harm others in specified ways—i.e., by coercion, force, violence, fraud, theft, extortion, or physical damage to another's property. According to libertarians, Rawlsian liberal egalitarianism is unjust because it would allow (indeed, require) the state to redistribute social and economic goods without their owners' consent, in violation of their private ownership rights.

The most spirited and sophisticated presentation of the libertarian critique was *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (1974), by the American philosopher Robert Nozick (1938–2002). Nozick also argued that a "minimal state," one that limited its activities to the enforcement of people's basic libertarian rights, could have arisen in a hypothetical "state of nature" through a process in which no one's basic libertarian rights are violated. He regarded this demonstration as a refutation of anarchism, the doctrine that the state is inherently unjustified.

Rawls's theory of justice was challenged from other theoretical perspectives as well. Adherents of communitarianism, such as Michael Sandel and Michael Walzer, urged that the shared understanding of a community concerning how it is appropriate to live should outweigh the abstract and putatively impartial requirements of universal justice. Even liberal egalitarians criticized some aspects of Rawls's theory. Ronald Dworkin, for example, argued that understanding egalitarian justice requires striking the correct balance between individuals' responsibility for their own lives and society's collective responsibility to provide genuine equal opportunity for all citizens.

Foucault and postmodernism

The work of the French philosopher and historian Michel Foucault (1926–84) has implications for political philosophy even though it does not directly address the traditional issues of the field. Much of Foucault's writing is not so much philosophy as it is philosophically informed intellectual history. *Naissance de la* clinique: une archéologie du regard médical *(1963;* The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception*), for example, examines the notion of illness and the beginnings of modern* medicine *in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, and* Surveiller et punir: naissance de la prison *(1975;* Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*)* studies the origins of the practice of punishing criminals by imprisonment.

One of Foucault's aims was to undermine the notion that the emergence of modern political liberalism and its characteristic institutions (e.g., individual rights and representative democracy) in the late 18th century resulted in greater freedom for the individual. He argued to the contrary that modern liberal societies are oppressive, though the oppressive practices they employ are not as overt as in earlier times. Modern forms of oppression tend to be hard to recognize as such, because they are justified by ostensibly objective and impartial branches of social science. In a process that Foucault called "normalization," a supposedly objective social science labels as "normal" or "rational" behaviour that society deems respectable or desirable, so behaviour deemed otherwise becomes abnormal or irrational and a legitimate object of discipline or coercion. Behaviour that is perceived as odd, for example, may be classified as a symptom of mental illness. Foucault viewed

modern bureaucratic institutions as exuding a spirit of rationality, scientific expertise, and humane concern but as really amounting to an arbitrary exercise of power by one group over another.

Foucault advocated resistance to the political status quo and the power of established institutions. But he was skeptical of any attempt to argue that one political regime or set of practices is morally superior to another. The use of rational argument to support or oppose a political view, according to Foucault, is merely another attempt to exercise arbitrary power over others. Accordingly, he eschewed any blueprint for political reform or any explicit articulation of moral or rational norms that society ought to uphold. In a 1983 interview he summarized his political attitude in these words:

My point is not that everything is bad, but that everything is dangerous, which is not exactly the same as bad. If everything is dangerous, then we always have something to do. So my position leads not to apathy but to a hyper- and pessimistic activism.

Foucault's ideas gave rise in the 1970s and '80s to philosophical postmodernism, a movement characterized by broad epistemological skepticism and ethical subjectivism, a general suspicion of reason, and an acute sensitivity to the role of ideology in asserting and maintaining political and economic power. Postmodernists attacked the attempt by Enlightenment philosophers and others to discover allegedly objective moral values that could serve as a standard for assessing different political systems or for measuring political progress from one historical period to another. According to Jean-François Lyotard (1924–98), for example, this project represents a secular faith that must be abandoned. In *La Condition postmoderne* (1979; *The Postmodern Condition*) and other writings, Lyotard declared his suspicion of what he called "grand narratives"—putatively rational, overarching accounts, such as Marxism and liberalism, of how the world is or ought to be. He asserted that political conflicts in contemporary societies reflect the clash of incommensurable values and perspectives and are therefore not rationally decidable.

