

National Officers Academy

Islamabad, Rawalpindi, Lahore



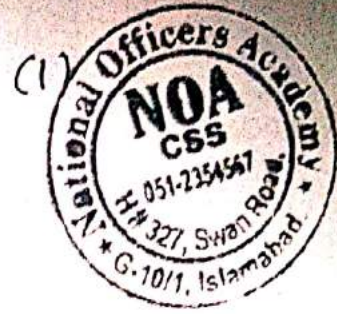
National Officers Academy

Political Science (I)

CS 2020

Notes

SIR AMIR



Philosophy portion

Salient features of Plato Ideal State.

1: **Rule of philosophy.** One of the most important features of Plato's Ideal State is that only intellectual persons should rule. Philosopher King to Plato was a true statesman who represented virtue in actions. The ruler, said Plato, should be the one who has been fully educated and the one who has come to understand the difference between appearance and reality.

2: **Specialization.** Specialization is another important feature of Plato's Ideal State. According to Plato, the state first finds its building force in human's needs. The result is an inevitable division of labor or specialization of functions. Plato's theory of specialization is one man one work. He said that all the three classes i.e. philosopher rulers, soldiers, and producers should perform their own functions.

3: **Absolutism.** As demanded by specialization and non-interference, Plato gives absolute power to the philosopher ruler. He said that philosopher rulers are above the law and are not subject to criticism because they represent absolute wisdom.

4: **Equality.** His ideal state is a perfect equality between man and woman. Unlike his great student, he says that both man and woman should be provided with equal facilities, particularly educational facilities by the state. If a woman has reason and is intellectual, she should become a philosopher ruler.

5: **Communism.** Plato advocates a new social order for his Ideal State. This social order is communism of wives and property among the upper two classes i.e. philosopher rulers and soldiers. Communism was actually meant to keep the two classes out of economic and worldly temptations and ambitions, so, that they could devote themselves to the administrative affairs of the state.

6: **Justice.** Plato builds his Ideal State on the concept of justice. To Plato, justice means that every person should be given an opportunity to work



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according to his/her ability and aptitude. He says that justice binds society together in a harmonious way.

7: **Aristocracy.** He says that the ruling class must consist of few able and intellectual persons. The ruling power must not be given to an ordinary man.

8: **System of Education.** Plato advises a state regulated education system. It is a system which differentiates capable from incapable and ensures the constant supply of guardians to the state. His scheme of education is meant to help every individual to discover his true vocation of life.

9: **Restriction on harmful art and literature.** In constructing his Ideal State, Plato suggest that some portion of poetry and art should not be taught to philosopher rulers and soldiers because it would make them cowards. He wants to scrutinize the art and literature in the state.

Criticism

A: impracticable

B: lack of interest

C: Defective scheme of education

D: Against human nature





Plato's justice

The Republic represents Plato's idea of justice, its definition and full content. He mentioned a dialogue in his Republic where Socrates was on one side and on the other side there were various characters. Cephalus, an old wealthy man defines justice as speaking truth and paying one's debts. Polemarchus, the son of Cephalus, generally agrees with his father. Justice, he says, is giving to everyone his due. But Socrates demurs. What does Polymarchus mean? Does he intend to say, for example, that justice consists in doing good to one's friends and harm to one's enemies? Polymarchus accepts this interpretation of his statement and Socrates demolishes it, and says that doing harm to an enemy may make that enemy worse than he was. Another character in the dialogue Thrasymachus states that justice is the interest of the strong. Might is right. In any society those who have power use it for their own benefit. The individualistic nature of Thrasymachus' view is protested by Socrates and stated that individual serve himself best not by imagining that he has interests apart from those of the whole community, but by adopting the view that the self is a part of the whole and is affected by what happens to the whole. What is justice if it is not speaking truth, paying debts, rendering to each man his due, the interest of the stronger, or an agreement to obey laws? Socrates cannot accept such explanations because they are in many cases wrong. All these explanations define justice as something apart from man's soul. Justice is an integral part of the soul; thus its definition requires a dissection of man's soul. Thus Plato arrives at the point of his real task, the construction of the just state and so the discovery of the principles of justice in the individual.

Three basic forces, Plato contends, motivate men. They are the forces of desire and appetite, spirit or courage and reason. Each is present in every man in varying amounts, but one is always predominant. Society may be divided into three classes according to the relative amount of each force



present in the individuals who comprise the community. The men who are motivated by largely by appetite will constitute the largest class. Fewer will be motivated by courage but they will still be more numerous than those dominated by reason. Thus from the standpoint of numbers, the reasoning class will be smallest.

The lowest of the three classes that constitute the state is the artisan class, whose function is to supply the community with material necessities of life. The principle of specialization must be applied so as to prevent artisans from acting in any other field of state activity. However, a community that exists merely to gratify its desires is no state at all. A refined civilization requires a large population and territory to contain it. Since people and land must be defended, the state must establish a military guardian class consisting of those who are dominated by courage. Again the service is specialized; only those who are qualified will be permitted to perform the specific function of military guardianship.

From a select handful of the soldiers guardians will be chosen the ruling class of the state. These few will be endowed with reason and motivated by their willingness to serve as rulers. They will not have only the greatest capacity to think philosophically, but they will also realize that their welfare is inseparably bound with the welfare of the whole. These qualities will flourish and permit a kind of ruler ship never before seen; a rulership absolutely devoted the interest of community.

However, Plato is searching for justice. What have class structure and and specialization to do with justice? The answer is everything. To Plato, justice is the product of class division and specialization of functions. He defines justice as "giving to everyman his due". And his due is to be assigned the particular task which he is best qualified by his aptitude and training to perform. This definition has no legal or juristic connotation. It is not concerned with the rights on an individual against the state. It has nothing to do with judicial procedures. To Plato, it is obvious that the state which arranges matters so that each person: ruler, soldier-guardian, and artisan is doing what he ought to be doing is the superior state.



Characteristics

A: Division of the society

B: Specialization

C: Non-interference



Criticism

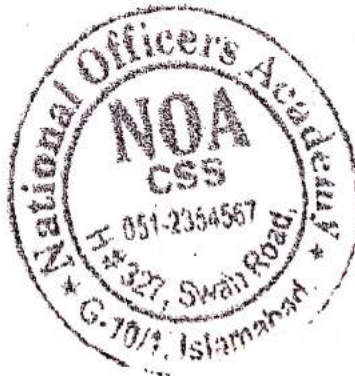
1: Division of society is not possible

2: static concept of life

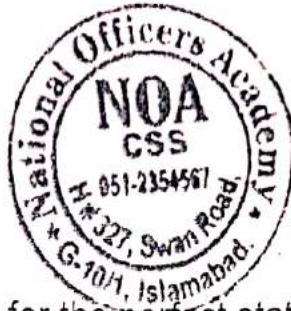
3: Lack of opportunities

4: Ignores rights

5: Non-interference is impossible



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Plato's Education Scheme

While criticism of Plato's outline for the perfect state comes readily to mind, it must be acknowledge that his argument is powerful and pervasive. The principle that the state should be ruled by those who know is not easily refuted and it has had its supporters through the ages. In proposing his own plan of education, Plato attacked Athenian system. In Athens, even though education was compulsory but it was privately administered. To Plato, the welfare of the state depended upon the educational training of its citizens; the state, therefore, was guilty of gross negligence in permitting private agencies to control the system. Moreover, there was only elementary education in Athens which according to Plato was not adequate to train statesmen properly.

The educational plan of Plato has two phases i.e. Elementary and higher.

Elementary education. The first phase is consists of elementary education for citizens up to the age of eighteen and is followed by 2 years of military training.

Subjects: The subjects for this phase are gymnastic and music.

Gymnastic is to include not only exercise but all training in bodily care including diet. An essential purpose of physical education is the development of sound physique.

Training in music is to be directed less toward singing and instrumental music and more toward the study of poetry and literature in general. A rigid system of censorship is proposed to assure that training in "music" will conduce to the desirable social and political character of the state. All existing literature is to be revised to conform to the accepted standard.

Higher Education. After 20 years a selective screening process of Elementary Education must be taken. Those who survived would start the





journey of advanced study. This group begins the program at the age of twenty and remains in it for fifteen years, if its members prove fit.

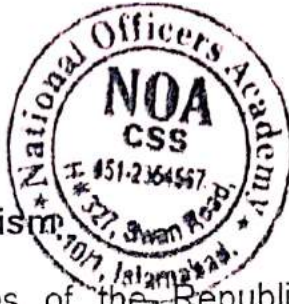
The first ten of fifteen years are devoted to the study of mathematics, from its basic to its higher form, and astronomy. The final five years are spent in a study of dialectic or philosophy. This last is the ultimate and final instruction. Here the first principles are exposed and the search for "truth" is launched.

At the age of thirty-five those who have successfully completed their advanced education must be sent to civil and military administrative services in order that the state benefit from their educational training. Even during this period, however, the screening process goes on, for the ultimate stage of state service has not yet been attained. For fifteen years more the training continues, now in the form of concrete and practical principles. At the age of fifty, those who have demonstrated real ability and served with genuine distinction reach the pinnacle of the state order. They join the group of guardians, whose time is divided between matters of administration on the highest level and periods of high speculations. The guardian class labors always for the state, for the preservation of the just community.

Criticism.

- 1: too lengthy education system
- 2: Ignores some important subjects. Such as economics, law and political science
- 3: Anti-democratic. His scheme of education leads to the rule of minority and totalitarianism





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Short notes on Plato's communism

One of the most novel features of the Republic is Plato's plan for communism in the upper classes. This, like education, is designed essentially to maintain the status quo. Plato communism is different than that of Marx's one. It is not designed to improve a standard of living; it does not apply to the entire community; and it is more comprehensive where it does apply because it extends to family as well as to property. His communism has a political or moral rather than an economic end.

Communism of property: Plato understood the disruptive force in society of disagreements over property holdings. The struggle for political power between haves and have-nots was well known to him. If skirmishes over property were to be permitted in the perfect state, they would unquestionably upset the delicate balance that Plato was so careful to create. Such a danger could be forestalled by the elimination of private property. It could not be completely abolished or eliminated among the majority of citizens. The artisan class would be permitted to hold property because they are dominated by appetite urges. But for the upper classes, in whom appetite was subordinated to the forces of reason and spirit, communism was both possible and necessary. There would be no competition for the power among the members of the ruling and military classes and to use this power for economic aggrandizement.

Communism of wives: The scheme of communism in the Republic was not only confined to private property. It extends as well to family relationship in upper classes. Neither marriage nor any form of monogamous union to be allowed among men and women in the ruling and military classes. Breeding was to be regulated so as to produce offspring from the best possible stock. The offspring of these controlled unions were to be reared by the state. No individual parent-child relationship was to be recognized, for parents were parents of all, and children were the children of all. Abortion, infanticide, and neglect of the chronically ill and unfit are



devices recommended by Plato to maintain the size and quality of the community.

Aims of Communism

- A: Efficiency
- B: Honesty
- C: Devotion to state
- D: Concentration of attention
- E: Selflessness
- F: Unity and harmony



Criticism

- 1: Impracticable
- 2: Ignores fundamental human parental instincts
- 3: Ignores the importance of family
- 4: Against human psychology



Characteristics of Aristotle's Ideal State

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1: Population: He is in favor of small population for his ideal state. According to him, too large population will create governance crises. Moreover, if the population is large the people will not be able to meet and know each other. Therefore, population should be small enough that they may be able to meet in an open place and make policies for themselves.

2: Territory: He suggests a moderate size of territory for his ideal state. A too large state will find it difficult to enforce its laws. Too small state will hardly defend itself.

3: Geographic location. So far as location of the state is concerned, both military and commercial advantages must be considered. The ideal state must not be land-locked state. It must have access to sea. If the state is situated near the sea, import and export will be improved and hence it will lead toward economic prosperity. However, it should not be too close to the sea because it will be vulnerable to attack and the naval personnel will be excluded from the body politics.

4: Education: Like Plato, Aristotle also suggests a state-controlled education system. It must be common to all citizens. Education will develop the capacities and abilities of every individual. According to him, good system of education should be designed to produce good citizens.

5: Division of society: He says that two kinds of people generally inhabit the state i.e. the full citizens and slaves. Moreover, he has of the opinion that six distinct services must be performed in the state: agriculture, arts and crafts, defense, religion and government. The slaves will perform the first three functions and the citizens will perform the remaining three. Likewise, among the citizens, the youngsters will perform defense duty; the middle ages will perform administrative function and the old will look after the religious affairs.

6: property: Unlike Plato, he is not against the possession of some property by the rulers.





7: Constitution: He believes in constitution. According to him, a good constitution is one which can adjust itself with the changing circumstances. If such a constitution is available there will be political stability in the state.

Short Notes on Aristotle's Constitutional state

While analyzing democratic and oligarchic state, Aristotle reached to an important conclusion. He said that the best practicable state must be based upon a balance of democratic oligarchic principles. He called it polity or constitutional state. According to him, such a polity or constitutional state would not be an ideal state like that of Plato ideal state, but it can rather be attainable.

How he derived this state?

According to Aristotle there are two forces in society i.e. Quality and Quantity

1: Quality. This force of society includes: wealth, social position, education etc. in fact it is the oligarchic character of society

2: Quantity. This includes the numbers and the claim of mass of people in society. In fact it is the democratic character of society.

He said that the state dominated by either of the two forces alone would be bad state. The two forces can neither be removed nor ignored. It would be wise to form a state keeping considerable balance between these two forces. In practice, such a state may be achieved by giving powers to the middle class which will insure balance between oligarchy and democracy.

He has of the opinion that every community has its rich class, poor class and middle class. Middle class comprises the means of the class structure. The rich only knows how to command and the poor knows how to obey. The rich carries in their mind the thoughts of property while the poor are jealous and want to listen to a demagogue who promises for the division of property and lead them toward revolution and at the end, brings no relief but tyranny to the poor. On the other hand, the middle class is not so poor to become fool and not so rich to become factious.



Both Plato and Aristotle regard property as potential for disruption of society. Plato suggests the abolition of private property, while Aristotle wants to divide it to such an extent that contention over its possession may greatly minimized which is only possible in polity.

So basically polity of Aristotle is a mixed state or mixed constitution which keeps a considerable balance between oligarchy and democracy. Polity not only balances these two forces but mixes them. According to Aristotle, middle class would not interfere with administration, but as it is the class of businessmen and folk, so it will keep an eye those who administered the affairs.

Aristotle's concept of the origin of state

Aristotle concept of The Origin of State can be understood in the following headings.

1: Human nature. According to Aristotle, man is a social animal. He cannot live alone. The necessities of life compel him to live with others because he is not self-sufficient. Alone man can either be god or beast. Alone man will be denied all possibilities of progress.

2: Family. Family is the next factor which contributes in the making of state. Family comes into existence as a result of marriage between opposite sexes. To him, family is the association established by nature for the supply of man's ever day needs.

3: Big Communities. With the passage of time, the simple needs of man increased and became more and more complicated and family could not satisfy all these needs. So, several families united together to form community in order to satisfy all the complicated needs.

4: State. The path of progress leading to human improvement has continued. Both instinct and reason joined in enabling man to develop progressively more complicated organizations from family to village and ultimately to the state in his struggle for self-improvement. Political and social nature of man compels him to create an organized society which is called state.



Comparison and contrast between Plato and Aristotle

Similarities.

- A: Both upheld slavery
- B: Both are against democracy
- C: Both are great advocates of justice
- D: Both believe in welfare state
- E: Importance of Education
- F: Classification of society
- G: Unity and harmony

Differences.

- 1: Differences in methodology. Plato adopts deductive while Aristotle adopts inductive method
- 2: Differences in views about property and family
- 3: Aristotle believes in constitutionalism while Plato does not
- 4: Plato believes in equality of man and woman while Aristotle does not
- 5: Plato believes in totalitarianism while Aristotle in Polity
- 6: differences in division of society. Plato divide society into three classes i.e. philosopher rulers, soldiers and producers. Aristotle divide it into two classes i.e. citizens and slaves.

Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527)

Machiavelli was immoral rather than unmoral



Niccolo Machiavelli broke away the traditional view upheld by the medieval thinkers which looked at the state in terms of its ethical and moral ends. He ignores the ethical end of the state and says that state is an end in itself and not a mean to an end. It is not the duty of the state to promote moral values of the people.

Machiavelli's theory of moral indifference is based on his study of the church in Italy. He denounces all the doctrines of church and holds the church responsible for the plight of state's affairs. The state, according to, should adopt every measure that suits to acquire, retain and expand power and for that purpose no care should be taken of what was right and wrong. He actually subordinates ethics to politics and according to him; there is no place for either morality and or religion in politics.

Machiavelli's immoral views:

A: State is an end in itself and end justifies everything. So the Prince should adopt all kinds of measures to achieve and preserve that end.

B: The prince should be deceitful in the interest of the state.

C: The Prince should be very cruel. He should have the courage of lion and the cunningness of fox. Force and fraud are the main shields in the hands of the Prince.

D: The Prince must set fear in the mind of his subjects. People should be terrified by adopting the policy of harshness.

E: According to him, cruelty is better than mercy. Virtues bring ruin and vice brings security, therefore, the Prince should not be virtuous.

F: Hypocrisy is essential for prince. Let mercy on his tongue and evil in his heart.

G: The Prince should tell lie in the interest of the state and he should not be truthful. He should be not concerned with truth and the salvation of the soul.



H: The Prince should crush the rebellions. The use of force should be a once and for all. Slowly and gradual use of force creates resentments in the minds of his subjects.

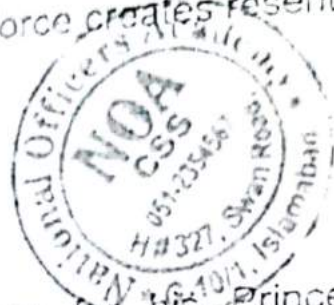
Machiavelli's Power Politics

Machiavelli has good and bad reputations for his Prince. The bad reputations of The Prince are partly because of the tradition and partly because it is more often cited than read. However, The Prince cannot be understood without referring to the situations in which Prince was written. It is essential to go back to the conditions of Italy during Machiavelli's life time.

During his life time, Italy suffered from brutal warfare. The foreign powers of that time were intervening in the internal affairs of Italy. Internally, Italy divided into many city-states and there was no power enough to unite the country. Public morality was at low level and religion and politics were inseparably connected because of the interference of Pope in politics. Truly, it was an era of "bustards and adventurers". Like a great patriot and nationalist, the unification of Italy was his great whole purpose. He wanted that all means should be adopted to retain the prestige of his beloved Italy.

Behind everything which Machiavelli said was the assumption that human nature is essentially selfish. He frequently remarks that men are in general bad and that the wise ruler shall construct his policies on this assumption. Security is possible, when the government is strong.

He was the first systematic writer of what is called the theory of power politics in modern times. It means that force is the ultimate principle which determines a state's position in the world. His concept of power politics is based on the force of state and its ability to pursue its goal and to protect its interests. He suggests strong, powerful and absolute monarch. He condemns the hereditary monarch and advocates that Prince must be elected. According to him, state is an end in itself and end justifies





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everything. So, the Prince should adopt every mean to maintain and preserve the state.

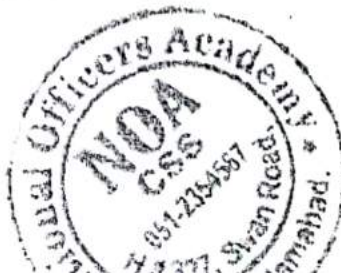
As force is the foundation stone of the state, therefore, people should be terrified by the ruler. In order to terrify the people, the prince should have a strong national army with patriotic sentiments and equipped with all kinds of weapons. He is totally against the mercenary army because in hour of need they will not sacrifice their lives for the cause of the state.

He stresses on the necessity of the expanding of the state's territory. He has of the opinion that state must expand or expire. He says that defense of the state is the primary duty of the ruler. If the Prince feels that the enemy state is going to attack his state, he should not wait and must take the initiative and crush the enemy. Here he gives the concept of pre-emptive strike. The prince should be ready for war at any time. In time of peace, the ruler should concentrate all his efforts on making schemes for territorial expansion and annexation.

He advises the prince that if there is war between his two neighbor states, he must not be neutral. It is better that prince should side with weaker otherwise the stronger will defeat the weaker one and later it may also attack on his state.

When the prince occupies new territories, he should get away with the old traditions of the occupied areas. He should formulate new ideas and morality to avoid revolt by the new citizens.

He opined that good laws and good arms are compulsory for the preservation of state, but one cannot have good laws without good arms.



Machiavelli as a Father of Modern Political Science

Some of his major realistic contributions to political thoughts which make him the father of modern political science are below.

- 1: **Modern concept of state.** He was the first thinker who used the term state in the sense which has been now used in the modern times having four elements i.e. population, territory, government and sovereignty.
- 2: **Secular concept of state.** He was the first thinker to separate politics from religion. He subordinated morality to politics.
- 3: The concept of state as an end.
- 4: The concept of preservation of state through all means
- 5: respect for customs and traditions
- 6: Necessity of force
- 7: The concept of national Army
- 8: Theory of moral indifference

All these concepts are adopted by the modern states, therefore, he is known as the father of modern political science.

Thomas Hobbes



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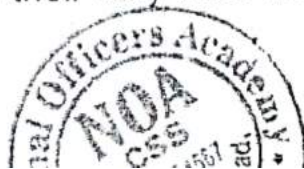
His Social Contract Theory

Introduction. Thomas Hobbes was an English philosopher. He was greatly influenced by Machiavelli and the conditions of his country during his life time. He saw the reigns of James 1st, Charles 1st, and Charles 2nd. This was the most turbulent period of his country because there was a tussle between parliament and the king for supremacy. He also saw the Civil War in England. So, one must take this entire scenario in mind while analyzing Social Contract of Thomas Hobbes. He opens his theory with the nature of man.

Human Nature: Hobbes was basically pessimistic and he drew a very dark picture of human nature. According to him, man is essentially selfish, self-seeking, fearful, cunning and competitive to the point of combativeness. Man shows no sympathy towards his fellow beings. He always wants to satisfy his own interest even at the cost of others. Man is lust for power and he does not believe in other. He is emotional and is always led by emotions to take actions.

State of Nature: After describing a very dark picture of human nature, Hobbes describes the state of nature as a state of endless struggle and continuous war. In the state of nature, every man was the enemy of other and there was no common authority to check them. There were natural laws but those laws were written nowhere, and there was no single authority to enforce those laws. Every man was interpreting those laws according to his own interest. Men also enjoyed natural rights but actually those were natural powers. In the state of nature, no distinction was made between right and wrong or justice and injustice. In other words, might was right and life in the state of nature was solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short.

Social Contract: The conditions in the state of nature might have continued indefinitely except for two factors inherent in men i.e. reason and fear of violent death. Man is reasonable and he can understand that unless they are willing to accept the discipline imposed upon them by a superior authority, their possessions and their very lives may be forfeit. According to





Hobbes, in order to escape and end this ceaseless struggle, all men decided to enter into a contract. Each man in this gathering uttered the following words.

"I authorize and give up my right of myself to this man or his assembly of men on the conditions that thou give up your right to him or them and authorize all his actions in right manner".

According to Hobbes, this was the beginning of great Leviathan. In a nutshell, all men surrendered their rights to a person, and the person to whom the rights were surrendered became the sovereign- an absolute sovereign.

Implications of the contract:

- 1: **Unilateral.** This is not the contract between the ruler and subjects but between the subjects themselves.
- 2: **Irrevocable.** Once the individuals get into contract, then they cannot annul it.
- 3: It creates an absolute ruler
- 4: The society according to this contract is not a growth but an artifice.
- 5: The contract negates any kind of revolution because the people surrendered all their rights to a sovereign





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Thomas Hobbes' Sovereign

According to Thomas Hobbes, there are two kinds of Commonwealths

1: Commonwealth by "institution" in which the people voluntarily submit to a sovereign

2: Commonwealth by "acquisition" in which the sovereign takes position by force.

Fear is common in both commonwealths. In instituted commonwealth, the people fear of each other's and in an acquired one the people fear of the sovereign. Hobbes' sovereign is different than that of Bodin's sovereign. The sole right which the people retain in Hobbes' state is that of self-defense. Man is subjected to sovereign authority in order to achieve security. If the ruler cannot provide them security then subjects not to obey him. Men may resist the sovereign if their lives are at stake. However, they must exercise great care because resistance brings about revolution which then destroys sovereign power and leads people to the state of nature.

Hobbes is too prudent here and he supports absolute rule of sovereign. He believes that it will maintain domestic tranquility and he does not justify rebellion against authority. Men must obey the law for the sack of peace in the state and for Hobbes; law is the command of sovereign. Customs and traditions cannot be made as basis of law. Only those customs will be the source of law that are validated by the sovereign. He says that the leviathan is not a government by consent and that the people have only right of self-defense and not to enter into the law-making process.

Moreover, he says that the contract is irrevocable. Once the people entered into the contract, they are not justified in complaining of the injury committed to them by the sovereign.

Powers of the Sovereign

Hobbes wants to give absolute power to the sovereign i.e. legislative, executive and judicial. He has sole authority to make and amend the laws. There will be no checks upon his legislative authority and he should have a





carte blanche to make, repeal and amend any law which he deems necessary for peace and tranquility in the state.

He has also the sole authority to enforce the laws, choose his own ministers and control the arm forces. He possesses the supreme authority to levies taxes necessary for the state's income. He has the authority to hear and decide all the controversies and he is the supreme judicial officer. He has the power to punish and reward his subjects. In short, the sovereignty of Hobbes is all in all.

No division of the sovereign power.

According to Hobbes, the sovereign power may not be divided. A mixed state cannot exist. He believes that the division of power among king, lords and commons has led England to civil war. He says that there are three possible form of commonwealth i.e. monarchy, aristocracy and monarchy. The fact is that government will be by one man, few men or by many. It cannot be a mixture of all three that will erect many sovereigns which is precarious to the peace. He supports monarchy. He has of the opinion that representative government is too slow and they can undo tomorrow what is done today. On the other hand, monarch cannot disgrace himself and it is ordinarily most efficient form of government.

He states that it is the performance of monarch that makes him sovereign rather than any claim to legitimacy. He can cool down the opposition by his conducive performance.

In a nutshell, Hobbes wants to see his sovereign as an absolute ruler who exercises power upon his own sweet will and his sovereign is responsible to no one but to himself. His only job is to provide security to the people and preserve peace and tranquility in the state.

John Locke's Social Contract Theory





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Introduction: John Locke was an English philosopher and a professor. He was an active member of the Whig Party which supported the parliament in the struggle for power. During his life time he saw the Glorious Revolution 1688, which led to the growth of democracy. Unlike Hobbes, Locke saw the progression period of England during his life time. Like Hobbes, Locke also opens his theory with the human nature.

Human nature: John Locke's views on human nature have been expressed in his book "An Essay Concerning Human Understanding" which was published in 1690. He takes a bright picture of man and human nature. He says that every human being wants to get rid of the pains. Hence, the object of all human action is to substitute pleasure for pain. Man has been endowed with the power of his reason which Locke termed as "The spark of divine nature". It inclines man towards society without the sanctions of any government.

On the basis of these arguments, Locke says that man in the state of nature was social as well as rational. He is sympathetic towards his fellow beings. Man is capable of recognizing a moral order and he also knows how to live in such an order. He is cooperative and not driven by his emotions. In short, Locke presents a very bright picture of human being.

State of nature: According to Locke, the state of nature has two characteristics. First, it is a state of "perfect freedom" wherein men do as they choose within limits imposed by the law of nature. Second, it is a state of equality for its inhabitants. He says that original state of nature was one of peace, good will, mutual assistance and preservation. There was no jungle war of every man against other man. Life in the state of nature was not pre-social, it was rather pre-political. There was law of nature and under this law men were equal and possessed equal natural rights. The rights included right of life, property and liberty. In the state of nature property was common in the sense that every man had the right to draw subsistence from whatever nature had to offer. In one sentence, Locke's state of nature was an ideal moral order.





Now a question may arise that what compelled man to make a contract? According to Locke, no doubt peace prevailed in the state of nature but this peace was disturbed due to three main defects. They were; the laws of nature were not defined. There was no legislature to make and define the law, there was no common authority to enforce the laws of nature and there were no judges to interpret those laws.

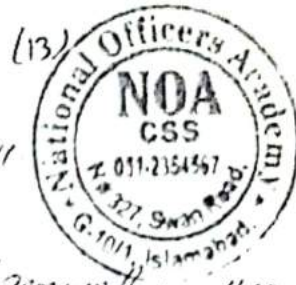
Locke says that because of these three defects, rights were not secured. Though men the state of nature was equal; they were not equal in intellect. This difference in the intellect gave nature to different interpretations of the law of nature and the shortcomings of the state of nature became visible.

Contract: Locke says that in order to get rid of the state of nature, men make a contract to inter into civil society. This is a political contract because it establishes a civil society. Locke's contract is tow folded. In the first step, people establish a trust. People, having formed a society must then institute a government. The government is the trustee of the people and it functions for them and responsible to them. It has obligations to those who create it and for whom it acts as an agent. It was responsible to secure the rights of life, liberty and property. If it failed to secure these rights, it would be a breach of trust and would call for revolution.

He believes in the representative form of government and gives supreme power to the assembly of men trusted by the people to establish laws. Executive is subject to legislature but the latter is not all in all.

- A: It cannot exercise power arbitrarily.
- B: its powers must be directed towards the general principles of the society
- C: it cannot deprive a man of his property without his consent.
- D: it cannot delegate lawmaking power to another body because only society has the power to do so.





Rousseau's general will

To understand the concept of "general will", described by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, one must look towards his social contract. Rousseau's social contract is different than that of the contracts of Locke and Hobbes. In Hobbes contract, all rights are surrendered to an authority whose duty is to provide security. This contract is specifically rejected by Rousseau. In Locke's contract, people agree to form a society and then entrust their security to a government which is representative and responsible to them and is charged with protecting the rights of the people. These both philosophers consider the rights of individual as natural rights. In Rousseau contract as the rights are social rather than natural, there can be no reserving on them ~~as~~ on an individual as per Locke's theory demand.

The Rousseau contract require that each member surrenders to the community all his rights. The surrender must be total and unconditional and in the legitimate political community the people as a body are sovereign. There now exist a public person which in its passive role is



role is known as "sovereignty". The people who are components of the body, also have a dual role. When they exercise their sovereignty through the policy, they are citizens; when they obey, they are subjects. To avoid the selfishness of individual, which may destroy the community, it is necessary for the body politics to operate on "general will". This is a central part of Rousseau philosophy. The general will is an expression of the public interest. It emanates from all, and directed to all. Rousseau says that in the welter of particular interests in the community, there is a common interest which must be discovered. This common interest must form the basis of all laws. He says that general will must be differentiated from will of all. The will of all is an expression of particular interest. What we have to do is to take from the expression of these separate wills ~~and~~ the pluses and minuses - which cancel out, the sum of the differences is left and this is general will.

He says that for the expression of general will, it is essential that there be no subsidiary groups within the society, and each citizen voice his own ~~voice~~ opinion and nothing but his own opinion.



Moreover he says that following the contract which establishes civil society and the body politic, a majority vote is binding on all. This raises problems for his theory for example if a majority makes a decision and imposes its will upon minority in the form of law, how can the minority be said to be free? For this question, Rousseau insist that no real conflict exist. The minority is wrong. Its interest is always the same as that of the majority. If it gets its own way, it injures itself as much as it injure the majority. This cannot be permitted. The minority must be force into line for its own welfare; it must be force into freedom. Here one can argued ^{that} the saving grace of this idea that ~~rests only on~~ ^{in the fact that the} submission, to a ~~sovereign~~ majority is, after all, to one's true self, or at worst to a sovereign majority. Rousseau himself was conscious of the implication of its proposal and made a rather unsuccessful attempt at *Qualifica* He said that each man ^{to} alienate ^{it} property, power and liberty for the well being of community. It means that he does not surrender all its rights while enters the community.

as already discuss by Rousseau. But here
are question arise that what rights individuals
determination which must by Sovereign or majority
there we are back where we started. Rousseau
qualification is ~~not~~ neither logical nor convincing. The
true meaning of general will is that a properly const.
and functioning majority is perfect and free from mistake.

Institutions for General Will:-

We may now turn to the institutional and
designed by Rousseau for the implementation of
General will. According to him two forces are the
to produce action.

1) Will :- Will is refer to the legislative
of the government which according to Rousseau
contain all of the people. The legislative must
create constitution and ~~also~~ establish a
body of laws. It must meet regularly acc.
to law. The inserting of the whole community
into the legislature raises another questions for
Rousseau. For example if the legislative
of all the people, how it will be possible
for them to meet at same time?

Rousseau suggest two solutions to this pr
First he says that the seat of Government
to shift from one place to another.

(15)
According to Rousseau, not democracy and not
Monarchy, but elected aristocracy is the best
to form of government for general will. He
said that entire community cannot concern itself
with administrative task, hence, democracy is
only possible in the nation of Gods. So for a
monarchy is concerned, it may be the desirable
form but given the character of most kings
and the fact that heredity rarely produce the
monarch of quality, it is unlikely.

The same is not true good for legislative. Legislative
power, according to him, must always be exercised
by the whole body of sovereign citizens.

Role of legislature under general will.

The legislative efforts should be directed
towards two ends: liberty and equality.

The former is impossible without the latter.

There should be an equilateral state, in
which the moral and legal equality of
citizens is secured. To accomplish this

goal, the division of wealth will be in
such a manner that no man has to buy
another and that other need not sell himself.

Rousseau opined that if the inequality
of wealth is so great, inequality is inevitable.



that the general will must be ascertained. Rousseau realizes that it is difficult to say that for security and freedom, even if it is to be overcome.

Secondly, he suggested for adoption of like state such was found in Greece. Then a question arises that, with such states be exposed to attack, as Montesquieu suggests Rousseau admits the possibility but states he will show how a confederation may be made to minimize such danger. Here he is unquestionably influenced by the spirit of law written by Montesquieu.

Position of executive under general will = -
 Moreover, the ^{agency} ~~division~~ which carry out the will of the general will is the executive. In plan the executive is the government. It is the sovereign people and not the part government. Executive is agent of legislature completely responsible to it. Government is created by a law not a contract. The power is of sovereign people and held at its sweet will.

Form of Govt in general will =

Rousseau has now theoretically constructed the Constitution of the Community of General Will and the institutions which best suited to the Community. But practically few questions may arise, which Rousseau is ready to give answered them.

First, there is a question to the ability of the people to see them through the complexities of interdependent

First, a question may arise that how this complex community will frame the constitution? characteristic of general will state:
i. Method of the making of constitution.

According to Rousseau, for this purpose there is a need of legislator who possess superior intelligence. He will make the constitution and then will be ratified by the whole community.

He must be persuasive and he has no power to command the people who are themselves sovereign.

ii. A mediator b/w people and govt-

Second, how the Government and the Community will interact with each other?

Rousseau reply is that a "Tribunal" will be made which will

Rousseau reply is that it is necessary to establish a "Tribunal" a body which stand between the people and their power to execute action, it can rather provide protection to both. The body has no power to initiate action, it can rather some quick danger action from being taken. Thirdly, laws are inflexible. How they will meet the changing circumstances? us

(iii) Emergency power of the executive:-

In emergency events, the executive power should be increased because it is difficult to summon the community and to take ^{action to it} this decision. This is a risky action but the security of the community demand it.

(iv) Civil religion or state religion:-

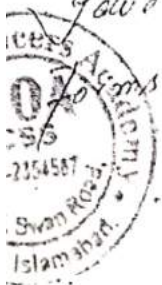
This element of Rousseau theory highly criticized. He proposed the establishment of civil religion. He says that religion and particularly Christian religion has been a disruptive force in the community. To avoid the division in the only way is to establish state-religion which principles are to be set by sovereign no body is to be compelled for this religion, but if once a law is enacted and the ^{of} something contrary to the religion, that not religious. The punishment ^{is} to be considered a civil



Montesquieu on Securing Liberty.

Montesquieu was the son of great French lawyers and was a true literateur of the mid-eighteenth century. His philosophy was effected by the spirit of rational liberty which presented a reaction against absolutism prevailed in the age of Louis XIV. The mind of Montesquieu was not only moulded by an extensive study but also by an extensive study. He visited the leading European countries and stayed in England for two years. There he studied writers like John Locke, ~~and~~ met with different politicians and remained in close association with the writers of that century in England. What influenced him most in England was the practical enjoyment of liberty by Englishmen and the balance of the English constitutional machinery. It was the study of Roman history and of the contemporary English institutions that determined the ~~the~~

Montesquieu's philosophy. These two seasons gave him the conception of liberty which the central theme of his speculation.




Montesquieu's writings are distinguished
the philosophy of 18th century which was par-
tly based on the law of nature. He was a
progressive conservative. He was neither a radical
democrat nor a egalitarian denouncing privilege.
He criticised the social, political and econ-
omical institutions of France with a view to reform
them not to destroy them. His ~~work~~ works
out that he was mainly concerned with the
real spirit of liberty and harmonious working
of institutions rather than with the poli-
tically dogmas of that age like "rights of man", So-
cial Equality and ~~Eq~~ Natural Equality of Man.
Montesquieu wanted to reform political life
in France by infusing in it the British sense of
liberty and by introducing into the French
constitution the principle of separation of powers,
especially separation between executive and
Judiciary, which he thought was the chief
of British constitution. The Spirit of Laws
represented an effort in this direction.



Liberty and the separation of

The theory of "separation of power" is the best known theory which exerted influence upon Europe and America. Montesquieu is concerned with the constitutional arrangement necessary for in a government to secure an adequate degree of liberty for the individual and at the same time to assure that government has the necessary authority. He carefully distinguished liberty from license.

He said that the freedom to do anything one can get away with is not true liberty. The only valuable liberty is that which we enjoy under the law. The true liberty is that we have to do those things which we ought to do and to abstain from those things which we are prohibited to do. Liberty is not anarchy; there must be laws but laws must be of the right kind which do not deprive people of their rights. Only a moderate government can make such laws and moderation in government is very rare. In order to establish and maintain a moderate govt, power must be checked with power. On a govt that has political liberty as its "particular end" has achieved this goal.



That is the government of England
and in description of that government
Montesquieu developed the theory of separation
of power.