A skepticism of a more thoroughgoing and exuberant kind was expressed in the writings of Jacques Derrida (1930–2004). He maintained that any attempt to establish a conclusion by rational means ultimately "deconstructs," or logically undermines, itself. Because any text can be interpreted in an indefinite number of ways, the search for the "correct" interpretation of a text is always hopeless. Moreover, because everything in the world is a "text," it is impossible to assert anything as objectively "true."

Feminism and sexual equality

Hatred and hostility based on racial, ethnic, tribal, and other group divisions gave rise to some of the worst catastrophes of 20th-century history. Political philosophers responded to these developments in diverse ways. Perhaps the most innovative philosophical response to social and political oppression was developed by contemporary feminists seeking to address the domination of women by men.

One interesting account of sexual equality and the obstacles to attaining it emerged in the work of the American feminist legal theorist Catharine A. MacKinnon. She asserted that the struggle to overcome male domination is faced with a deeply entrenched adversary: sexual desire between heterosexual women and men. The subjugation of women in society strongly influences conventional standards of femininity and masculinity, which in turn determine what heterosexual individuals find attractive in the opposite sex. Thus, according to MacKinnon, heterosexual women tend to find dominant men sexually attractive, while heterosexual men tend to find submissive women sexually attractive. The latter is the stronger and more important dynamic, since men as a group are politically, economically, and socially more powerful than women. The upshot is that the ordinary and widespread sexual attraction between heterosexual women and men is corrupted by a kind of sadism. The struggle for equal rights and equal power for women is opposed not only by laws, institutions, and practices but also by sexual desire itself. Given this analysis, the legal and cultural tolerance of pornography, which makes the subordination of women sexually appealing to men, is immoral. Pornography serves only to perpetuate a regime of sex-based domination that any decent society should reject.

Richard J. Arneson

Indian political thought

Manu, the father of ancient Indian polity and the author of the book "Manu Smriti" had analysed the different aspects of administration. He was the great thinker of ancient Indian political ideas and thought. In this unit, we will discuss Manu's contributions towards the development of political ideas in ancient India. After reading this unit, you will be able to analyse the major contributions of Manu to Indian political thought.

Kautilya

Koutilya known as the father of Indian political thought, also known by the name Chanakya (350 – 275 BC) since he was born in the Chanaka village. He derived the name Kautilya since he was born in the 'Kutala' gotra. Kautilya was the chief adviser and prime minister to the Indian Emperor Chandragupta, the first ruler of the Mauryan Empire. Born to a Brahmin family of Northern Indian,Kautilya was a professor of political science and economics at the University of Taxila. He was also well versed with the Vedas and the Vedic literature The political thoughts of Kautilya are summarized in a book he wrote known as the Arthashastra, a Sanskrit name which when translated means "The Science of Material Gain." In fact the book is a hand book for running an empire effectively and it contains detailed information about specific topics, such as diplomacy, war, recommendations on law, prisons, taxation, fortification, coinage, manufacturing trade administration and spys. In fact it would not be wrong to say that Kautilya's 'Arthashastra' is probably the most important source about the ancient Indian political thought and institutions as professor Altekar has put it "The Arthashastra is more a manual for the administrator than a theoretical work on polity discussing the philosophy and fundamental principles ofadministration or of the political science. It is mainly concerned with practical problems of government and describes its machinery and functions, both in peace and war, with an exhaustiveness not seen in any later work, with the possible exception of sukranitis."

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was born in the year 1772. He was a contemporary of Hegel. He is regarded as the promulgator of the modern age in the Indian history. Roy had studied Persian and Arabic at Patna. His study of Islamic metaphysics and sociology made him critical of some of the Hindu religious practices. He studied the ancient scriptures in Sanskrit, at Benaras. He had a critical mind and a massive intellect and was a religious encyclopaedist. The renaissance in Bengal was indeed a very creative as well as complex movement and it included persons like Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Gupta, Devendra Nath Thakur, Ramkrishna Paramhansa, Vivekananda, Rabindranath Tagore, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and several others. But Ram Mohan Roy was the earliest spokesman of the Bengal renaissance, and as a social and religious leader, he was an extraordinary personality of that time. In 1816, he started the Atmiya Sabha-spiritual society. In 1818, he started crusade for the abolition of sati which resulted in the passing of a regulation by William Bentinck, the then British Governor-General of India. In 1827, the British India Unitarian Association was formed. On August 20, 1828, he founded the Brahma Samaj or the Congregation of the Absolute which was of great importance. Through this Brahmo Samaj, he was trying to change the society into a better one. Roy denounced the social abuses and declared himself in open opposition to orthodoxy. He repudiated the theory of ethical sensualism and accepted ethical institutionism.