In all governments there are three or organs
Legislature, that make, and amend the laws? Executive
that execute and implement the laws? Judiciary
that adjudicate the laws. Each power should
exercised by a different body or person. If
of all these of them in the same body will result
in the lack of vital moderation, necessary
to the forming and execution of laws
to political liberty.

If the legislative and executive powers are
by the same persons then liberty is no
possible, because apprehension may arise as
the monarch can make tyrannical laws
execute them in a tyrannical manner.

Again there is no liberty if the judicial
power may not separated from the
two organs. If it is not separated
the liberty of the subject would be
arbitrary controls; For the judge



might behave with violence and oppression.

Some aspects of the Montesquieu's of the judicial power are confusing and to understand his precise meaning is difficult if not impossible. As compared with legislature and executive, judiciary in the sense is nothing. It means that the powers of the judge in disputes at law is less significant than the power of making and executing the law. However, it is important enough to justify its separation from the other branches of government.

Despite his extensive consideration of judicial power, Montesquieu is less concerned with judicial it than he is with legislature and executive. He said that legislature must consist of whole people, but as it is impossible in large states and inconvenient in small states, representation must be used. Representatives should be elected by the people from different areas. Once they are elected they should be left free to discuss and make decisions without the interference of the constituency. All people who have their own will should be permitted to vote. The people generally lack the capacity to share a vital



re in the method of government
are capable to choose those who do.
He said that election should be applied
one part of the legislative body, that represent
the commonalty. In all states some people
born by birth riches and honors are
to separate recognition. The commoners would
enact such laws that are against the
of the upper class. Therefore nobility should
separately elected to the legislative body.
this way the nobility will check the licentious
of the commoners, and the commoners can
oppose the encroachment of the nobility.

Moreover, the executive power should be exercised
by monarch. To place such power into the
of legislature is to destroy the moderate
Government and it will lead to the loss
of political liberty.

There should be regular election to the
legislative body otherwise the vacancy would
filled through appointment and the people
be deprived of their right of election.

(20)

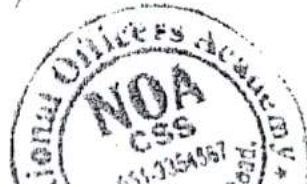
Montesquieu as Aristotle:



- (1) Both adopted empirical method
- (2) Both support idealism
- (3) Both have worked upon separation of powers
- (4) Both agreed upon the influence of geography on politics
- (5) Both classify governments on the basis of law.

(11)

Likewise the Legislature should not have the power to remove the executive, such authority would place Legislature above the executive. However, Legislature must investigate the execution of laws and to punish those ministers of King who have improperly enforced the law. Finally the power of vote must lie with the executive over the authority of Legislature. The constitution of England exactly illustrates these principles, however Montesquieu says that he does not assert that the England enjoy political liberty, he has just said that their laws provide for it.





Montesquieu's nature and principle of Government.

Def:- By the nature of government, Montesquieu mean the form of government found in a civil society. By "principles" the underlying force by which that society is motivated. Certain laws are appropriate to both nature and principles of government and Montesquieu devoted much attention to this problem.

According to him, there are three forms of government

- (i) Republican
- (ii) Monarchy
- (iii) Despotism

(i) Republican:-

In a republican all or some of the people govern. If all govern that is democratic republic; if few govern that is an Aristocratic republic. The matter of who is to govern, whether whether all or few should be settled in a right manner and with utmost care, so as to achieve



stability. Neglect in this regard was the principle causes the downfall of Empire. The people of republic must have the ability to choose their political action rather than to rule directly. The Aristocrats ought not to exhibit a wide gap between elite and the people; it ought to tend more to democratic than to a monarchic principle. According to him, in a republic the greatest principle is the virtue of the people. Virtue signifies several things such as love of equality, willingness to subordinate the individual to the general interest. The people in democratic republic must adopt a self-restrained principle which preventing them from abusing their authority.

The underlying principle of Aristocratic republic is also virtue, but since only few govern here, virtue need not to be widespread as in democratic republic. The governing aristocrats enact law to the people. This is not difficult; the real problem in aristocracy is for the nobles to restrain themselves.



(11) Monarchy:-

In Monarchical form of Government only one rule by fixed and established laws. Montesquieu has the opinion that in monarchy, monarchical powers flow through and is checked by other, intermediate, subordinate and dependent powers such particularly by the nobility. If the privileges of the lords and the clergy are abolished, either despotic Government or democracy will result. According to him, it is also necessary for monarchy to have a despotary of the laws. This authority should be vested in the judges of the Supreme Court, who promulgate the new laws and revive the old obsolete.

The principle of monarchical Government is honor. The laws take place of virtue and laws are made by those who hold authority in monarchy. The ruling classes, including the king, are ambitious. They seek to serve their own interests by enhancing their honor, but in doing so they serve the public interest. The good result is possible, because the pursuit of

Self-interest leads to the accomplishment
of many "glorious actions" and because
the ambitions of one or class are checked
by others.



(iii) Despotism:

In a despotism one rules but
so arbitrarily. In this form of Govt
the ruler is un-restrained by law. M
says that in practice, despot is not
lazy and ignorant, turns the conduct
Government over to a "vizier" who is
with the full power of the despot. Men
feel no embarrassment to say that France
a despotism and that Richelieu and M
were its viziers.

The underlying principle of despotism is
Men obey because they do not dare to
otherwise. Neither virtue nor honor exist
the despot; only submission is possible
is replaced by the will of the despot. If
despotic prince ceases for one movement
uplift his arm ... all is over.

Laws and their relations to nature and Principle of Government:-

Montesquieu's books, *The Spirit of Laws* contains various kinds of law and its relationship to each of the form of government and principles. He has the opinion that if the laws are appropriate and a proper spirit is observed in their formulation and application, the stability of the society will be preserved. If the proper spirit is not observed the government will be imperfect and in danger of collapse. He described different kinds of laws for different forms of government.

(1) Laws of education:-

According to him, in a democracy education must teach love of country, principles of self-restraint and the manners through which they choose those who govern them. In a monarchy, education should teach the importance of self-interest, but



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It should be enlightened self leading towards the general good. Despotism, servility should be tamed. In each case the law will evidence proper spirit if it support that upon which the structure of government rests.



iii) Law of Economics:—

In democracy the law should maintain the equality of the people especially economic equality. Material wealth does not exist in sufficient abundance to permit universal affluence. If some are to be ~~rich~~ rich will have to be poor. Such a circumstance destroys the spirit of equality upon which democratic society rests, and democracy die. It is impossible to distribute the wealth on equal basis, but there should be well-defined limits ~~imposed~~ for inequality and maintained by law. In aristocracy is the key to stability, if equality is the nobility are corrupt.

(24)



compelled to pay taxes and to be generous with common people they should be prohibited to indulge in commerce and the law of primogeniture should be abolished to prevent the concentration of wealth in few hands.

In monarchy, hereditary nobility should be maintained, along with the privileges. Taxation laws should not be burdensome, and duties should not be so much on nobility that they become incapable to perform those glorious actions which contribute to the public good.

In despotism, it is necessary to have a large army for the maintenance of peace. No doubt, it will be an economic cumbersome on the people but it is unavoidable.

(iii) Civil and Criminal Laws:

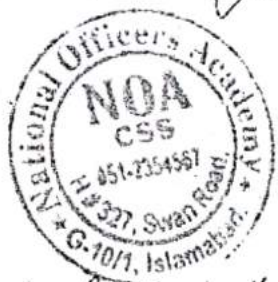


Montesquieu, next consider civil and criminal laws and judgements and punishments in various forms of government. In democracy the vast and complicated structure of civil and criminal laws, rules and regulations bring about destruction for liberty.



In despotism there is a little ^{req} for criminal law because it is the will of the govern and not of the ^{the} In monarchy, the simple and direct ^{of} laws often regarded with envy. Ho It should be understood that a ^{year} of laws, a government based upon the ^{of} law, require law and that they will, in number and complexity as time goes on

(iv) Laws of Corruption:



The Spirit of Laws also deals with the view on the corruption of various form of government. Montesquieu has the opinion that a government's corruption begins with the its principles. The superstructure of every rests upon the foundation provided by principles. When the foundation is altered the superstructure must change accordingly. In a democratic republic the feature is ~~an~~ equality, but it is a

Kind of equality. In this equality differences in human capacity are recognised, in which those with superior abilities govern but do so according to the law under which they are equal of their fellows. If this principle is altered corruption will be the result.

Virtue is also the principle in aristocracy, and corruption occurs when the nobility rules arbitrarily rather than on the basis of established laws.

In monarchy it is necessary that the powers must be shared among nobility, clergy, courts and king. Corruption occurs when the king deprives all other groups of their traditional authorities.

In despotism, corruption is impossible because it is already corrupt.

(V) Laws of territory:



The extent of territory occupied by the members of society has a vital relationship with the form of government.



According to Montesquieu a ~~republic~~ demands a small territory. It demands an agreement among the citizens for their common interest and this cooperation cannot be secured in large area where interests are too many and too diverse. If the republic is too small it will be easily invaded by enemy states. Montesquieu suggests the establishment of confederations for the solution of this dilemma.

According to him, monarchy acquires a moderate territory. A too small monarchy will become a republic and a too large monarchy will be controlled by the nobility. In ~~any~~ either monarchy will be destroyed. Here, again, the unless a large territory is governed on principle of confederation, ~~monarchy~~ it will become a despotism in which the citizens must be made to fear the central authority, so that they will not revolt against it. Montesquieu's ideas concerning the relationship between the extent of territory and government forms are well known and considerably influenced those who framed the constitution of the United States of America.

ee "Dialectical Materialism of Marx"

Karl Marx took this theory from Hegel's dialectical method. According to Hegel, progress results from the conflict of opposing forces. However, he reversed Hegel's view that the conflict is in the realm of ideas and that material forces are only reflections. The clash, ~~and~~ Marx says, is one of material forces, and ideas are only products of the material movement in which man lives. While discussing Marx's theory of dialectical materialism, it must be kept in mind that Marx borrowed this theory from Hegel.

The components of his theory:-



(1) Forces of production:-

According to Karl Marx, in every society the fundamental determinant of all other development is the forces of production. It consists of raw material or natural resources and technology by which these materials are converted into consumable goods.

(2) Relations of production:-

The forces of production give rise to a

particular "relations of production". These "social relationships" which form the basis in society. This relationship is always determined by the property factor. Thus in this relationship there are those who have and those who have not, command, and those who obey. This relationship is always for the commanding class. The change in forces of production, demands the change in production of relations. If change happened in forces of production and not in relations then a tension will arise between the two involved in this process. The forces of production, combined with the economic foundation of every society.

Superstructure of Society:

According to Marx, on this economic or superstructure is rested which is the non-material things of society. This is such things as laws, moral codes, religion and governmental forms. The superstructure serves essential purposes. First, it justifies the position of the commanding class. According to Marx, this is strictly a matter of economic interest.





The laws it enacts, the religion it embraces, the moral behavior it advocates, all supporting the rightness of the commanding class in society.



ii) Second, the commanding class, use the superstructure as weapons to maintain its superior status in society. Laws are formulated to protect its property and its authority. Governments are formed to enable the commanding class to impose its will.

All the elements of the superstructure depends upon the economic foundation. The change in foundation will always bring a transformation of the super-structure, as the new commanding class require, a new superstructure for rationalization of its position. What Marx saying here is that, the principles of superstructure which constitute the ideology of a society are not the ordinary sense. They are rather to be called as "appropriate" and "inappropriate" depend upon how suitably the function for the ruling class.

Karl Marx opined that ^{men} men do not create the social environment in which they live. They are, instead, the products of that environment. It is not the consciousness of the men that determine their existence, rather their social conditions determine their consciousness. He said that the mind is incapable of thought that rejects the framework created by the capitalists. A proletarian in capitalist-dominated society is so much a product of that society that it is not possible for him to think against the basic principles of that society.

Assessments -

Marx's theory of dialectical materialism is to a large extent. He had to leave room for his theory for persons like himself, and a few more who were able to think outside the Capitalistic framework, in which they live. In his theory, Marx has given too much ground to those who are not capable of thinking outside their society, but he has also given the germ of truth. No one is to be ignored that to a considerable extent, the products of their environment. Indeed, the tendency to cling to the past principles is a major factor.



cause of social unrest and, sometimes, of revolution. Moreover, he said that economic ^{factor} structures determine the superstructure facets of the society. On this basis, he said, that we cannot achieve any genuine reformation of society and improvement of the conditions of the people merely by tinkering with superstructure itself. Only the change foundation will bring substantial reform transformation of society.

In the latter later writings, both Marx and Engels believed that economic factor is the important factor that determining society, rather than the only factor which do so.





Super structure

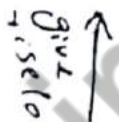
Law
Government
Political theory

Philosophy
Moral codes
Religion
Art

other aspects of society

Economic
(Material)
Foundation

Relations of productions = class structure
owners and workers



Forces of production = Resources + Technology





Class Struggle of Karl Marx

In the analysis of Marx's dialectical Materialism, two interpretations have been achieved.

- (i) Conflict b/w method of production and relation of property
- (ii) A class of one class against another.

Whatever, Marx intended, there is no question but dialectical progresses through the means of class struggle. The concept of class struggle is highly important in Marx's theory. We must consider both its causes and effects.

In his theory of dialectical Materialism, Marx believe that class structure is dependent upon the forces of production and that the culture of society is utilized by the dominant class, to hold another class in subjection.

Here we assume that - in the early stage of the history of society, both the class structure and the cultural aspects were suitable to the prevailing forces of productions. There were no skirmishes b/w the and classes and one Dominants and the other obeys unquestioningly. What happened, then, which disturbed the equilibrium?



The answer is a changing technology in the method of production the owner of production alter the technique in order to maximize the production. In doing so, they were not aware they are destroying the foundation upon which entire system rests. The forces of production come into clash with the relations of production for stability, it would be necessary to adjust the relations of production to adjust the class. But instead, the dominant class tries to maintain the status quo, rather than to alter the forces of production. In this way, the tensions and contradictions in the system grows to great. The dominant class employs the factors in super to maintain the subjugation of the subordinated but all in vain. Nothing can stand in the way of inexorable movement of dialectic. A point ultimately reach in which the forces of production completely incompatible to the class structure. This is the period of social revolution in which the class organization & organization of class place and new superstructure is established to meet the new needs of the situation. As to Marx, this dialectical process is both revolutionary and progressive. He said that present is always better than past and not so good as the future will be.

(30)

Influence over generations, a fact which
cannot be ignored easily.



Mubashir

Marx said that this phenomena has occurred several times in history. The Asiatic, the Feudal and the Capitalist society successively one another as the forces of production in each gradually made unfit the relations of production and ~~set~~ super-structure of its production. He said that we are currently in midst of recurrence of the dialectical transition, one that will result in the proletarian taking control of the forces of production.

Assessment: -

Professor Mayo has argued that it is absurd to hold that history is the story of class struggle. This only means that all important conflicts in the history have resulted from class struggle whereas such a struggle contributed a little in the historical conflicts. Marx defended it by saying that only class wars have been significant in the history. This is also absurd because, the view that economic cause has triggered wars in the history is more easily defendable but almost equally invalid. In this context, economic causes are also involved which Marx denied. But, despite all his errors, he had enormous



Foucault Power:-



There are as many concepts of power as there are social theories. There is almost no sociological or socio-psychological theory which does not provide a distinctive notion of power. Almost every philosopher has defined power in one way or the other. However, almost all other philosophers agreed on that power is an instrument of coercion. Foucault, the French postmodernist, has been hugely influential in shaping understanding of power, leading away from the analysis of actors who use power as an instrument of coercion toward the idea that 'power is everywhere' diffused in discourse, knowledge and 'regimes of truth'.

Power for Foucault is what makes us what we are, operating on a quite different level from other theories of power. His work marks a radical departure from previous modes of conceiving power and cannot be easily



integrated with previous ideas, as power
diffuse rather than concentrated, enacted
than possessed, discursive rather than
Coercive.

Foucault challenges the idea that power
is wielded by state through individual
of domination or coercion, seeing it instead
dispersed and continuous. He said that
is everywhere and comes from everywhere.
In this sense power is neither an agency nor
structure. Instead it is a kind of 'metaphor'
or 'regime of truth' that pervades society
which is in constant flux and negotiation.

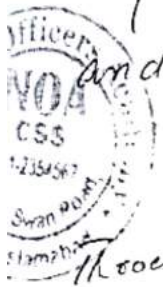
Foucault uses the term 'power/knowledge'
to signify that power is constituted through
accepted forms of knowledge, scientific
and 'truth'. He says that truth is a
of this world and not from religion.
Society has its own regime of truth.
is now going on a "general politics"

Foucault is one of the few writers
power who recognize power that power is
just a negative, coercive or repressive thing
that forces us to do things against our will.
Instead, power can also be a necessary,
productive and positive force in society.
said "we must cease once and for all to
the effects of power in negative terms that
it excludes, it represses, it masks and it
conceals. In fact power produces; it produces
reality, it produces the situations of the



According to him, power is also a major
source of social discipline and conformity.
In shifting attention from the 'Bourgeois'
exercise of power, traditionally centered on
feudal states to coerce their subjects, Foucault
pointed toward a new kind of 'disciplinary
power' that could be observed in admini-
strative systems of 18th century's Europe, such
as prisons, schools and mental hospitals.

He said that ~~the~~ ^{through} systems of surveillance and assessment of prisons, schools and mental hospitals no longer required force or violence, as people learned to discipline themselves and behave in expected ways.



through the theory of knowledge/power/knowledge his aim was to undermine the notion that the emergence of modern political liberalism resulted in greater freedom for individuals. 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 science labels as "normal" or "rational" behavior that society



deems respectable and desirable, and behavior that is otherwise is becomes odd and irrational. Behavior that is specified as odd by objective social sciences can be classified as a symptom of mental illness.

Foucault viewed modern bureaucratic institutions as promoting rationality and humane concerns, but he also saw them as really amounting to an arbitrary exercise of power by one group over 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. Here, accordingly, he eschewed any blue print for political reform or an explicit articulation of moral or rational norms that society ought to uphold.

In conclusion, a key point about Foucault's approach to power is that it transcends politics and sees power as an everyday, socialized phenomenon. This is why state-centric power struggles, including revolutions, do not always lead to change in the social order.

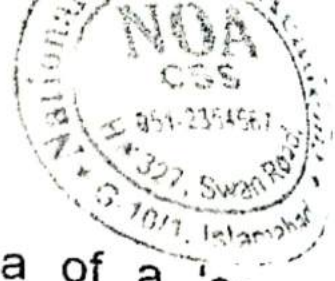


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Gramsci's Hegemony

The idea of a 'third face of power', or 'invisible power' has its roots partly, in Marxist thinking about the pervasive power of ideology, values and beliefs in reproducing class relations. Marx recognized that economic exploitation was not the only driver behind capitalism, and that the system was reinforced by a dominance of ruling class ideas and values. This led to the Engels's famous concern that 'false consciousness' would keep the working class from recognizing and rejecting their oppression. A famous analogy is made to workers accepting crumbs that fall off the table (or indeed are handed out to keep them quiet) rather than claiming a rightful place at the table. The Italian communist Antonio Gramsci, imprisoned for much of his life by Mussolini, took this idea further in his Prison Notebooks with his widely influential notions of 'hegemony' and the 'manufacture of consent' (Gramsci 1971). Gramsci saw the capitalist state as being made up of two overlapping spheres, a 'political society' (which rules through force) and a 'civil society' (which rules through consent). This is a different meaning of civil society from the 'associational' view common today, which defines civil society as a 'sector' of voluntary organisations and NGOs. Gramsci saw civil society as the public sphere where trade unions and political parties gained concessions from the bourgeois-state, and the sphere in which ideas and beliefs were shaped, where bourgeois 'hegemony' was reproduced in cultural life through the media, universities and religious institutions to 'manufacture consent' and legitimacy. Here Gramsci's hegemony comes close to Foucault's Power/Knowledge. *Knowledge/Power*

The political and practical implications of Gramsci's ideas were far-reaching because he warned of the limited possibilities of direct revolutionary struggle for control of the means of production; this 'war of attack' could only succeed with a prior 'war of position' in the form of struggle over ideas and beliefs, to create



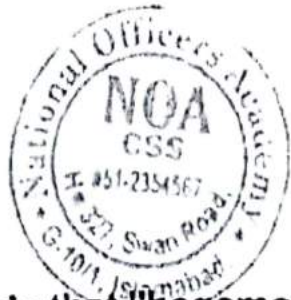
a new hegemony (Gramsci 1971). This idea of a 'counter-hegemonic' struggle – advancing alternatives to dominant ideas of what is normal and legitimate – has had broad appeal in social and political movements. It has also contributed to the idea that 'knowledge' is a social construct that serves to legitimate social structures.

"It was Gramsci who, in the late twenties and thirties, with the rise of fascism and the failure of the Western European working-class movements, began to consider why the working class was not necessarily revolutionary, why it could, in fact, yield to fascism." (Gitlin, 1994: 516)

Gramsci was concerned to eradicate economic determinism from Marxism and to develop its explanatory power with respect to superstructural institutions. So, he held that:

- Class struggle must always involve ideas and ideologies, ideas that would make the revolution and also that would prevent it;
- He stressed the role performed by human agency in historical change: economic crises by themselves would not subvert capitalism;
- Gramsci was more "dialectic" than "deterministic": he tried to build a theory which recognised the autonomy, independence and importance of culture and ideology.

"It can be argued that Gramsci's theory suggests that subordinated groups accept the ideas, values and leadership of the dominant group not because they are physically or mentally induced to do so, nor because they are ideologically indoctrinated, but because they have reason of their own." (Strinati, 1995: 166)



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Can we conclude that "hegemony" is a strategy exclusively of the bourgeoisie?

No. In fact the working class can develop its own hegemony as a strategy to control the State. Nevertheless, Gramsci stated that the only way to perform this labour class control is by taking into account the interests of other groups and social forces and finding ways of combining them with its own interests.

If the working class is to achieve hegemony, it needs patiently to build up a network of alliances with social minorities. These new coalitions must respect the autonomy of the movement, so that each group can make its own special contribution toward a new socialist society.

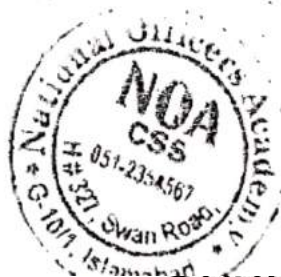
The working class must unite popular democratic struggles with its own conflict against the capital class, so as to strengthen a national popular collective will.

How does the hegemonic class manage to maintain its ideology over time?

Hegemony is readjusted and re-negotiated constantly. Gramsci said that it can never be taken for granted, in fact during the post-revolutionary phase (when the labour class has gained control) the function of hegemonic leadership does not disappear but changes its character.

Is violence the only way to subvert dominant "hegemony"?

No. The way of challenging the dominant hegemony is political activity. But we must understand a distinction that Gramsci proposed between two different kind of political strategies to achieve the capitulation of the predominant hegemony and the construction of the socialist society:



Way of maneuver:

- Frontal attack;
- The main goal is winning quickly;
- Especially recommended for societies with a centralised and dominant state power that have failed in developing a strong hegemony within the civil society (i.e. Bolshevik revolution, 1917).

War of position:

- Long struggle;
- Primarily, across institutions of civil society;
- Secondly, the socialist forces gain control through cultural and ideological struggle, instead of only political and economic contest;
- Especially suggested for the liberal-democratic societies of Western capitalism with weaker states but stronger hegemonies (i.e.: Italy);
- These countries have more extensive and intricate civil societies that deserve a longer and more complex strategy.

"The revolutionary forces have to take civil society before they take the state, and therefore have to build a coalition of oppositional groups united under a hegemonic banner which usurps the dominant or prevailing hegemony."(Strinati, 1995:169)

MERITS OF GRAMSCI'S THEORY

Every author who has studied or developed the writings of Gramsci has something different to stress from his theory; by way of illustration I have chosen some of these opinions:





- *David Harris*: He is responsible for the emergence of a critical sociology of culture and for the politicisation of culture.
- *Raymond Williams*: The forms of domination and subordination correspond much more closely to the normal process of social organisation and control in developed societies than the idea of a ruling class, which are usually based on much earlier and simpler historical phases.
- *Paul Ransome*: Gramsci resolved two central weaknesses of Marx's original approach:
 - That Marx was mistaken in assuming that social development always originates from the economic structure;
 - That Marx placed too much faith in the possibility of a spontaneous outburst of revolutionary consciousness among the working class.
- *Todd Gitlin*: Gramsci's distinction of culture was a great advance for radical theories, it called attention to the routine structures of everyday 'common sense', which work to sustain class domination and tyranny.
- *Dominic Strinati*: Gramsci suggested that there is a dialectic between the process of production and the activities of consumption. He also displayed a lack of dogmatism, unlike some other Marxist authors.

FLAWS OF GRAMSCI'S THEORY

Dominic Strinati: From Strinati's point of view the main problem with Gramsci's ideas is his Marxist background. A class-based analysis is always reductionist and tends to simplify the relation between the people and their own culture, that is the problem of confining a social theory within the Marxist limits.



Raymond Williams: He thinks that Gramsci proposed the concept of hegemony as a uniform, static and abstract structure.

David Harris: He has mentioned that Gramsci's ideas about the role of intellectuals in society are rather elitist, and all the theory is too political and partisan to be credible. He adds later that another problem of Gramsci's thought is the lack of empiricism, there is no room for studies of audiences, surveys or something related directly with the people and their behaviour.





John Rawls

John Rawls, a philosopher who held the James Bryant Conant University Professorship at Harvard University, published several books and many articles. He is chiefly known, however, for his book *A Theory of Justice*, an effort to define social justice. The work has greatly influenced modern political thought.

Rawls was dissatisfied with the traditional philosophical arguments about what makes a social institution just and about what justifies political or social actions and policies. The utilitarian argument holds that societies should pursue the greatest good for the greatest number. This argument has a number of problems, including, especially, that it seems to be consistent with the idea of the tyranny of majorities over minorities. The intuitionist argument holds that humans intuit what is right or wrong by some innate moral sense. This is also problematic because it simply explains away justice by saying that people "know it when they see it," and it fails to deal with the many conflicting human intuitions.

Rawls attempts to establish a reasoned account of social justice through the social contract approach. This approach holds that a society is in some sense an agreement among all those within that society. If a society were an agreement, Rawls asks, what kind of arrangement would everyone agree to? He states that the contract is a purely hypothetical one: He does not argue that people had existed outside the social state or had made agreements to establish a particular type of society.

Rawls begins his work with the idea of justice as fairness. He identifies the basic structure of society as the primary subject of justice and identifies justice as the first virtue of social institutions.

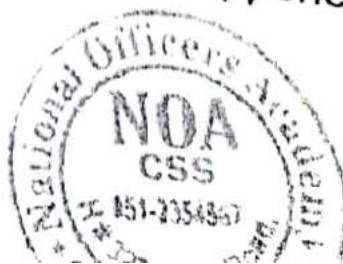




He considers justice a matter of the organization and internal divisions of a society. The main idea of a theory of justice asks, What kind of organization of society would rational persons choose if they were in an initial position of independence and equality and were setting up a system of cooperation? This is what Rawls sees as a hypothetical original position: the state in which no one knows what place he or she would occupy in the society to be created.

After considering the main characteristics of justice as fairness and the theoretical superiority of this approach to utilitarianism, intuitionism, or other perspectives, Rawls looks at the principles of justice. He identifies two principles: One, that each person should have equal rights to the most extensive liberties consistent with other people enjoying the same liberties; and two, that inequalities should be arranged so that they would be to everyone's advantage and arranged so that no one person would be blocked from occupying any position. From these two principles Rawls derives an egalitarian conception of justice that would allow the inequality of conditions implied by equality of opportunity but would also give more attention to those born with fewer assets and into less favorable social positions.

Rawls concludes the first part of his book by looking at the idea of the original position outside society. This hypothetical original position can be approximated by using the thought experiment of the veil of ignorance. If no one could know what place he or she would occupy in the society being formed, what arrangement of the society would a rational person choose? Rawls maintains that the choice would be for a social structure that would best benefit the unknowing chooser if she or he happened to end up in the least desirable position.



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In the second part of the work, Rawls considers the implications of his view of justice for social institutions. He discusses in detail equal liberty, economic distribution, and duties and obligations as well as the main characteristics of each that would make up a just society. He does not, however, identify any particular type of social or political system that would be consistent with his theory. He deals only with the demands that his version of justice places on institutions.

In the third and final section, Rawls deals with ends or ultimate goals of thinking about social justice. He argues for the need to have a theory of goodness, and he makes a case for seeing goodness as rationality. Then, he turns to moral psychology and considers how people acquire a sentiment of justice. Finally, he examines the good of justice, or how justice is connected to goodness. Rawls argues that in a well-ordered society, ideas of goodness and justice must be consistent with each other.

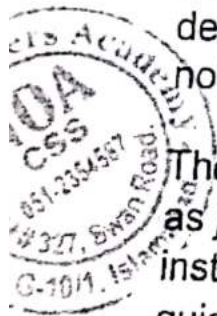


A Theory of Justice is widely recognized as an essential contribution to thought about the nature of justice. However, even supporters of Rawls acknowledge that his work raises many questions. One of the earliest major responses to the book came from his Harvard colleague, philosopher Robert Nozick. In *Anarchy, State, and Utopia* (1974) Nozick offers a libertarian response to Rawls. The assumptions behind *A Theory of Justice* are essentially redistributive: That is, Rawls posits equal distribution of resources as the desirable state and then argues that inequality can be justified only by benefits for the least advantaged. Nozick points out that resources are produced by people and that people have rights to the things they produce. Thus, attempts to improve the condition of the least advantaged through redistribution are unjust because they make some people

work involuntarily for others and deprive people of the goods and opportunities they have created through time and effort.

Other critics have focused on the idea of the original state and the veil of ignorance used as a thought experiment to approximate the original state. The claim that rational individuals behind a veil of ignorance would choose the greatest possible equality has been challenged as arbitrary and unverifiable. Rational individuals might well choose a social structure with large rewards for the majority of people and small rewards for the minority on the grounds that one is more likely to end up as part of a majority than a minority. Moreover, the veil of ignorance of where one will be in a society also takes away all knowledge of what one will do. Legal justice is generally considered a matter of appropriate responses to actions: In the version offered by Rawls, justice is detached from anything that anyone has done and thus may have nothing to do with any idea of what people deserve.

The reluctance of Rawls to identify any particular type of society as just, especially in the second part of the book dealing with institutions, may leave Rawls open to the charge that he offers no guidance for the actual content of justice. For example, proponents of a highly unequal and competitive market economy may argue that the abundance of wealth produced by their preferred system contributes to the absolute standard of living of the poorest people in society. On the other hand, advocates of a highly redistributionist economy can maintain that radical redistribution of wealth will provide the greatest support for the poorest. Because no one can know—behind a veil of ignorance—which system would lead to the best possible lives for the poor, there can be no way of deciding what kind of society should be preferred.





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The fundamental idea that justice is a matter of the basic structure of society is also open to question. To say that the basic structure of society can be made just or fair is to say that it can be designed both hypothetically and actually. Some social thinkers argue that societies are not designed per se; they are produced through history and by complex webs of interaction among individuals and institutions. From this perspective, justice is a characteristic of specific acts or processes within social systems, such as legal actions or political mechanisms, and it is misleading to extend the concept of justice to a society as a whole.

Supporters of Rawls often look to revise parts of his argument, while opponents suggest alternatives. Still, most political thinkers acknowledge that *A Theory of Justice* introduced a new conceptual basis for debates about the core principles of social policy and action.

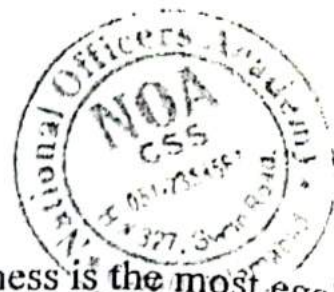


Justice as fairness John Rawls

4. Justice as Fairness: Justice within a Liberal Society

Justice as fairness is Rawls's theory of justice for a liberal society. As a member of the family of liberal political conceptions of justice it provides a framework for the legitimate use of political power. Yet legitimacy is only the minimal standard of political acceptability; a political order can be legitimate without being just. Justice is the maximal moral standard: the full description of how a society's main institutions should be ordered.

Rawls constructs justice as fairness around specific interpretations of the defining liberal ideas that citizens are free and equal and that society



should be fair. He holds that justice as fairness is the most egalitarian, and also the most plausible, interpretation of liberalism's fundamental concepts.

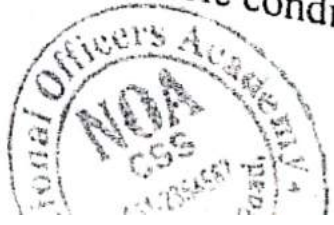
Rawls sees justice as fairness as answering to the demands of both freedom and equality, a challenge posed by the socialist critique of liberal democracy and by the conservative critique of the modern welfare state. Justice as fairness sets out a version of social contract theory that Rawls believes provides a superior understanding of justice to that of the dominant tradition in political philosophy: utilitarianism.

4.1 The Basic Structure of Society

Justice as fairness aims to describe a just arrangement of the major political and social institutions of a liberal society: the political constitution, the legal system, the economy, the family, and so on. The arrangement of these institutions is a society's *basic structure*. The basic structure is the location of justice because these institutions distribute the main benefits and burdens of social life, for example who will receive social recognition, who will have which basic rights, who will have opportunities to get what kind of work, what the distribution of income and wealth will be, and so on.

The form of a society's basic structure will have profound effects on the lives of citizens, influencing not only their prospects but more deeply their goals, their attitudes, their relationships, and their characters. Institutions that have such pervasive influence on people's lives require justification. Since leaving one's society is not a realistic option for most people, one cannot say that citizens have consented to the arrangement of their institutions by staying in the country. And since the rules of any basic structure will be coercively enforced, often with serious penalties, the demand to justify the imposition of any particular set of rules intensifies further.

In setting out justice as fairness Rawls assumes that the liberal society in question is marked by reasonable pluralism as described above, and also that it is under reasonably favorable conditions: that there are enough





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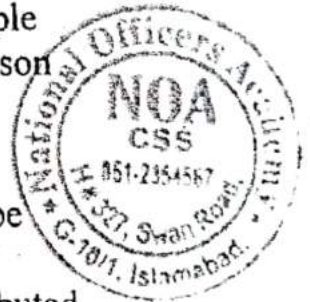
resources for it to be possible for everyone's basic needs to be met. Rawls makes the simplifying assumption that the society is self-sufficient and closed, so that citizens enter it only by birth and leave it only at death. He confines his attention mainly to ideal theory, prescinding from questions such as those of criminal justice.

4.2 Two Guiding Ideas of Justice as Fairness

Social cooperation in some form is necessary for citizens to be able to lead a decent life. Yet citizens are not indifferent to how the benefits and burdens of cooperation will be divided amongst them. Rawls's principles of justice as fairness embody the central liberal ideas that cooperation should be fair to all citizens regarded as free and equal. The distinctive interpretation that Rawls gives to these concepts can be seen in broad terms as a combination of a negative and a positive thesis.

Rawls's negative thesis is that citizens do not deserve to be born into a rich or a poor family, to be born naturally more or less gifted than others, to be born female or male, to be born a member of a particular racial group, and so on. Since these features of persons are in this sense morally arbitrary, citizens are not at the deepest level entitled to more or less of the benefits of social cooperation because of them. For example the fact that a citizen was born rich, white, and male provides no reason in itself for this citizen to be either favored or disfavored by social institutions.

This negative thesis does not in itself say how social goods should be distributed; it merely clears the decks. Rawls's positive distributive thesis is equality-based reciprocity. All social goods are to be distributed equally, unless an unequal distribution would be to everyone's advantage. The guiding idea is that since citizens are fundamentally equal, reasoning about justice should begin from a presumption that all cooperatively-produced goods should be equally divided. Justice then requires that any inequalities must benefit all citizens, and particularly must benefit those who will have the least. Equality sets the baseline; from there any inequalities must improve everyone's situation, and especially the situation of the worst-off. These strong requirements of



equality and reciprocal advantage are hallmarks of Rawls's theory of justice.

4.3 The Two Principles of Justice as Fairness

These guiding ideas of justice as fairness are expressed in its two principles of justice:

First Principle: Each person has the same inalienable claim to a fully adequate scheme of equal basic liberties, which scheme is compatible with the same scheme of liberties for all;

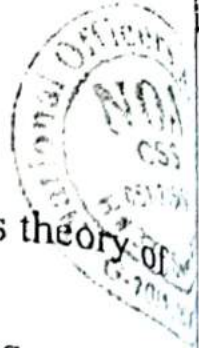
Second Principle: Social and economic inequalities are to satisfy two conditions:

- a. They are to be attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of *fair equality of opportunity*;
- b. They are to be to the greatest benefit of the least-advantaged members of society (the *difference principle*). (JF, 42–43)

The first principle of equal basic liberties is to be used for designing the political constitution, while the second principle applies primarily to economic institutions. Fulfillment of the first principle takes priority over fulfillment of the second principle, and within the second principle fair equality of opportunity takes priority over the difference principle.

The first principle affirms for all citizens familiar basic rights and liberties: liberty of conscience and freedom of association, freedom of speech and liberty of the person, the rights to vote, to hold public office, to be treated in accordance with the rule of law, and so on. The principle ascribes these rights and liberties to all citizens equally. Unequal rights would not benefit those who would get a lesser share of rights, so justice requires equal rights for all in all normal circumstances.

Rawls's first principle accords with widespread convictions about the importance of equal basic rights and liberties. Two further features make this first principle distinctive. First is its priority: the basic rights and liberties must not be traded off against other social goods. The first



inequalities can produce a greater total product: higher wages can cover the costs of training and education, for example, and can provide incentives to fill jobs that are more in demand. The difference principle requires that social institutions be arranged so that any inequalities of wealth and income work to the advantage of those who will be worst off. The difference principle requires, that is, that financial inequalities be to everyone's advantage, and specifically to the greatest advantage of those advantaged least.