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi popularly known as 'Mahatma' (meaning great soul). M.K. Gandhi, the pioneer of nonviolence was born on 2nd October 1869, at a place named Porbandar in Gujarat. His father Karamchand Gandhi (1822-1885) was the Diwan of Porbander state, a small princely state in

Kathiawar Agency of British India. Putulibai, his mother was a religious minded lady who influenced Gandhi a lot. He was married to Kasturba Gandhi at the age of 19. He was sent to England to be trained as a Barrister and soon after his return from England in 1891 Gandhi first practiced law in Bombay (between1893-1893) and then later joined as the legal adviser in the Colony of Natal, in South Africa, then part of the British Empire (between1893- 1914). His experience of Racism in South Africa proved to be a turning point in his life, awakening him to social injustice and influencing his succeeding social activism. It was then in South Africa that he first advocated Satyagraha i.e. the tactics of non-violent resistance. In 1915, Gandhi returned to India got increasingly closer with the Indian National Congress and played a major role in India's freedom struggle. He employed non-cooperation, non-violence and peaceful resistance as his weapons in the struggle against the British. Unfortunately, Gandhi died on January 30,1948 from an injury caused by bullet fired from a close range by Nathu Ram Godse. "Hey Ram" was the last word of Mahatma Gandhi. He is known as the architect of Indian independence movement. Rabindranath Tagore called Gandhi as 'Mahatma'. His birthday, 2nd October (Gandhi Jayanti) is celebrated as a National Holiday in India every year. Gandhi considered Leo Tolstoy as his spiritual teacher. The period 1915-1948 is considered as the Gandhian Era.

Nehru was one of the greatest leaders of the freedom struggle of India. He contributed a lot towards the development of the Indian political thought. His views and ideas on different subjects influenced the political system of India to a great extent. With the help of this unit, you will be able to learn about various ideologies of Nehru including his role in the freedom struggle of India.

Madan mohan mallaviya

Indian freedom struggle, like many others across the world, have produced leaders of immense repute, calibre, and strength. From leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, and Bal Gangadhar Tilak who held the commands of the freedom movement in the initial phase, to Mahatma Gandhi, Subhash Chandra Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru who commanded later on, each one of them and several other leaders have contributed in their own unique style to India's independence. While the contribution of such leaders are well documented and is popular among the masses, few leaders who had also played their part in the freedom struggle in various capacities, remain ignored in history. One such leader of outstanding qualities is Pandit Madan Mohan Mallaviya, lovingly called 'Mahamana' by Gandhi. A multi-faceted and multi-talented leader, who combined in himself an educator, a social reformer, a lawyer, an exceptionally skilled orator, a writer and an editor of several newspapers, Mallaviya remains largely overlooked and neglected due to his Hindu nationalist tilt. The present unit is an attempt towards learning the various facets of Mallaviya, especially his political views, his work on social reform, contribution to freedom struggle and education, as well as his views as a Hindu nationalist. Born in 1861 in Prayag (Allahabad) in an orthodox Hindu Brahmin family, Mallaviya was raised in a very traditional environment.The family had six children and was not very financially well off. His father, Pandit Brijnath Singh was a scholar of ancient Sanskrit texts who recited the 'Bhagavat Katha' for his living. Mallaviya initially joined a Mahajani school at the age of 5, after which he was shifted to a religious school, Dharma Gyanopadesh Pathsala, under Pandit Haradeva. This institution largely shaped his outlook on Hindu culture and religion. He later on went to Allahabad District School, where he wrote poems under the pen name 'Makarand'. Being from a poor family Mallaviya had to take up the job of a teacher after completion of his BA from Calcutta University. However, he later on pursued further studies in Law. The young Mallaviya portrayed his talent early in life in playing sitar and as a 'forceful speaker with excellent pronunciation'. (Tanwar, 2015) He played an important role in the freedom struggle and also served as the President of Indian National Congress for four times between 1909- 1933. In 1930, he participated in Gandhi's Salt Satyagraha and Civil Disobedience and was even imprisoned for it. A believer in morality and ethics

in public life, he had popularized 'Satyameva Jayate' which implies into 'Truth only triumphs'. Mallaviya was awarded the Bharat Ratna, the highest awarded for civilians in India, by the government of India on 30 March 2015.