Consider four hypothetical economic structures A-D, and the lifetime-average levels of income these would produce for representative members of three different groups:

Economy	Least-Advantaged Group	Middle Group	Most-Advantaged Group
A	10,000	10,000	10,000
B	12,000	30,000	80,000
C	30,000	90,000	150,000
D	20,000	100,000	500,000

Here the difference principle selects Economy C, because it contains the distribution where the least-advantaged group does best. Inequalities in C are to everyone's advantage relative to an equal division (Economy A), and relative to a more equal division (Economy B). But the difference principle does not allow the rich to get richer at the expense of the poor (Economy D). The difference principle embodies equality-based reciprocity: from an egalitarian baseline it requires inequalities that are good for all, and particularly for the worst-off.

The difference principle gives expression to the idea that natural endowments are undeserved. A citizen does not merit more of the social product simply because she was lucky enough to be born with gifts that are in great demand. Yet this does not mean that everyone must get the same shares. The fact that citizens have different talents and abilities can be used to make everyone better off. In a society governed by the



difference principle citizens regard the distribution of natural endowments as an asset that can benefit all. Those better endowed are welcome to use their gifts to make themselves better off, so long as their doing so also contributes to the good of those less well endowed. "In justice as fairness," Rawls says, "men agree to share one another's fate." (TJ, 102)

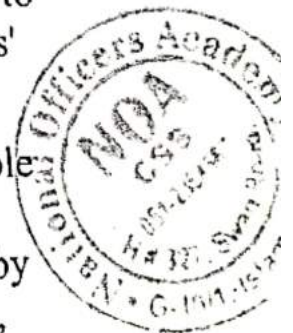
4.4 The Conception of Citizens

Having surveyed Rawls's two principles of justice as fairness, we can return to Rawls's interpretations of the liberal ideas that citizens are free and equal and that society should be fair. Rawls uses his conceptions of citizens and society to build his official argument for his two principles: the argument from the original position.

Rawls's interpretation of the idea that citizens are free is as follows. Citizens are free in that each sees himself as being entitled to make claims on social institutions in his own right—citizens are not slaves or serfs, dependent for their social status on others. Citizens are also free in that they see their public identities as uncoupled from any particular comprehensive doctrine: a citizen who converts to Islam, or recants his faith, will expect, for example, to retain his political rights and liberties throughout the transition. Finally citizens are free in being able to take responsibility for planning their own lives, given the opportunities and resources that they can reasonably expect.

Citizens are equal, Rawls says, in virtue of having the capacities to participate in social cooperation over a complete life. Citizens may have greater or lesser skills, talents, and powers "above the line" required to cooperate, but differences above this line have no bearing on citizens' underlying equal status.

Rawlsian citizens are not only free and equal, they are also reasonable and rational. The idea that citizens are reasonable is familiar from political liberalism. Reasonable citizens have the capacity to abide by fair terms of cooperation, even at the expense of their own interests, provided that others are also willing to do so. In justice as fairness Rawls



calls this reasonableness the capacity for a *sense of justice*. Citizens are also conceived as rational: they have the capacity to pursue and revise their own view of what is valuable in human life. Rawls calls this the capacity for a *conception of the good*. Together these underlying capacities are the *two moral powers*.

Like every theory of justice (for example those of Locke, Rousseau and Mill), justice as fairness requires an account of citizens' fundamental interests: what citizens need qua citizens. Rawls derives his account of *primary goods* from the conception of the citizen as free and equal, reasonable and rational. Primary goods are essential for developing and exercising the two moral powers, and useful for pursuing a wide range of specific conceptions of the good life. Primary goods are:

- The basic rights and liberties;
- Freedom of movement, and free choice among a wide range of occupations;
- The powers of offices and positions of responsibility;
- Income and wealth;
- The social bases of self-respect: the recognition by social institutions that gives citizens a sense of self-worth and the confidence to carry out their plans. (JF, 58–59)

All citizens are assumed to have fundamental interests in getting more of these primary goods, and political institutions are to evaluate how well citizens are doing according to what primary goods they have. It is equality and inequality of primary goods that, Rawls claims, are of the greatest political importance.

4.5 The Conception of Society

Rawls's conception of society is defined by fairness: social institutions are to be fair to all cooperating members of society, regardless of their race, gender, religion, class of origin, reasonable conception of the good life, and so on.



Rawls also emphasizes *publicity* as an aspect of fairness. In what he calls a *well-ordered society* the principles that order the basic structure are publicly known to do so, and the justifications for these principles are knowable by and acceptable to all reasonable citizens. The idea behind publicity is that since the principles for the basic structure will be coercively enforced, they should stand up to public scrutiny. The publicity condition requires that a society's operative principles of justice be neither esoteric nor ideological screens for deeper power relations: that in "public political life, nothing need be hidden." (PL, 68)

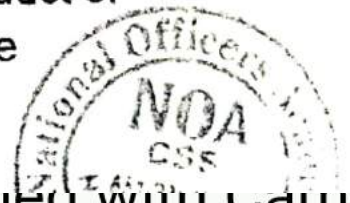




Francis Fukuyama

In 1989, a year that saw the fall of the Berlin Wall and other events signifying the end of the Cold War, Francis Fukuyama published a sixteen-page article titled, "The End of History?" in *The National Interest*, a journal with a circulation of about six thousand. Surprisingly, he and his article quickly became widely known and very controversial. Policymakers and politicians both within the United States and elsewhere debated his assertion. University academics and ordinary readers of popular news magazines discussed the question Fukuyama asked. *The End of History and the Last Man* is both a response to his many critics and an elaboration of the ideas found in his original article. Arguing that the end of the Cold War and the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe left the West in sole command of the political and economic landscape, Fukuyama claims that liberal democracy and capitalism have triumphed, that there are no alternatives or remaining ideological challengers, and that history, defined as the evolving competition between political, social, and economic ideologies, has come to an end.

He begins his argument with the ideas of two nineteenth century historical philosophers, Georg Wilhelm Hegel and Karl Marx, both products of the Enlightenment. They agreed that universal history was directional and purposeful and that recent history evolved from, or was a reaction to, earlier stages of human society. For Marx, the end of history was to be the victory of pure communism, which would consequently see the withering away of institutions, such as the state and governments, that had been the product of and the means by which the economic haves controlled the



economic have-nots. Hegel saw the final synthesis of history as the development of the liberal state, and Fukuyama argues that it was Hegel, and not Marx, who had the accurate vision of human historical development.

There are a number of factors that led to the victory of liberal democratic capitalism. The scientific method and the Industrial Revolution are crucial among these. With modern science, history could no longer be either merely random or cyclical. Now it could only be, Fukuyama claims, cumulative and directional. The economic system that best responds to the scientific and industrial implications of history's evolving direction is free-market capitalism. Fukuyama argues that the history of the twentieth century proves the triumphant efficiency of capitalism over socialism or communism as economic systems. Only capitalism can provide the greatest economic satisfaction to the greatest number.

Democracy is succeeding, and will be the endpoint of political evolution, because it is the only governmental system that enjoys long-term legitimacy from the governed (and therefore has a reserve of goodwill to carry it through temporary crises). Other governments, in particular "strong states" such as interim dictatorships, absolute monarchies, and Communist totalitarianism, have not been able to muster legitimacy:

Right-wing dictatorships (e.g. Latin America) tried unsuccessfully to control civil society and existing institutions, often justifying their existence by the need to restore order, stability, economic discipline/growth, etc. after a coup or other turbulence. But if they fail, they lose legitimacy, and if they succeed, they can no longer justify their own existence and are either more easily



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overthrown or deteriorate from the inside because of demoralization among the ruling elite.



Left-wing totalitarianism (e.g. former USSR, China) attempted to *replace* social institutions with a complete ideology, an ambitious agenda whose justification was the promise of an increased material standard of living. They have manifestly failed to provide the latter: Eastern Europe was left behind by Western Europe, and no less significantly, China was left behind by the emerging Asian capitalist powers. Tiananmen openly called into question the perceived legitimacy of the Chinese government. Cuba and Guyana remain the only Latin American countries that do not have some semblance of free elections.

Ideologies such as Nazism and Fascism, based on ethnic/racial superiority, failed because the premise was superiority through military domination, which they failed to achieve (and had they succeeded, would have self-destructed because the means for justifying themselves was no longer an issue). Similarly, Apartheid failed in part because its laws based on the exploitation of black labor contradicted fundamental economic laws (e.g. "pass laws" forbidding blacks to live near their places of employment).

The only remaining alternative, and in fact the only form that has survived intact to the end of the twentieth century, is *liberal democracy*. *Liberal* systems protect the rights of individuals and the minority, including political, religious, and economic (the last of which leads directly to free-market economies); *democratic* ones assure each citizen of a voice in the political process.





Criticism

Today, it's hard to imagine Fukuyama being more wrong. History isn't over and neither liberalism nor democracy is ascendant. The comfy Western consensus he inspired is under threat in ways he never predicted. A new Cold War has broken out. China's "Marxist capitalism" suggests you can have wealth without freedom. Some critics have cited 9/11 as a major counterexample. After 9/11 Fareed Zakrya wrote that this was the end of "the end of history". Others have pointed to the rise of Islamic fundamentalism and the Arab spring as proof that ideological contests remain.

Some criticized Fukuyama personally and said that he was a neocon. He followed his mentor Paul Wolfowitz into the Reagan administration. He showed his true political colours when he wrote that "the class issue has actually been successfully resolved in the west ... the egalitarianism of modern America represents the essential achievement of the classless society envisioned by Marx." This was a highly tendentious claim even in 1989.

His reply to criticism:

He wrote recently an article named "At the 'End of History' Still Stands Democracy" in which he accepted that the year 2014 feels very different from 1989. He wrote: "I also now understand many things



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about the nature of political development that I saw less clearly during the heady days of 1989.

Russia is resurging and seeking to bully its neighbors and take back territories lost when the Soviet Union dissolved in 1991. China remains authoritarian but now has the second-largest economy in the world, as well as its own territorial ambitions in the South and East China Seas. He argued that the problem in today's world isn't just that authoritarian powers are on the move but that many existing democracies aren't doing well either. Take Thailand, whose frayed political fabric gave way to a military coup, or Bangladesh, whose system remains in thrall to two corrupt political machines. Many countries that seemed to have made successful democratic transitions—Turkey, Sri Lanka, Nicaragua—have been backsliding into authoritarian practices. Others, including recent additions to the European Union like Romania and Bulgaria, are still plagued by corruption.

However, he believes that democracy and liberalism are on the move. He wrote that in 1974 there were only 35 electoral democracies, by 2013 this number extended to 165 states. Even in communist countries such as China and Vietnam, market rules and competition dominate. He argued that the only system out there that would appear to be at all competitive with liberal democracy is the so-called "China model," which mixes authoritarian government with a partially market-based economy and a high level of technocratic and technological competence. Yet if asked to bet whether, 50 years from now, the U.S. and Europe would look more like China politically or vice versa, one would pick the latter without hesitation. There are many reasons to think that the China model isn't sustainable. The middle class



of China is growing very fast and the day is not far when the people would demand their say in governmental affairs. He wrote that some people look towards Islamic khilafat as a challenge for democracy. However, the fact of the matter is that majority population of islamic world themselves do not support the system of khilafat.

He opined that my end-of-history hypothesis was never intended to be deterministic or a simple prediction of liberal democracy's inevitable triumph around the world. Democracies survive and succeed only because people are willing to fight for the rule of law, human rights and political accountability. Such societies depend on leadership, organizational ability and sheer good luck.



Sartre's Existentialism

Existentialism



I. Absolute Individuality and Absolute Freedom.

The Existentialist conceptions of freedom and value arise from their view of the individual. Since we are all ultimately alone, isolated islands of subjectivity in an objective world, we have absolute freedom over our internal nature, and the source of our value can only be internal.

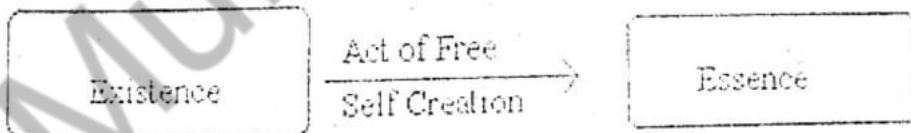
II. The Existentialist View of Human Nature.

Existentialism is defined by the slogan Existence precedes Essence. This means:

1. We have no predetermined nature or essence that controls what we are, what we do, or what is valuable for us.
2. We are radically free to act independently of determination by outside influences.
3. We create our own human nature through these free choices.
4. We also create our values through these choices.

The Existentialist View (We create our own nature.): We are thrown into existence first without a predetermined nature and only later do we construct our nature or essence through our actions.

EXISTENCE PRECEDES ESSENCE

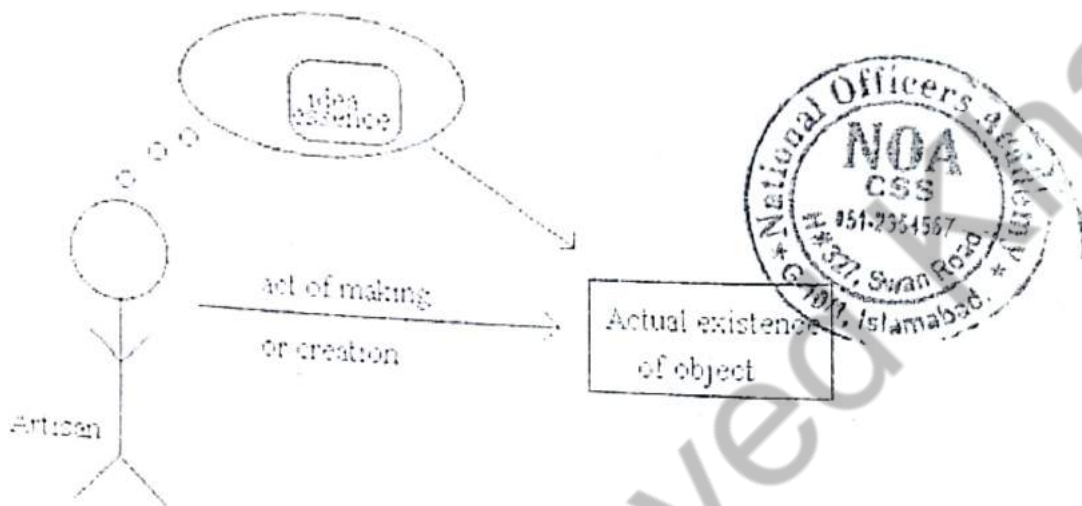


This slogan is opposed to the traditional view that Essence precedes Existence, according to which we are seen as having a given nature that determines what we are and what our ultimate purpose or value is. We are

understood by analogy to artifacts which are made with a pre-existing idea or concept of what they will be and what they will be good for.

The Traditional View (which Sartre argues against):

ESSENCE PRECEDES EXISTENCE



The human situation for the Existentialist is thus characterized by:

1. Facticity (thrownness): We find ourselves existing in a world not of our own making and indifferent to our concerns. We are not the source of our existence, but find ourselves thrown into a world we don't control and didn't choose.
2. Anxiety: We are faced with the lack of any external source of value and determination. We are faced with the responsibility of choosing our own nature and values, and, in doing so, we are faced we must face the awesome responsibility of choosing human nature and values for all men in our free choices.
3. Despair: In seeing the contrast between the world we re thrown into and which we cannot control and the absolute freedom we have to create ourselves, we must despair of any hope of external value or determination and restrict ourselves to what is under our own control.



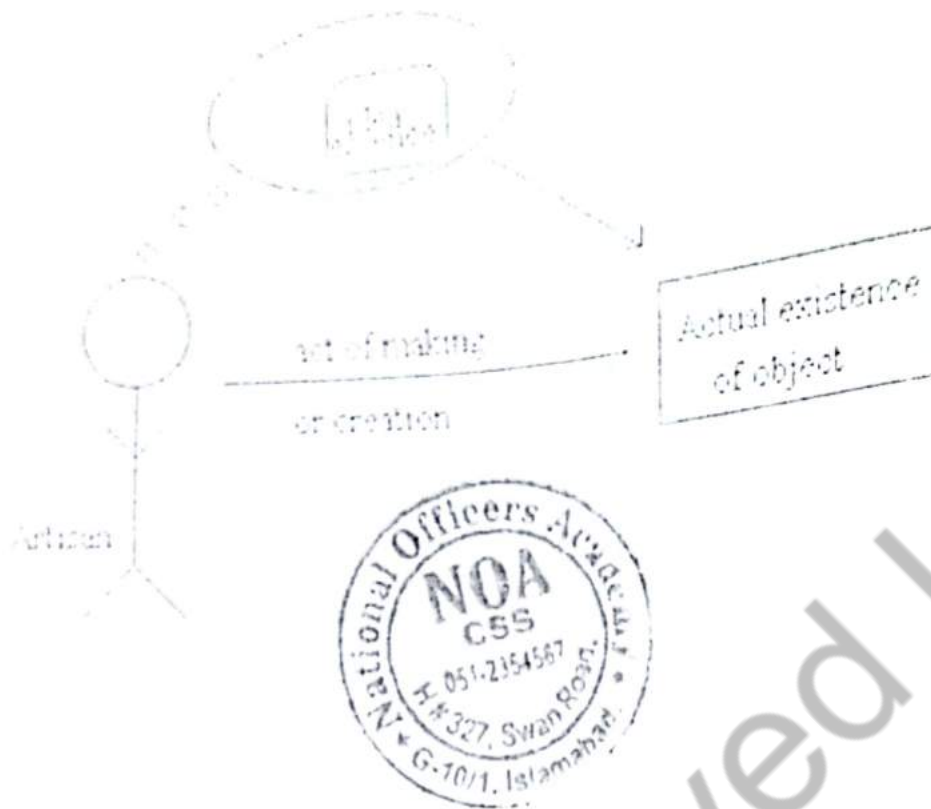


II. The Existentialist View of Human Freedom.

What view of human nature can emerge from this view of the individual? One such view is the view of human nature identified with the name Existentialism. Sartre says that what all existentialists, both atheistic and christian, share in common "... is that they think that existence precedes essence, or, if you prefer, that subjectivity must be the starting point." (EHE, p. 13) Sartre explains what this means by contrasting it with the opposite slogan: ESSENCE PRECEDES EXISTENCE. He uses the example of a paper-cutter to explain how the old view treated human beings as artifacts, whose nature is tied to a preconceived essence and to a project outside of them, rather than as absolute individuals. He says in Existentialism and Human Emotions:

Let us consider some object that is manufactured, for example, a book or a paper-cutter: here is an object which has been made by an artisan whose inspiration came from a concept. He referred to the concept of what a paper-cutter is ... Thus, the paper-cutter is at once an object produced in a certain way and, on the other hand, one having a specific use ... Therefore, let us say that, for the paper-cutter, essence ... precedes existence. (EHE, pp. 13-14)



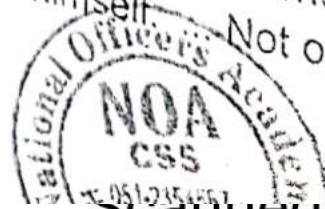


Of course, the artisan in our case is God. Sartre continues:

When we conceive of God as the Creator, He is generally thought of as a superior sort of artisan. ... Thus the concept of man in the mind of God is comparable to the concept of the paper-cutter in the mind of the manufacturer... Thus, the individual man is the realization of a certain concept in the divine intelligence. (EHE, p. 14)

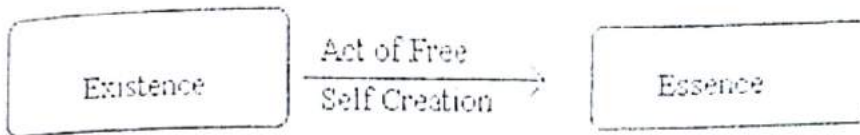
On this view, the one Sartre is attacking, we get our nature from outside of us, from a being who created us with a preconceived idea of what we were to be and what we were to be good for. Our happiness and our fulfillment consist in our living up to the external standards that God had in mind in creating us. Both our nature and our value come from outside of us.