M. N. Roy was a prominent Indian philosopher of the twentieth century. He was famous as the Father of Indian communism and is viewed as the first revolutionary leader of India. He was an Indian philosopher notably the founder of Mexican Communist Party and also one of the members who founded the Communist Party of India. In the year 1940, Roy was instrumental in the formation ofthe Radical Democratic Party, an organisation in which he played a leading role for much of the decade of the 1940s. Roy later moved away from Marxism to become an exponent of the philosophy of radical humanism.

Chapter10
Political Institutions (political parties, Pressure Groups and Medea)

Political Institutions studies the formal and informal rules, practices, and regularities at both the domestic and international level that guide and constrain political choices and activities. It is concerned with the emergence, dynamics, and consequences of institutions in both authoritarian and non-authoritarian regimes. This focus includes constitutional design and how the organization of legislatures, parties, judiciaries, markets and other social structures shape relationships between individuals and states, and in turn, the factors shaping the emergence and evolution of those institutions.

The study of pressure groups (also known as the interest, organized and catalytic groups) within a conceptual framework constitutes an interesting as well as an important subject of Indian polity. Pressure Groups highlights those underlying forces and processes through which political power is marshalled and applied in organized societies, specifically in democracies. It, however, does not imply their total non-existence in a society having an authoritarian system for the simple reason that even in a totalitarian order such groups exist though they are highly circumscribed and thereby "serve merely as instruments of the state for securing ends which are state-determined, or they may become part of the facade of government for legitimizing decisions.

Different writers on comparative government have classified interest groups or pressure groups on the basis of their structure and organisation. According to Almond and Powell, interest groups can be classified into four categories,

i)   Institutional Interest Groups
ii)   The Associational Interest Groups
iii)   Anomic Interest Groups
iv)   Non-Associational Interest Groups

Institutional Interest Groups

These groups are formally organised which consist of professionally employed persons. They are a part of government machinery and try to exert their influence. But they do have much autonomy. These groups include political parties, legislatures, armies, bureaucracies and churches. An example of institutional group can be the West Bengal Civil Services Association. Whenever such an association raises protest it does so by constitutional means and in accordance with the rules and regulations.

Associational Interest Groups

These are organised specialised groups formed for interest articulation, but to pursue limited goals. These include trade unions, organisations of businessmen and industrialists and civic groups. Some examples of Associational Interest Groups in India are Bengal Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Indian Chambers of Commerce, Trade Unions such as AITUC (All India Trade Union Congress), Teachers Associations, Students Associations such as National Students Union of India (NSUI) etc.

Anomic Interest Groups

These are the groups that have analogy with individual self-representation. In such type of groups, perpetual infiltrations such as riots, demonstrations are observed. These groups are found in the shape of movement demonstrations and processions, signature campaigns, street corner meetings, etc. Their activities may either be constitutional or unconstitutional.

Non-Associational Interest Groups

 These are the kinship and lineage groups and ethnic, regional, status and class groups that articulate interests on the basis of individuals, family and religious heads. These groups have informal structure. These include caste groups, language groups, etc

Political parties: meaning and characteristics

Why do we need political parties?

In the present day democratic countries, political parties are considered as essential components for the formation and working of the government. Of course, in some countries like Libya, Oman, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates, there are governments without parties. These countries are not democratic and political parties are banned there. We can therefore infer that democracies function successfully in countries which have competitive party systems. Political parties actually help the institutions and processes of a government democratic. They enable people to participate in elections and other processes of governance, educate them and facilitate them to make policy choices. If political parties are necessary to make the working of the representative government possible, you may well ask as to what is the meaning of a political party? What are its main characteristics? What are their roles in a democratic government?

Meaning of a Political Parties

 A political party is generally described as an organized body of people who share common principles and cherish certain common goals regarding the political system. A political party operates and seeks political power through constitutional means to translate its policies into practice. It is a body of like-minded people having similar views on matters of public concern. Gilchrist defines a political party as "an organized group of citizens who profess or share the same political views and who by acting as a political unit, try to control the government". Another definition given by Gettell is: "a political party consists of a group of citizens, more or less organized, who act as a political unit and who, by the use of their voting power, aim to control the government and carry out their general policies". From these definitions it is clear that political parties are organized bodies and are primarily concerned with the acquisition and retention of power.

Characteristics

From the above mentioned definitions of political parties, following can be identified as their main characteristics:

- ❖ a political party is an organized group of people;
- ❖ the organized group of people believe in common principles and common goals;
- ❖ its objectives revolve around seeking political power through collective efforts;
- ❖ it employs constitutional and peaceful methods in seeking control over the government through elections; and
- ❖ while in power, it translates its declared objectives into governmental policies.

Political parties: functions and role

You have already read about that political parties are essential for the proper functioning of representative democracy. They perform vital functions in every political system. It is important to know who places candidates before the electorate when there are elections in the country? Do you know who carries out campaigns during elections? Have you ever realized how a government is formed and who is nominated as the Prime Minister or the Chief Minister? All these relate to the functions of political parties and their role in a democratic polity. The functions performed by the political parties, especially in the context of India, are asunder:

they nominate candidates during elections; z they campaign to obtain support for their candidates in the elections;

- ✓ they place objectives and programmes before the voters through their manifestos;
- ✓ those securing the majority in elections form the government and enact and implement the policies;
- ✓ Those not in power form opposition and keep a constant check on the government;
- ✓ they form opposition when they are in minority in the legislature and constantly put pressure on the government for proper governance;
- ✓ they educate people and help in formulating and shaping public opinion; z they articulate peoples' demands and convey them to the government; and
- ✓ they provide a linkage between people and governmental institutions.

In India political parties have been performing the above-mentioned functions quite effectively since independence. They have made representative governments in India both possible and successful for over past six decades. They provide effective links between the citizens and the governments on the one hand, and the electorates and their representatives on the other. They try to cater to people's demands on public matters, and mobilize political participation. Elections without parties would have almost been impossible. In fact, democracy needs strong and sustainable political parties with the capacity to represent citizens and provide policy choices that demonstrate their ability to govern for the public good.

The experience of functioning of political parties in India during the last six decades indicates that by and large they have been instrumental in shaping public opinion, creating political awareness, and imparting political education to the people. They successfully form the governments where they receive the mandate of the people and implement their respective policies and programmes both at the Centre and in the States. They have contributed towards making the institutions and processes of government truly democratic. We can, therefore, say that democracy in India has been strengthened by a competitive and multi-party system.

Media

The term media, which is the plural of *medium,* refers to the communication channels through which we disseminate news, music, movies, education, promotional messages and other data. It includes physical and online newspapers and magazines, television, radio, billboards, telephone, the Internet, fax and billboards.

It describes the various ways through which we communicate in society. Because it refers to all means of communication, everything ranging from a telephone call to the evening news on television can be called media.

When talking about reaching a very large number of people we say *mass media*. *Local media* refers to, for example, your local newspaper, or local/regional TV/radio channels.

We used to get all our news and entertainment via TV, radio, newspapers and magazines. Today the Internet is gradually taking over. Print newspapers are struggling as hundreds of millions of people each year switch to news sources online.

Different types of media

Media can be broken down into two main categories: broadcast and print. The Internet has also emerged as a major player, as a rapidly-growing number of people globally get their news, movies, etc. online.

Print Media includes all types of publications, including newspapers, journals, magazines, books and reports. It is the oldest type, and despite suffering since the emergence of the Internet, is still used by a major proportion of the population.

Broadcast Media refers to radio and TV, which came onto the scene at the beginning and middle of the 20th century respectively. Most people still get their news from TV and radio broadcasts – however, experts predict that it will not be long before online sources take over.

Over the past twenty years, cable news has grown in importance.

The Internet – specifically websites and blogs – are rapidly emerging as viable and major channels of communication as more and more people seek news, entertainment and educational material online. The term 'viable,' in business, means capable of generating profits for many years.

Virtually every part of the Internet has become a medium of communication – most free email services have little boxes that display ads and other messages.

The Internet as we know it today did not really take off until the 1990s. In 1995, just 1% of the world's population was online, compared to over 49% today. The notion of the Internet started in the 1960s in the USA during the Cold War, when the military and scientists were worried about a missile attack, which could knock out the telephone system.