According to the existentialist, however, EXISTENCE PRECEDES ESSENCE. Sartre explains: What is meant here by saying that existence precedes essence? It means that first of all, man exists, turns up, appears on the scene, and, only afterwards, defines himself. Not only is man



what he conceives himself to be, but he is also only what he wills himself to be after this thrust toward existence.

Man is nothing else but what he makes of himself. (EHE, p. 15)



Thus, there is no human nature which provides us with an external source of determination and value. Sartre says:

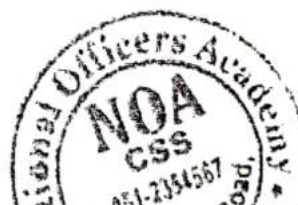
If existence really does precede essence, there is no explaining things away by reference to a fixed and given human nature. In other words, there is no determinism, man is free, man is freedom.


Nothing outside of us can determine what we are and what we are good for; we must do it ourselves, from the inside. What we will be and what will be good for us is a radically individual matter. If we are radical individuals, there is no place else for our nature and value to come from, except from within us. It is this view of human nature, or the lack thereof, from which the existentialist conceptions of freedom and value flow.

We all tend to act in what Sartre calls 'bad faith'. We attempt to deceive ourselves and act as if we weren't free, as if we were really determined by our nature, our body, or the expectations of other people.

IV. The Ethics of Absolute Freedom.

How ought we act towards other people? If the source of our value and nature is wholly internal, what obligations can I have to other humans? Can I freely and authentically choose to kill my mother, as Orestes does? Can I choose to be a murderer, a thief, or an exploiter of humanity?





(1) First, in choosing our own human nature; according to Sartre, we choose human nature for all humans. Hence, we must choose courses of action that we would wish all humans to take. In choosing for ourselves, we choose for all men. This must be the case because, in order to act freely, I cannot allow myself to be affected by my peculiar circumstances, desires, or goals. To be free, then, I must follow the golden rule and act only as I would have others act.

(2) Sartre also argues that in order to be free, we must desire the freedom of all men. It is self-defeating to attempt to use other humans as objects to satisfy our desires, or to protect our freedom at the cost of enslaving others. If I attempt to enslave others or use them as objects, I make myself a slave and an object. The person who attempts to dominate other people finds himself a slave to his dependence on the attention and approval of the people he tries to enslave.

(3) Third, the free decisions that we make are not merely arbitrary. As we saw earlier, freedom does not mean just being able to do anything. The artist is free to create; she does not follow any explicit rules. Yet her action is constrained by the requirement that her creation must be coherent. In order to be her creation, she must pull the various disparate elements that go into the painting into one unified whole. Her freedom is a freedom of synthesis constrained by the material she has to work with and the requirement that she make some one unified thing out of it. In the same way, our actions must unify the many different influences on our lives into the one life that is to be ours. In pulling ourselves together, we cannot ignore the relationships and obligations that provide the raw materials of our lives. We must weave them into our lives, although how we will do this is up to us. Our actions, though free, are constrained by our situation in a community.

The ethics of absolute freedom, it would seem, are not absolutely free. To be free we must take on the responsibility of choosing for all men and we must desire and work for the freedom of all men.



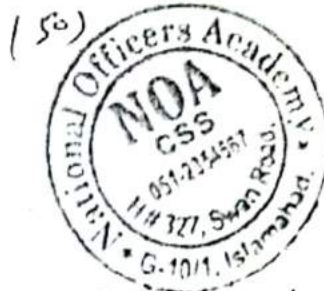
Capitalism

Introduction to Capitalist Economy

- A capitalist economy is an economic system in which the production and distribution of commodities take place through the mechanism of free markets. Hence it is also called as market economy or free trade economy.
- Each individual be it a producer, consumer or resource owner has considerable economic freedom.
- An individual has the freedom to buy and sell any number of goods and services and to choose any occupation. Thus a market economy has no central coordinator guiding its operation. But self-organization emerges amidst the functioning of market forces namely supply, demand and price.

The salient features of capitalism

- **Right to Private Property:** Individuals have the right to buy and own property. There is no limit and they can own any amount of property. They also have legal rights to use their property in any way they like.
- **Profit-Motive:** Profit is the only motive for the functioning of capitalism. Production decisions involving high risks are taken by individual only to earn large profits. Hence, profit-motive is the basic force that drives the capitalist economy.
- **Freedom of Choice:** The question 'what to produce?' will be determined by the producers. They have the freedom to decide. The factors of production can also be employed anywhere freely to get due prices for their services. Similarly consumers have the freedom to buy anything they want.
- **Market Forces:** Market forces like demand, supply and price are the signals to direct the system. Most of the economic activities are centered on price mechanism. Production, consumption and distribution questions are expected to be solved by market forces
- **Minimal role of Government:** As most of the basic economic problems are expected to be solved by market forces, the government has minimal role in the economy. Their role will be limited to some important



functions. They include regulation of market, defence, foreign policy, currency, etc.

Merits of Capitalist Economy

- **Increase in productivity:** In a capitalist economy every farmer, trader or industrialist can hold property and use it in any way he likes. He increases the productivity to meet his own self-interest. This in turn leads to increase in income, saving and investment.
- **Maximizes the Welfare:** It is claimed that there is efficiency in production and resource use without any plan. The self-interest of individual also promotes society's welfare.
- **Flexible System:** The shortages and surpluses in the economy are generally adjusted by the forces of demand and supply. Thus it operates automatically through the price mechanism.
- **Non-interference of the State:** The State has a minimum role to play. There is no conflict between the individual interest and the society. The economic institutions function automatically preventing the interference of the government.
- **Low cost and qualitative products:** The consumers and producers have full freedom and therefore it leads to production of quality products at low costs and prices.
- **Technological improvement:** The element of competition under capitalism drives the producers to innovate something new to boost the sales and thereby bring about progress.

Disadvantages of Capitalist Economy

- **Inequalities:** Capitalism creates extreme inequalities in income and wealth. The producers, landlords, traders reap huge profits and accumulate wealth. Thus the rich become richer and the poor poorer. The poor with limited means are unable to compete with the rich. Thus capitalism widens the gap between the rich and the poor creating inequality.
- **Leads to Monopoly:** Inequality leads to monopoly. Mega corporate units replace smaller units of production. Firms combine to form cartels, trusts and in this process bring about reduction in number of firms engaged in production. They ultimately emerge as multinational corporations (MNCs)



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or transnational corporations (TNCs). They often hike prices against the welfare of consumer.

- **Depression:** There is over-production of goods due to heavy competition. The rich exploit the poor. The poor are not able to take advantage of the production and hence are exploited. At another level, over-production leads to glut in the market and hence depression. This leads to economic instabilities.
- **Mechanisation and Automation:** Capitalism encourages mechanization and automation. This will result in unemployment particularly in labour surplus economies.
- **Welfare ignored:** Under capitalism, private enterprises produce luxury goods which give higher profits and ignore the basic goods required which give less profit. Thus the welfare of public is ignored.
- **Exploitation of Labour:** Stringent labour laws are enacted for the exclusive profit-motive of capitalists. Fire and hire policy will become the order of the day. Such laws also help to exploit the labour by keeping their wage rate at its lowest minimum.
- **Basic social needs are ignored:**—There are many basic social sectors like literacy, public health, poverty, drinking water, social welfare, and social security. As the profit margin in these sectors is low, capitalists will not invest. Hence most of these vital human issues will be ignored in a capitalist system.



Communism, Socialism and Marxism



Karl Marx, writing with Friedrich Engels, developed a theory of social and economic principles and a sharp critique of the capitalist form of government in the mid-1800s. Marx believed that workers, under the capitalist system of government, sold their labor and that this labor became a commodity. This commodity, or "labor power" translated into surplus value for the capitalist, but not for the worker. Marx concluded that this created an inherent conflict between the working class (proletariat) and the ownership class (the bourgeoisie). Because capitalism has this "built in" inequality, Marx argued that the working class would eventually take power over the ruling class, reconstructing society. This reconstruction would take place in stages. The next stage after capitalism, according to Marx, would be a socialist form of government.

The Economics of Socialism

Socialism advocates public ownership of property and natural resources rather than private ownership. The socialist system of government values cooperation over the competitiveness of a free market economy. Socialists believe that all people in society contribute to the production of goods and services and that those goods should be shared equally. This differs from the capitalist system in which individual efforts trump the collective and the free market determines the distribution of goods. Examples of socialist policies include a living wage, free higher education and universal health care. Advocates of socialism believe that capitalism creates vast inequality and that it ultimately leads to imperialism, a hyper-form of capitalism.

Communism: The Last Stage

The communist doctrine differs from the socialist worldview because communism calls not only for public ownership of property and natural resources, but also for the means of production of goods and services. Karl Marx argued that capitalism, with its strict adherence to free market principles, divided people because of competition. He believed communism was the solution. According to Marx, communism would give people a chance to develop into their very best. He concluded that communism was a natural progression from socialism and would occur in two stages. First, the working class would gain control of society and push the ownership class out. Second, society would evolve into a classless one without government. According to Britannica.com, Marx and Friedrich Engels defined communists in their "Communist Manifesto" as, "The most

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advanced and resolute section of the working class which parties every country, that section which pushes forward all others."

Marxism, Socialism and Communism Throughout the World
Many countries have adopted various forms of Marxism, socialism and communism. The former Soviet Union is the most famous example of a communist system of government, lasting from 1922 to 1991. The People's Republic of China has a communist government, although, China has developed a more mixed market economy with private ownership and state ownership of entities such as media. European countries like France, Italy and England have mixed economies with free market and socialist policies such as universal health care and free collegiate education. The United States, a capitalist mixed economy, has examples of socialist policies such as public schools, libraries and health care support in the form of Medicaid and Medicare for low income people and senior citizens.



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MUSLIM POLITICAL THOUGHT

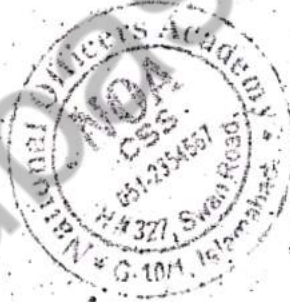
(A History of Pre-Islamic period and Muslim Political Thought from
Mediaeval ages to Modern Time)
Previously titled "SAGES OF THE AGES".

(QUESTION _ ANSWER)



By

MUHAMMAD ASLAM CHAUDHRY,
M.A. (Political Science) (History) D.I.A. (Pb.)



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Q. Write a critical note on the Theory of Imamate as expounded by al-Mawardi.

OR

"The Imamate is established to replace prophecy in the defence of the faith and the administration of the world." Elaborate this statement of Al-Mawardi with reference to his theory of Imamate.

Ans. Al-Mawardi says that Almighty Allah laid down laws in order that issues might be satisfactorily settled and the principles of right, truth and goodness may be widely known. He has also entrusted the control of His creatures to various Governments so that order and peace in the world may be maintained. He goes on to say that Imamate, which literally means leadership, is the foundation on which the rules and regulations of the community depend. Al-Mawardi describes that the real objective of the State is the rule of justice and truth and to bring tranquillity and peace to its inhabitants. He further describes that the real motive of the Imamate is following the straight path and strengthening the political bonds. Naturally, a question crops up that someone be chosen Imam by the consensus of the community for effective administration of the State. Al-Mawardi says that Imamate is not only an institution sanctified by tradition and history but can be proved to be necessary according to pure reason; for wise men entrust their affairs to a leader able to keep them from being molested and to adjudge between them in case of mutual quarrels and squabbles.

These are the salient features of the institution of Imamate:

- (1) The institution of Imamate is necessary as a requirement of the Shariah and not as a requirement of reason. The appointment of an Imam by the consensus of the Muslim community is obligatory. There is a similar passage in al-Baghdadi (*Usul-al-Din*, p. 272), who remarks that this is al-Ashari's opinion and is opposed to the Mutazilite view.
- (2) The Imamate is instituted by means of election. The electoral college shall consist of persons with the special qualifications. The qualifications are:
 - (a) Justice with all the conditions pertaining to it;
 - (b) Knowledge of religion and of the interests and policy of the nation, and
 - (c) Wisdom (*Al-Mawardi*, p. 4)

Also the candidates for the Imamate must fulfil certain

conditions. These conditions are:

- (a) Justice,
- (b) learning,
- (c) integrity of physical senses,
- (d) integrity of physical organs,
- (e) wisdom
- (f) bravery and
- (g) Qurayshite descent (*al-Mawardi*, p. 5)



In this context, Rosenthal elaborates: "The Caliph be physically and mentally fit to discharge his duties as ruler, and he must possess courage and determination to protect the territory of Islam and wage holy war (*Jihad*) against its enemies and against infidels. He must also be a descendant of the Quraish. (*Political Thought in Medieval Islam*).

Ibn Khaldun who elaborates generally on these seven conditions as indicated above, goes into great detail on the question of descent. He traces its origin in the *Ansar*, the companions of the Prophet, who are credited with the *Hadith*, "The Imamate belongs to the Quraish". He cites in support the *Sahih* of Al-Bukhari, one of the authenticated collections of traditions, and discusses at great length the importance of belonging to a strong group animated by *Asabiya*, the corporate sense common to a family, clan or tribe which gives the group staying power and the drive born of a common outlook. The conference of a group is impaired by the weakening of this force to the point where common action finally becomes impossible.

- (3) The election principle of the Imamate quoted above is obviously against the Shi'ite claim of bequeathal or divine nomination. Al-Mawardi, however, omits the case when a debauch and licentious person is elected as Imam. Al-Baghdadi opines that the election will be void and nullified even if it has taken place through a properly constituted electoral college. Al-Mawardi's omission is deliberate, being a concession to the Buwayhids who appointed Caliphs to suit their selfish ends.
- (4) The right of franchise is not enjoyed only by the people in the capital. The Caliph, however, traditionally elected in the capital because the death of the previous Caliph is first known there, and political considerations require the immediate appointment of a new Caliph, and because most of the people possessing the necessary qualifications for the Imamate generally reside there. This principle

was enthusiastically contended* by the Khawarij who believed in complete democracy and universal franchise.

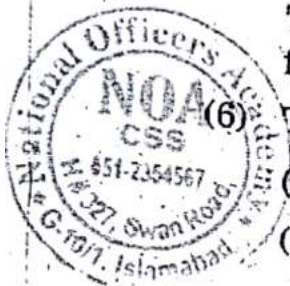
- (5) Among the seven conditions which according to Al-Mawardi must be fulfilled by a candidate, the seventh one, that is, the Qurayshite descent, is very important. Al-Mawardi lays great stress on it and says that if any one raises any objection on the ground that it excludes non-Qurayshites from the Caliphate such an objection would not be considered because it was this Qurayshite descent that was presented by Abu Bakr as an argument for preference in the election of Saqifat Bani Saidah. This flimsy emphasis on the Qurayshite descent is a formidable hit on the claims of Fatimids.

The Imam is appointed in one of the two ways:

- (a) he may be elected by the Electoral college;
 (b) he may be nominated by the ruling Imam.

In the first case some scholars hold that Imam must be elected by all the members of the Electoral college in all the cities; others oppose this view and say that Caliph Abu Bakr was elected by the citizens of Medina. Still others assert that only five persons are sufficient to elect the Imam, as happened in the case of Abu Bakr and Usman. In Al-Mawardi's opinion even one person is enough to elect the Caliph (Al-Mawardi, p. 7). He cites the tradition of Abbas in evidence. 'Abbas said to Ali, "Stretch your hand, I will swear my allegiance to you, and when people come to know that the Prophet's uncle had sworn his allegiance to his nephew nobody would object to your Imamate. This opinion has also been corroborated by Al-Ashari (*Al-Baghdadi*, pp. 275-77).

In this context, Sherwani elaborates: Al-Mawardi bases his arguments by the precedent of the choice of Abu Bakr by election and that of Usman by nomination. Once the new Imam has taken his place he binds himself by an *Ahd* or undertaking promising that he would loyally perform the duties assigned to him; this is followed by the Bai'at or pledge modelled after the pledges of Aqabah, in which the people or their representatives promise to be loyal to the new Imam." (*Muslim Political Thought and Administration*).



Rosenthal also elaborates discussing the difference of opinion as to how the office of the Caliph or *Imam* is obtained and says, "Apart from election a Caliph can be chosen and invested as a result of his designation by the ruling Caliph. This is expressed by the term *ahd*, and the designated successor is styled *Wali'l-ahd*, "heir presumptive." This type of succession is again justified by historical precedent, but this time without spiritual warrant: Al-Mawardi gave two examples from the early period of Islam: Abu Bakr's designation of Omar, accepted by the Muslim *Jamaa* and Uthman's succession to Omar. The second example is strange, since Omar's appointment of six companions (the *ahl al-shura*) who were to consult each other to choose one of their members as his successor is usually claimed to constitute an election, not a designation. These two acts served Al-Mawardi as precedents to legalise the hereditary transfer of the dignity of *Imam* within the Abbasid dynasty, whose interests he promoted. The precedents are valid because they were set by the first two of the four *Khulafa-e-Rashidin* (right guided Caliphs), who are universally acclaimed as shining examples of the Ideal Muslim ruler" (*Political Thought in Medieval Islam*).

(7) Al-Mawardi says that the election of a less qualified person in the presence of a more qualified person is perfectly legal provided the former fulfils all the conditions of the Imamate. It was this principle under which most of the feeble and incapable Caliphs took refuge. It was also directed against the Shiah, who believe that an inferior person cannot have precedent over a superior one. They coined this theory to assert that since Ali and his descendants in the Fatimid line were superior to the rest of mankind any one who assumed the Caliphal power was a mere usurper. This refutation of this dogma was essential to establish the Abbasid claim. But he is not alone in this respect, for this is the agreed opinion of Sunnite jurists and theologians.

(8) Al-Mawardi says that if there is only one suitable candidate for the Imamate, he automatically becomes the Imam, and no election is required. Other jurists and scholars are of the opinion that election must be held if there is only one candidate for it, for otherwise the Imam

cannot acquire legal status. This kind of insistence on election is apparently directed against the Shi'ite theory of divine appointment of Imam.

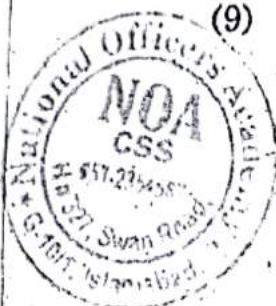
- (9) The existence of two Imams contemporaneously is illegal (Al-Mawardi, p. 11). Al-Ashari opposes this view and says that two Imams at a time are possible if their territories are far-flang and widely separated by an ocean, which hinders easy communication between the two.

But Al-Mawardi insists in his view to rule out the Fatimids and the Umayyads of Spain.

Successions.