Stephen Hawking, a British theoretical physicist, cosmologist, author and Director of Research at the Centre for Theoretical Cosmology within the University of Cambridge, once said: *"The **media** need superheroes in science just as in every sphere of life, but there is really a continuous range of abilities with no clear dividing line."*

International relations

International relations literally refer to the interrelationships of states. There is no state in the world today that is completely self-sufficient or isolated from others. Each state is directly or indirectly dependent on the other.

Thus, in the international arena, interdependence has been created between the states. In view of this interdependence of states, a separate topic called **'International Relations'** has been created for the purpose of discussing in detail how to establish peace and prosperity in the world through cooperation, avoiding conflicts, wars, etc.

Meaning of international relations

Till date, unfortunately, no universally accepted definition of international relations have been coined because of its continuous changing nature.

However, Goldstein and Pave house in his book **"International Relations"** write, "The field of international relations concerns the relationships among the world's government. But these relationships cannot be understood in isolation. They are closely connected with other actors (such as intergovernmental org., multinational corporations, and individuals); with other social structures (including economics, culture, and domestic politics); and with geographical and historical influences. These elements together power the central trends in IR today-globalization."

The word "international relations" for the first time used in 1880. In UNESCO Nomenclature (1998) (It is a system developed by UNESCO for classification of research papers and doctoral dissertations), No. 5901 represent international relations within political science. In practice, international relations is studied either as a subfield of political science or as an independent discipline. The discipline of international relations deals with the war, military alliance, diplomacy, trade, cooperation & peace.

Military alliance, for example, LEMOA (Logistics Exchange Memorandum of Agreement) signed between India & US recently in April, 2016 with resolution 'to exchange each other's military base'. According to Defence and External Ministry officials, Indian and U.S. military troops would access each other's facilities more for "technical than political reasons." In particular, a senior official said the need for the LSA was felt during humanitarian rescue efforts such as Operation Raahat that evacuated Indian citizens from Yemen last year.

Scope of International Relations

The international community is the instrument of international relations. The unimaginable changes in the international community over the past seventy years have drastically changed inter-state relations.

International relations as a distinct curriculum has followed that trend in international society since the 1930s. For this reason, it is not possible to draw a permanent line on the scope of international relations.

In the discussion of the nature of international relations, you already get the idea that what the scope of international relations. The scope of international relations are mentioned below-

Study of the behaviour of States in International Politics

Just as when a nation builds good relations for the sake of its overall development, it becomes the subject of international relations, just as when there is a conflict of interest, bitterness develops among itself and that too becomes part of international relations.

Role of Non-State Actors in International Field

The content of international relations does not revolve only around the activities of the state and its formal institutions. The state is not the only active actor in the international community. There are many non-state actors whose activities affect international relations.

Multinational Corporations (MNCs), European Economic Community, Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, NATO, SEATO, WARSAW PACT, ASEAN, Organization of American States, different

terrorist organizations, Religious Organizations are the examples of the non-state elements in international relations.

Question of War and Peace

Today, international relations are not free from the discussion of the determination to save mankind from war. What was utopian in the past is becoming more and more realistic today.

The main purpose of establishing the United Nations is to ensure world peace and security. Large, and regional powers are often exchanging views to create an atmosphere of peace and security. All kinds of contacts for the welfare of various exchanges and globalization process in cultural and other fields are gradually increasing. All this has become the subject of international relations.

Study of Foreign Policy

Another important issue in international relations is foreign policy. In the past, kings or prime ministers or a few individuals played an active role in determining foreign policy.

Today, not only statesmen but also the legislature and many citizens are involved in the formulation of foreign policy. The state of affairs or ideology in foreign policy and the ideological issues of the respective regimes are important parts of international relations.

Study of Nation States

The ethnic composition, geographical location, historical background, religion or ideologies of different states are not the same at all. And because of all these differences, the relationship between different states is different.

So international relations need to discuss all these differences in detail. When the social environment is different, his reaction falls on international relations.

International Organizations

The role of national and international organizations in international relations is no less important. People from different countries are involved with the US Congress of Industrial Organizations, the US Federation of Labor, the French Labor Organization, and the Women's International Democratic Federation Engagement Organization.