- (1) The ruling Imam can nominate his successor. Al-Mawardi holds that there is complete consensus on this point in the Muslim community. The Muslims without any tinge of resentment or cause of rivalry accepted Umar as the next Caliph not on the suggestion of Abu Bakr but in obedience to his order as Caliph. Similarly when Umar appointed a Majlis-Shura to elect for appointment as his successor, it was an order from the Imam and there was no choice for the Muslims to show disagreement to the Caliph's orders (Al-Mawardi, p. 14).
- (2) The Imam can easily nominate any suitable person as his successor, provided he does not happen to be his father or son. "The concurrence of the *Ahl-al-hall* is not necessary." (Al-Mawardi, p. 14). In case Imam nominates his father, no concurrence is required but if he nominates his son, concurrence must be obtained (Al-Mawardi p. 15). Alone, he can nominate any other relation without requiring the concurrence (Al-Mawardi, p. 15).

"According to the majority of jurists, this successor is the legitimate Imam even without the formal consent of the electors prescribed by the *Shar'*, provided always that his investiture is followed by the conclusion of the contract (*ahd*). He may or may not be a son or relative of the reigning Caliph. This is in agreement with pre-Islamic tribal practice among the Arabs. But the history of both Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties shows that sons not necessarily the first born since there is no right of primogeniture in Islam--or kinsmen were invested with the Imamate (Rosenthal: *Political Thought in Medieval*



Islam).

Al-Mawardi fairly discusses the different opinions of the jurists whether or not the Caliph is entitled to designate one of his sons or relations as his successor and whether he acts legally in doing so. This difference of opinion reflects different attitudes to the institution of the Caliphate and to its nature. Those who recognize the absolute authority of the Caliph as head of the Muslim nation naturally concede him the right, in his capacity as ruler, to appoint a successor. Those who do not recognize the authority as absolute, justify their opposition by declaring that family considerations must not weigh with the Caliph, who is bound by law to choose one who fulfils the conditions laid down for the holder of the office of the *Imam*.

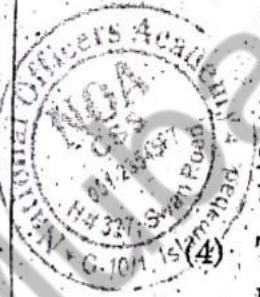
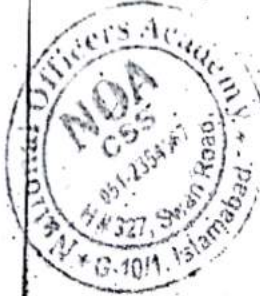
It was this theory of nomination that cut at the very root of democratic ideals in Islamic polity. It has been persistently resorted to by every Muslim ruler after the days of the Pious Caliphate, to perpetuate dynastic and despotic rule among the Muslims. Thus apparently the structure of the Caliphate was maintained by the Umayyads, the Abbasids, the Fatimids, and the Turks, but the spirit of Islamic democracy was buried in the coffin of Hazrat Ali, the last of the Pious Caliphs.

Al-Mawardi's contention that Abu Bakr's nomination of Umar could not be challenged or otherwise declared by the companions, for it was the valid enactment of a valid Imam. One of the earliest and the most reliable authorities on this period i.e Ibn Qutaybah, reports in his *Imamah wal-Siyasah* that when Caliph Abu Bakr was at the last stage of his life, his anxiety prompted him to decide as to who should succeed to the Caliphal authority. After much contemplation he decided to nominate Umar to succeed him. He called Usman to his bedside and dictated to him the need of succession. When the news spread, people flocked to him from every quarter and began to question his choice. Thereupon he said, "If God asked me about this matter, I would tell Him that I appointed over them one whom I considered as the best of them." After this he ordered a general assembly of the people; and when they gathered together, he addressed them and said that he had chosen for them

a person with greater qualities and then said, "If you so desire you may sit together and elect a person whom you like, but if you wish that I should use my discretion in the matter, on your behalf, then I assure you by One other than Whom there is no God, I will spare no pains in doing you the best service". He then stopped and wept and the people wept with him and said, "You are the best and most informed amongst us, so you choose for us". And when the crowd dispersed he called for Umar and gave him the deed of succession and said, "Go to the people and tell them that this is my suggestion, and asked them if they have it and obey it." Umar accordingly took that document and went to the people and addressed them. They all said, "We are all ear and obedience to it." (*Al-Imamah-wal-Siyasah*, pp. 19-23). This testimony of Ibn Qutaybah is most unequivocal and decisive. It completely abrogates al-Mawardi's theory of nomination. It is quite obvious that Abu Bakr did not deprive the people of their democratic right to elect the head of the state freely. He simply advanced his personal opinion and at the instance of the people. The people were at liberty to accept or reject the opinion. There was no political bar in their way, no caliphal decree to prevent the exercise of their right of franchise.

- (3) Al-Mawardi says that the nomination of a person as heir apparent becomes effective only when he declares his consent to it. The Imam cannot withdraw the nomination until there occurs in this heir-apparent some important change which legally invalidates him. So also an Imam cannot be deposed until a similar change occurs in him (*Al-Mawardi*, p. 16). Now these are only logical deductions from the fundamentals of the Shariah only for there are no historical precedents to vouchsafe them.

(4) The Imam can appoint the Electoral college as well as the persons who may contest for the Imamate (*Al-Mawardi*, p. 21). This opinion of Al-Mawardi is based upon the election of Usman which was held by a limited Shura appointed by Umar. Whatever might have been the political considerations before Umar, the derivation of a general principle out of it is certainly most dangerous to sound polity and to the stability of a state. It is a well known fact that most of the members of the Shura who came out unsuccessful in the contest, at once started





plotting against Usman and began to aspire for the Caliphate. (Ibn Qutaybah, p. 41). But apart from this historical fact, if the right of nominating the electorate as well as the candidates is conceded to the Imam, it is bound to make him absolute and despotic. In truth it was this theory that developed into divine right with the Alids and the Abbasids. And apparently it was this theory that throttled the growth of democracy in Islamic polity.

- (5) The Imam can nominate two or more heirs-apparent to succeed him one after the other. The argument has been derived from the battle of Muthah, in which the Prophet appointed Zayd bin Harithah as the Commander of Islamic forces and said that if he fell fighting he was to be succeeded in Command by Jafar bin Ali Talib who was to be succeeded by Abd-Allah bin Rawahah. If Ibn Rawah also fell in the field then the Muslims could choose any one from among themselves as their Commander. Apparently the citation of this incident in support of a fundamental issue like that of the Caliphate is but a fake reasoning (Al-Mawardi, p. 27).

This practice of appointing two or more heirs-apparent proved to be the greatest political evil in Muslim polity. This practice during the reign of Abbasids engendered palace intrigues and induced destructive internecine wars and dynastic feuds.

Designation and Privileges.

1. When a person is duly elected as Imam the people should entrust him all the affairs and must give him unquestioning obedience. The Imam may not consult them in the affairs of state. Yet they must obey him (Al-Mawardi, P. 27). It is the clearest example of despotism and totalitarianism, and it certainly cannot be a principle of Islamic polity, in other words bases of democracy.

The Islamic idea is that the people must take fuller participation in the administration of the state and their opinions for the uplift of the state and betterment of the society must be given due consideration. It was the suppression of this right that exposed the Muslim state to disruption and decay.

2. The Imam may be addressed as the Khalifat Allah, but



the majority of jurists say that this title is forbidden, for no human being can represent God on earth, since man is mortal and imperfect. Hence the Imam may either be called a mere Khalifah or Khalifah Rasul-Allah. Once when Caliph Abu Bakr was addressed as Khalifat Allah he exclaimed, "Do not address me as Khalifat Allah but as the Khalifa Rasul-Allah.

Duties and Factions of the Imam. Al-Mawardi lays down the following ten principal duties to be performed by the Imam:

- (1) To safeguard and defence of the established principles of religion as understood and propounded by the consensus of ancient authorities. If any one innovates an opinion or becomes a sceptic, the Imam should convince him of the real truth and correct him with proper arguments and make him obey the injunctions and prohibitions of the Shariah, so that the people at large may be saved from the evil effects of such heresies.

This is undoubtedly the main duty of the Imam under the Shari'ah. Most unfortunately, under the cover of this pretext, the second civil war of Islam was fought by the Umayyads, the Hashimites, and Zubayrites. When the Abbasids came to power they called themselves the sole defenders of Faith, and crushed every political dissentient in the name of religion, and sent many innocent souls to the gallows to save Islam. The Alids, too, have always stressed that they are the right repositories of Islam and it is only safeguarded by their Imams. When they founded the Fatimid empire and later the Safawid dynasty in Persia, they wiped out their political opponents with cruelty and butchery.

- (2) The dispensation of justice and disposal of all litigations in accordance with the Shari'ah. He should curb the strong from showing harshness to the weak, and encourage the weak to take his due in the teeth of opposition of the strong.
- (3) The maintenance of law and order in the country, to make it possible for the people to lead a peaceful life, and proceed to their economic activities freely, and travel in the land without fear.
- (4) The enforcement of criminal code of Holy Quran to



ensure that the people do not outrage the prohibitions of God, and that the fundamental rights of men are not violated.

- (5) The defence of the frontiers against foreign invasions, to guarantee the security of life and property to Muslims and non-Muslims both in the Islamic State.
- (6) The organization and prosecution of religious wars against those who oppose the call of Islam or refuse to enter the protection of the Islamic state as non-Muslims. The Imam's primary duty, by the covenant of God, to establish the supremacy of Islam over all faiths and religions. The Imam must also save the religion of Islam from all innovations and heresies.
- (7) The imposition and collection of Kharaj and Zakat taxes in accordance with the laws of the Shari'ah and the interpretation of the jurists without resorting to extortion or pressure.
- (8) The sanction of allowances and stipends from the state treasury (*Bait-al-Mal*) to those who are needy, sick and poor and cannot afford to get their wards educated. This money must not be spent with extravagance and also must not be prepaid or delayed.
- (9) The appointment of honest and sincere men to the principal offices of the state, and to the treasury to secure sound and effective administration and to safeguard the finances of the state.
- (10) The Imam should personally look into and apprise himself of the affairs of his dominions so that he himself direct the national policy and protect the interests of the people. He must look into the foreign policy very carefully and sagaciously, so that relations with other neighbouring states must be cordial. Cold war must be ended so that flames of any possible war must be extinguished. The Imam should not assign his duties to someone else, so that the person or persons with delegated powers and duties must not exploit the situation resulting in bigger conflagration.

In this context, Sherwani describes in the words, "Al-Mawardi enumerates the duties of the Imam or the Caliph and says that he should protect the Faith, adjudge between man and man so that no person in power should be able to tyrannise over others,

defend the liberty of the state, punish those who might transgress the Law, make the payment of salaries and emoluments just and regular, appoint honest and reliable men as his representatives in the land, and should never give himself up either to a life of luxury or of prayer so as to be forced to hand over the management of the realm to others." (Sherwani: *Muslim Political Thought and Administration*).

Deposition of the Imam. Al-Mawardi argues on the basis of legal deductions from the fundamentals of the Shari'ah and says that once a person is elected as Imam, he cannot be removed from that office unless there occurs some definite change in him. He says that the Imam loses his title and authority on account of one of the following reasons:

(1) If there occurs a change in his moral status, technically known as 'Adalah' (sense of justice). The moral change occurs due to the following two factors:

(a) the one connected with his body; that is if he fields to his passions and is given over to his sensual passions and flouts openly the prohibitions of the Shari'ah. In such an event, a person can neither be elected as Imam nor can he continue as such. (Al-Mawardi, p. 3) Abu Yahya holds the opposite view.

(b) The other connected with his faith. That is, if a person holds opinions contrary to the established principles of religion, or holds such twisted opinions as amount to an abrogation of the accepted principles, he can neither be initiated as Imam nor can continue to hold that office. There is a clear denunciation of the stand of the Buwayhids, and the Shi'ite and Fatimid claims to the Caliphate.

(2) If there occurs a change in the person of the Imam, it is of three kinds:

- (i) loss of physical senses;
- (ii) loss of bodily organs; and
- (iii) loss of ability to administer and supervise the state affairs.

(a) Among the defects which occur in the physical senses the two most important ones which preclude a person from election to the Imamate or the loss of the mental faculty and the loss of eye-sight. The first case is clear and requires no comment. But the second one has a



profound bearing on the course of Islamic history. The practice of putting out the eyes with hot iron to prevent a person from wearing the imperial purple, was undoubtedly borrowed from the Byzantine Empire; the opinion of the Muslim Jurists on the issue, however, gave it an added importance as an instrument of tyranny. The dreadful effect of this gruesome practice can be easily judged from the fact that about twenty-four Abbasid Caliphs were thus blinded just to dethrone them from the Caliphal seat. The juridical opinion referred to above is that a blind person is unqualified to give witness or sit as a judge in a court of law; he is obviously much more unqualified to serve as the head of the state (Al-Mawardi, p. 33).

- (b) Loss of bodily organs it is a physical disability. It is of various kinds. If it hinders the performance of normal duties, and does not disfigure the features or the external beauty of the body it renders as ruler disable to discharge his functions.

In certain cases when the loss of organ renders a person helpless and makes him incapable of doing anything, he can neither be elected as Imam nor continue in that office. Such is the loss of the hands and of the feet.

- (c) The loss of personal ability to supervise and direct is of two kinds:

- (i) If the Imam is overpowered by one of his counsellors and assistants, who appropriates all authority to himself, but does not openly defy the Imam, the Imam will continue in his office, provided the usurper rules in accordance with the injunctions of the Shari'ah and in deference to the acceptance norms of justice. This to ensure that the functions of Imamate should continue to be performed, and that the people do not fall prey to evil on account of the non-enforcement of the laws of Shari'ah. But if his conduct is opposed to the principles of religion and justice, he will not be tolerated in the status and the Imam shall have to seek the help of one who can oust the usurper and restore supreme authority of the Caliph. (Al-Mawardi, p. 38).

- (ii) If the Imam falls a prisoner into the hands of a...



enemy, it will be the duty of the entire Muslim people to endeavour to emancipate him (Al-Mawardi, p. 38), and as long as there is any hope of his deliverance, he will continue as Imam and another person may be elected to officiate in his absence. But if all hope is lost, he will be deemed to have relinquished his office and election shall take place to elect a new Imam.

If the Imam is captured by a Muslim rebellious army, and the rebels have not appointed an Imam of their own, the captured Imam shall continue to command the loyalty of the people, and an acting Imam shall be appointed by him, if possible or by the electoral college. But if the rebels have appointed an Imam of their own the existing Imam shall forfeit his claim to the Imamate and responsible men shall elect a new Imam according to their discretion. (Al-Mawardi, p. 40).

Q. Critically examine the theory of the State as expounded by Al-Mawardi.

OR

Describe the theory of justice as expounded by Al-Mawardi.

OR

What do you know about the theory of rebellion as expounded by al-Mawardi?

Ans. The institution of Caliphate represents the mission of Muhammad the Prophet and the main duties of the Caliph are the safeguard of religion from all destructive propaganda and innovations and the proper organization of general polity. The Holy Quran aims at creating an ideal society in which good predominantly prevails over evil and in which the laws of God are generally practised and obeyed. Further, it promises the inheritance or possession and governance of the earth to those only who follow in the footsteps of the Prophet and practise piety and do justice. The promise does not hold good if the Muslims break the covenant, that is abandon the Shari'ah in a practical life. The Quran has not defined any clear principles of state. "The meaning and idea of the constitution, the clear conception of sovereignty, the principle of franchise, the conception of human rights, and the regulations of state organization are not given anywhere." (Ahmad Amin : *Fajral-Islam*, p. 240).

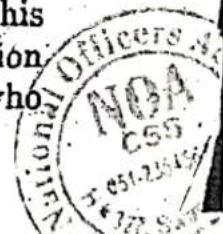
political thinker, Herbert Spencer (1820-1903), nearly a thousand years afterwards, for while the latter only compares the Body Politic with the Body-Physical, Ghazzali, working under the impact of religio-ethical doctrine, derives ethical conclusions from the comparison and make solid political capital out of it.

Method of Ghazzali : Al-Ghazzali adopts the historical method about the development of the state idea. Like Mawardi and Nizamul-Mulk Tusi, he indicates numerous historical and traditional instances in his analytical study, but in contradistinct to Nizamul-Mulk, he wants to probe the truth mainly in the traditions of the Apostle of Islam, his Companions and successors. He does not rely upon the Greek, Persian or Indian stories, although these are far more frequent with him than with his predecessor, Mawardi. He is not content with putting before his mind's eye the lesson of the days gone by but actually admonishes Seljuqi Sultan that he should "hear the sayings of the kings, ponder over their doings, study their stories as related in books and try to copy their acts of justice and benevolence" (*Tibr*, p. 48).

Q. Discuss the theory of Justice as expounded by al-Ghazzali.

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 Al-Ghazzali, being an original and realist philosopher, greatly emphasized for dispensing justice to the people without any creedal and religious distinctions. Our great philosopher, living in the age of kingship, warned the sovereigns to extend justice to the subjects, as all worldly blessings come to an end at the time of death. He admonishes the rulers to keep the dictates of the Almighty and the deeds of the Apostle uppermost in their minds, while at the same time making it absolutely clear that it is against divine will that one should be unjust or cruel to others, laying down the noble precept that while dealing with their subjects, kings should feel in the same way as they would wish others to treat them if they had been subjects instead of kings, (*Tibr*, p. 48, beginning 'The King's Duties', duty 2). Justice, according to al-Ghazzali, is the cardinal principle for peace and order in the state. It is the natural phenomenon, and must be kept up in every phase of life. Al-Ghazzali is painfully sensitive for justice, and he emphasized that justice be practised as a salient feature in the state administration. Al-Ghazzali says that in order to acquire the quality of being the shadow of God on earth with all its implications it is necessary that the ruler should be careful that the person wronged should always be able to have his wrong righted (*Sirr*, Essay 1). He then cites the Apostolic Tradition that on the day of Judgement one of the seven sets of persons who

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would be allowed to enjoy the shadow of the Divine Throne will be the set of the kings who have done justice. The king is the vicegerent of the Devil himself (Kimiya, element 2, base 10) and one day of justice is equal to seventy years of continuous prayers. He indicates the following ten rules of the conduct of government, chiefly in the matter of justice, which the ruler must bear in mind:

- (1) The ruler should mentally put himself in the position of the contending parties;
- (2) He should dispense justice without making any distinction on the basis of creed, status and religion.
- (3) He must uphold the principle of justice and regard for the people who come to him for seeking justice.
- (4) Justice is possible only when the ruler does not indulge in luxurious food and clothing.
- (5) He should advocate peace, practise leniency and strive for justice and tranquillity. He must avoid all elements of harshness in his official dealings.
- (6) He should try that the subjects should be content with the rule of Law; and he should not attempt any conciliation at the expense of the Law.
- (7) He should diligently supervise the affairs of the people in some way as if he were to supervise his own household affairs and should deal with the powerful and the infirm in the same manner.
- (8) He must try to meet the men of calibre and should encourage them to have their say.
- (9) He should see that his servants, magistrates and other officers perform their duties diligently.
- (10) He should not be overpowered by any false sense of pride. (These and other salutary principles are embodied in a chapter devoted to the art of government, the care of the subjects and kindred matters, in *Kimiya*, el. 2, base 10. It should be borne in mind that Farabi's "Foremost Leader" bears a far more analytical frame of mind than Ghazzali's *Amir*).