The non-governmental organizations are also involved in the activities of the Coalition and its various expert organizations, such as UNESCO, the International Labor Organization and the World Health Organization. Therefore, international relations also discusses all national and international organizations.

Global Environmental Issues

Issues of the environment are one of the key matters of international relations now. During the 1970s the environmental politics only focused on the question of resource issues.

But from the 1990s the environmental politics focused on the issue of 'Climate change' brought about through global warming. To overcome this issue, the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (FCCC), Kyoto Protocol in 1997, the Paris Agreement on climate change, etc, have initiated.

So, global environmental issues affect every state in the world. For the protection of this beautiful world all the states are trying their best by reduction of the usage of greenhouse gasses and that is why it is considered as the most important part of international relations.

Role of People in International politics

The importance of public and public opinion in the international arena is also expanding rapidly. The end of imperialism, from international, disarmament, political and economic, has inspired movements and protests by the people of different countries. U.S. scientists, intellectuals-people from different societies have demonstrated against the Vietnam War.

So what do people think about the international situation or their views also come under international relations.

Role of the Third World

The third emergence in recent world politics has brought about qualitative change. Most people in the world are third generation. In 1986, 101 countries participated in the Eighth Non-Alignment Conference.

The growing role of non-aligned countries in building new international systems, easing tensions between the East and the West, disarmament, ending colonial rule, etc. is significant.

Therefore, the role of the third world in world politics is also the relevant point of discussion in international relations.

The scope of international relations is becoming wider as it discusses various issues of dynamic nature. All the domestic policies that affect or are likely to affect other countries are now being covered by international relations. International relations currently discuss various decision-making processes.

In the past, these issues were not related to international relations. Therefore, it can be said that the scope of international relations has expanded.

Chapter-12
The United Nations Organisation

The **United Nations** (**UN**) is an inter governmental organization whose purpose is to maintain international peace and security, develop friendly relations among nations, achieve international cooperation, and be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations. It is the world's largest and most familiar international organization. The UN is headquartered on international territory in New York City, and has other main offices in Geneva, Nairobi, Vienna, and The Hague (home to the International Court of Justice).

The UN was established after World War II with the aim of preventing future wars, succeeding the rather ineffective League of Nations. On 25 April 1945, 50 governments met in San Francisco for a conference and started drafting the UN Charter, which was adopted on 25 June 1945 and took effect on 24 October 1945, when the UN began operations. Pursuant to the Charter, the organization's objectives include maintaining international peace and security, protecting human rights, delivering humanitarian aid, promoting sustainable development, and upholding international law. At its founding, the UN had 51 member states; with the addition of South Sudan in 2011, membership is now 193, representing almost all of the world's sovereign states.

The United Nations (UN) has six main organs. Five of them the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council and the Secretariat are based at UN Headquarters in New York. The sixth, the International Court of Justice, is located at The Hague in the Netherlands.

United Nations Headquarters in New York

The United Nations is neither a supra-State nor a government of governments. It does not have an army and it imposes no taxes. It depends on the political will of its Member States to have its decisions put into action and relies on the contributions of its Members to carry out its activities.

The six organs of the United Nations are outlined in the sections below:

General Assembly

The General Assembly is the main deliberative organ of the United Nations. It is composed of representatives from all Member States, each of which has one vote. Read more about the General Assembly here.

Security Council

Under the Charter, the Security Council has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. It has 15 Members, and each Member has one vote. Under the Charter, all Member States are obligated to comply with Council decisions. Read more about the Security Council here.

Economic and Social Council

A founding UN Charter body established in 1946, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) is the place where the world's economic, social and environmental challenges are discussed and debated, and policy recommendations issued. Read more about ECOSOC here.

Trusteeship Council

The Trusteeship Council was established to provide international supervision for 11 Trust Territories and to make sure that adequate steps were taken to prepare the Territories for self-government or independence. Read more about the Trusteeship Council here.

International Court of Justice

The International Court of Justice is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations. The Court is charged with settling legal disputes between States and giving advisory opinions to the United Nations and its specialized agencies. Read more about the International Court of Justice here.

Secretariat

The UN Secretariat, consisting of staff representing all nationalities working in duty stations all over the world, carries out the day to day work of the Organization. The Secretariat services the other principal organs of the United Nations and administers the programmes and policies established by them. Read more about the Secretariat here.