Al-Ghazzali relates how the Caliph Umar II asked the definition of justice from Muhammad bin Ka'b of Cordova, to which the savant rightly replied that real justice was dealing with the inferiors like a father, with superior like a son and with equals like a brother and to award punishment only according to the wrong done and the power to bear it (*Kimiya*, el. 2, base 10). He quotes Ali that the best judge is he who is not prejudiced in his decisions from

personal desires, or by any leaning towards his relations, fear or hope, but takes a natural attitude towards all that come before him (*Tibrs*, p. 14). It is this sense of perfect justice which makes Ghazzali insist on the absolute neutrality and impartiality of the ruler in all his acts or words. The ruler must pay equal attention to everything great or small, everybody high or low, noble or downtrodden and must do away with all elements liable to create disorder and disruption in the state. Our great philosopher relates how some one once asked the great Sassanian minister, Buzurchimihir which of the kings were the greatest, to which he replied that those were the greatest, who had the confidence of the good and were the terror of the wicked. He also mentions the story of Alexander the Great, who asked the learned men how he could better his lot, to which they replied that he should eradicate both undue likings and undesirable prejudices, he should not make any decision hurriedly without counsel and should shun all personal inclinations, likes and dislikes, at the time of sitting in judgement over others, (*Tibr*, p. 60 quoted by Sherwani : *Muslim Political Thought and Administration*).

Q. Discuss al-Ghazzali's Doctrine of Sovereignty. Also discuss his views on Democracy.

OR

What do you know about the duties and functions of the 'Amir' of Al-Ghazzali?

Al-Ghazzali, a political philosopher, renowned in East and West because of his versatile genius, harnessed his thoughts into a proper channel for an efficient and systematic government in order to bring about progress and peace in the state. He appears to be particular about the duties and functions of the sovereign, so that administration of the state must not become unwieldy and dogmatic. The great philosopher beautifully portrayed in his famous book *Tibrul-Masbuk*, functions as well as administrations of the Amir. He enumerates the necessary qualities of an ideal ruler, and reverently expresses that he should have intellect, knowledge, perception, right proportion of things, chivalry, love for his subjects, diplomatic bend, foresight, strong will-power and must be well-informed of the news of the day and the past history of the kings. He must learn the lesson from the past kings. He should not repeat the errors and failures of his predecessors, but instead, must make full endeavours to avoid them; and to improve what was best initiated by them. The Amir must also vigilantly watch that his judges, secretaries, viceroys and other officers did their work well; it is chiefly in these qualities, he says, which go to make a ruler the shadow of God on earth.

consolidation by the existing Muslim states and improving the means of their national defence. Thus was born the Pan-Islamic ideology which has since been associated with his name. Afghani, a great defender and ardent champion of liberty, advocated strongly the emancipation from all slavish bonds, so that Muslims must develop their own ends without any fear. Afghani saw that Turkey, which was under the subjugation of Sultan, must be freed and republicanism should be enunciated. He also enlivened the Indian Muslims to forcibly snatch their fundamental rights under the banner of Pan-Islamism. He was the forerunner of Muslim Commonwealth, so that Islamic heritage so far preserved from all storms and ordeals, may be preserved without any fear of annihilation. Pan-Islamism, thus conceived and preached, was purely a defensive and psychological measure, in fact, a last ditch attempt to halt the tide of Western infiltration.

Q. Write a critical essay on the Pan-Islamic movement founded by Jamal-ud-Din Afghani.

OR

What do you know of the Pan-Islamic ideas of Jamal-ud-Din Afghani? In what way did Sultan Abdul Hamid II utilize the Pan-Islamic Movement?

Ans. Pan-Islamism, in the sense of Islamic solidarity, is as old Islam itself. The very foundation of the International Islamic Brotherhood was laid by Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), when he entered into a solemn pact with Medinites to defend themselves and their faith from Meccan hostility and persecution. The idea leads to the stability of Pan-Islamism "that the Muslims are all one body. If the eye is injured, the whole body suffers; if the foot is injured, then too, the whole body suffers".

Further elaborating this point, it is revealed, "the Pan-Islamism, as its very name connotes, is a movement to rule together Muslims throughout the world regardless of their nationalities". This movement is nothing new to the Muslimism. It is as old as the faith of Islam itself. "*Kullo Muslemun Ikhawatun*" provides a rocky base of link for the edifice of Muslim brotherhood. The Holy Prophet declared in his farewell address on the occasion of the 'Hajjat-ul-wida' that your lives and property are sacred and inviolable one to another until you appear before your Lord, even as this day and this month are sacred for all. . . . " Furthermore, "know that all Muslims are brothers one unto another; we are all one fraternity. Nothing belonging to one of you is lawful to his brother unless given out of free good-will. Guard yourself against

consolidation by the existing Muslim states and improving the means of their national defence. Thus was born the Pan-Islamic ideology which has since been associated with his name. Afghani, a great defender and ardent champion of liberty, advocated strongly the emancipation from all slavish bonds, so that Muslims must develop their own ends without any fear. Afghani saw that Turkey, which was under the subjugation of Sultan, must be freed and republicanism should be enunciated. He also enlivened the Indian Muslims to forcibly snatch their fundamental rights under the banner of Pan-Islamism. He was the forerunner of Muslim Commonwealth, so that Islamic heritage so far preserved from all storms and ordeals, may be preserved without any fear of annihilation. Pan-Islamism, thus conceived and preached, was purely a defensive and psychological measure, in fact, a last ditch attempt to halt the tide of Western infiltration.

Q. Write a critical essay on the Pan-Islamic movement founded by Jamal-ud-Din Afghani.

OR

What do you know of the Pan-Islamic ideas of Jamal-ud-Din Afghani? In what way did Sultan Abdul Hamid II utilize the Pan-Islamic Movement?

Ans. Pan-Islamism, in the sense of Islamic solidarity, is as old Islam itself. The very foundation of the International Islamic Brotherhood was laid by Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), when he entered into a solemn pact with Medinites to defend themselves and their faith from Meccan hostility and persecution. The idea leads to the stability of Pan-Islamism "that the Muslims are all one body. If the eye is injured, the whole body suffers; if the foot is injured, then too, the whole body suffers".

Further elaborating this point, it is revealed, "the Pan-Islamism, as its very name connotes, is a movement to rule together Muslims throughout the world regardless of their nationalities". This movement is nothing new to the Muslimism. It is as old as the faith of Islam itself. "*Kullo Muslemun Ikhawatun*" provides a rocky base of link for the edifice of Muslim brotherhood. The Holy Prophet declared in his farewell address on the occasion of the '*Hajjat-ul-wida*' that your lives and property are sacred and inviolable one to another until you appear before your Lord, even as this day and this month are sacred for all. . . . " Furthermore, "know that all Muslims are brothers one unto another; we are all one fraternity. Nothing belonging to one of you is lawful to his brother unless given out of free good-will. Guard yourself against

committing in justice."

In Medieval ages and, to be more exact, up till the dawn of the 19th century, Pan-Islamic ideas have been instructive and very natural. So Pan-Islamic movement as a definite move, including in its lap even beyond what was merely religious, grew during the 19th century. The advent of the century witnessed the penetration of European imperialism in the Islamic world and its disintegration and degradation. The ascending star of the Western imperialism had beclouded the political horizon of the East. On one side the trading East India Company had assumed the shape of an administrative body and had begun to rule in India; on the other side most of the culturally important territories of the Muslims had been seized by Russia. In Egypt the influence of the Sultan of Turkey and the Khedive himself had been almost extinct because of European intervention. Iran was being treated by the European powers as a chess-board where they were playing to outwit one another. Above all, Turkey, the symbol of Muslim brotherhood, had been called as Sickman of Europe and was undergoing a struggle of life and death, and the daggered physician of Europe was sitting on its head waiting for the last breath. It was under these circumstances that a man rose in the most backward region of the Islamic world. Afghanistan, who chose to champion the cause of Muslim revivalism and unification. That man was Jamal-ud-Din Afghani and his activities for the revivalism and unification of the Muslim world are rightly termed as Pan-Islamism.

Pan-Islamism, engineered by great scholar Jamal-ud-Din Afghani, though most often described by less authoritative sources simply as a movement to weld together the Muslims, had more than one facet. It embraced not only the centralization of the Muslims under one irrespective of his nationality but also reformism and revivalism of Islam as a great moral force, and the respective progress of various Muslim countries. The movement was immeasurably political rather than religious. Afghani stressed for political implication and provoked the collective feelings of 'Millat'. His messages were confined to no particular country and were free of all geographical bonds. His message was unlike those pioneering stalwarts of liberty and reformism whose voice could never pass certain territorial limits, i.e., Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab in Arabia, Midhat Pasha in Turkey, Talaat Pasha in Egypt and Sinnusi in Libya. The Pan-Islamic movement launched by Jamal-ud-Din Afghani was defensive in its very objective and he wanted to raise it as a bulwark against the fast governing imperialism of Europe. Once determined to endeavour for the implication and revivalism of the

Muslims he dedicated all his energies to this cause, Afghani, a champion of political freedom, combatted all forces for the sake of emancipation of Muslims from servile bonds. History has witnessed that Muslims had never been defeated by any external forces, but became victim of their own jealousies and mutual rivalries. Afghani met the same fate. He inspired the Muslims of the world with his virulent speeches to snatch their fundamental rights of liberty, and as a result, many striking movements started for the achievement of these noble ideals. This led to a greater source of inspiration for the non-Muslim races living under foreign domination. The dominators tried to root out these movements but could not succeed, because the furious waves of freedom were relentlessly destroying imperialism and colonialism. While propagating his Pan-Islamic ideas he did not ignore the non-Muslim powers of the East. He contended that the progress of any Eastern country, whether Islamic or non-Islamic would contribute to the cause of Pan-Islamism which was aimed at crusading with European imperialism.

Afghani preached freedom not only from foreign rule but also and even more from the obstructive forces of rigid and worn-out beliefs and practices. He struggled for freedom of thought, and urged the open and fearless proclamation of liberal ideas. He condemned tyranny and oppression whatever their form of source, equally denouncing Muslim rulers for betraying their trust by oppressing their subjects, and European imperialism for exploiting the peoples of Asia.

Afghani's vigorous and broad mind grasped the problems and conditions of the world around him. He deeply felt the decline of the Muslim peoples and worked for their spiritual and moral regeneration. He firmly believed that spiritual rebirth was the basis of social and cultural progress and the fundamental conditions and fuller participation once again in the creative work of civilization. Afghani was a religious reformer, an enlightened thinker, and a wise political leader. He also believed that intellectual reform was to be achieved by the liberation of the mind and its unhampered pursuit of truth. The free mind is in harmony with the world. This harmony restores balance to man, frees him of perplexity and doubt, and clears and illumines his path. And, finally, political reform would follow as a necessary sequence of a reformed mind and spirit.

Afghani had a compelling personality which impressed itself upon all who came in contact with him. His presence radiated strength and inspiration, and drew to him a large number of disciples who eagerly listened to his message. He disseminated his

ideas by teaching and writing, by public conversation and discourse. Regular courses were held in his home where the Muslim classes were taught with care and affection. In these courses, he sought to broaden the intellectual horizon of the students, to open new avenues before them leading to a better understanding of the world, and to train them to seek knowledge and truth courageously. He aimed at forming thinking men, imbued with wisdom and discernment.

His more popular teaching was conveyed through talks in his home, in the houses of his friends, or in the coffee-house. None was excluded from these talks. Afghani spoke alike to the intellectual elite and equally the men of street, and all were captivated by his profound enthusiasm, strength of conviction and courage. In these discourses, as in all his works, his keynote was the achievement of freedom from bondage in all its forms. Afghani strove to create an informed public opinion, aware of its rights and duties. Such an awakened opinion would carry with it the belief in the people's right to rule themselves, and the determination to attain this right. Only then representative institutions have any meaning and significance, because they would not be the gift of the ruler bestowed from above, but well out of the conscious need of the people and their urge to share in the shaping of their destiny. Afghani greatly inspired a school of writers, who fought for freedom and liberty from foreign subjugation, and for saving Islamic culture from other's influence. Westernism and imperialism were deeply penetrated into the sacred vale of Islam and the writers relentlessly combatted all such forces working for tarnishing and weakening of Islam. Islam, the divine religion of Allah, had never been tarnished by any force in spite of the cruel efforts to do so. It remained distinct, unique and above all grue some threats. Afghani also encouraged promising young men to found newspapers and infused them with the ideas of national significance. Around him a nucleus of Arab journalism was formed and writers were trained to espouse the cause of the people and the nation.

Egyptian and Indian Modernism. It was Jamal-ud-din Afghani who sowed the seed of modernism in Egypt and his disciple Muhammad Abduh who nurtured this philosophy. A great deal has been said about the method and nature of their programme in the above lines. Here we are concerned only with them as the pioneers of modernism in Egypt. The Egyptian modernism was based on the contention that Islam should be brought in harmony with the modern age. Muhammad Abduh, like his preceptor, held that Islamic religion was not at variance with the spirit of modern

science. The basic truths of both were in harmony with each other. Islam did not threaten the progress of science but was conducive to the encouragement of the same. The movement based on such compromising assumptions aimed at the relief of the Muslims from hard dogma and restrictive traditions so that they may be susceptible to reformism. Generally speaking, the Egyptian modernist meant a religious rebirth and was overwhelmed by spiritual considerations.

In these respects the Egyptian modernism as a movement disagreed with modernism in India launched by rational reformers under Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. This Indian counterpart of the Egyptian modernism was first of all based on cultural reform. The very aim of the Aligarh movement was to enlighten the Muslims with modern sciences and learning so that their minds should be unshackled from superstitions. The exponents of the Indian modernism were also inclined towards the standardization of Islam on the norms of modern civilization. Saying, more compactly one was bent upon rebirth of religion, the other stressed at the cultural reformism, one was more direct and straightforward whereas the other was apologetic.

In spite of departure in method and process both the counterparts had a common element in them and that was the assumption that Islam is a universal religion and adaptable to the conditions of all nations, all times and all cultural environments. Moreover, the progenitor of the movement in both the countries opined that the English occupation and foreign influence should be encountered by compromise and peaceful means than by measuring yard as some of the leaders in both the countries firmly believed.

Q. Estimate the importance of Jamal-ul-Din Afghani in the history of political thought.

OR

Discuss the impact of Pan-Islamism enunciated by Jamal-ud-Din Afghani in the history of freedom.

Ans. Jamal-ud-Din Afghani, in the modern age, was the ardent advocate of liberty and he deeply inculcated the ideals of freedom among the Muslims living under sheer subjugation, to rise against imperialist domination, to win back their motherlands from the clutches of the usurpers. He kindled the fire of freedom in every heart; and he tirelessly worked for the attainment of his noble mission. He went to every Muslim country, met all the freedom fighters, discussed every pertinent issue for achieving freedom; and at last died of insatiated desire for achieving his high ideals. Jamal-

ud-Din Afghani wielded a profound and lasting influence upon succeeding generations, who fought violently and won freedom. His ideals appeared in the shape of several movements and organizations who championed the cause of freedom. He was sensitive to bring all the Muslim world under one banner of Islam, and to strive collectively to root out imperialism. His conception of spiritual gravitation at one centre was completely shattered because of aggressive attitude of the Sultan of Turkey. He fell into despondency. At last he died without seeing the results of his work for the unification of the Muslims under the banner of Pan-Islamism.

His influence left behind a deep impression upon the trend of literature which until his time had been mainly occupied with praising princes and rulers, however unpraiseworthy they might be. Afghani taught that the primary aim of literature was to serve the people by expressing their needs and defending their rights. Blunt's Diary is evidential to the factors that Afghani made a deep and indelible impression on the people he came across. "The letter of Shayk (Afghani) gave one," writes Blunt (speaking of his visit to India during 1882-83), "proved of the greatest possible use to me." He further writes, "I found him head everywhere in India in the highest esteem."

Causes of Failure of Pan-Islamism : These are the main causes of failure of Pan-Islamism :

(1) Sultan Abdul Hamid had also a good deal to do away with the propagation of the Pan-Islamic ideology though for his own selfish ends. He invited Afghani to Constantinople as a royal guest. After learning the visitor's views, he turned against him, and refused him permission to leave Turkey and as a result, Afghani was kept in a gilded cage (half guest, half prisoner) till his death in 1897. The Caliph of Turkey exploited the ideology of Pan-Islamism and presented it in a very different way for achieving his own designs.

(2) A death blow to political Pan-Islamism on the international basis plane was the revolt of the Arabs against the Ottoman Empire. Under the Britishers' instigation, Sharif Husayn of Mecca raised the banner of revolt in the name of Arab Nationalism in 1916. The Turks had unwittingly caused a setback to Pan-Islamism when they took recourse to Jihad in support of one non-Muslim power against another, and now it was the turn of Arabs to repudiate that all to Jihad, and with it Pan-Islamism itself.

(3) Generally, the rulers for their part found Afghani dangerous. They could not tolerate a man who taught the people to

look upon themselves as the source of the ruler's power and wealth, who pointed out sharply and repeatedly the tyranny of rulers and the misery and poverty of the subjects, and who urged and incited the people to emerge out from darkness into the light. The forces of darkness, native or foreign, demanded Afghani's expulsion from Egypt. The Council of Ministers, in ordering his banishment, accused him of corrupting the youth, an accusation reminiscent of the judgment passed against Socrates.

(4) The termination of his story in Egypt did not end with Afghani's work for Egypt and particularly the Arabs and generally the Muslim world. He went to Europe and stayed at Paris and started a periodical with the sole purpose to awaken the Muslims to the reality of their condition and guide them to face the realities of the age in which they lived. Particularly in Egypt, his domineering role for the attainment of freedom for the whole Muslim world was increasingly great. He greatly influenced all spheres of life in Egypt and founded Egyptian nationalism, journalism, modern literature, constitutionalism and modernism.

(5) In Khilafat Movement, Pan-Islamism joined forces with nationalism and swept the country from end to end. "Anti-British feeling", according to Subash Chandra Bose, "was stronger amongst the rest of the Indian population." Due to the political cleavage and divergence, all Muslims could not be brought under the unification of Pan-Islamism. Muslims revolted against their own brethren, clearly consuming their full energies.

(6) It is quite appropriate to say that the idea of Pan-Islamism was killed by the Muslims themselves. Evidently, the abolition of Caliphate and expulsion of Ottoman imperial family was one of the major causes of failure of Pan-Islamism. Complete liquidation of Sultanate greatly shocked the Muslims of the world particularly the Muslims of the Indian sub-continent, who had so whole-heartedly and ardently espoused the cause of the caliphate. No wonder, several writers have called the Khilafat movement as the "last outburst of Pan-Islamism" and the sub-continent its "last refuge". After this shock, they continued to show keen interest in Muslim affairs outside the sub-continent. They had considerable share in organizing the Islamic Congress held at Jerusalem in December, 1931; they espoused whole-heartedly the Arab cause in Palestine since the twenties. The Pan-Islamic spirit of theirs had also a great deal to do with the formulation of the Pakistan ideology and also with the creation of Pakistan itself.

(67)

Muslim political
thoughts



Mubashir Javed Khan

Al-Farabi view about state



(1) Nature of human being in Al-Farabi's state:-

Al-Farabi has the opinion that human being like any other species, have a perfect state, toward which its actions tend and this perfect state can only be achieved ~~with~~ in association with other human beings.

In other words, like Aristotle, he said that man is a political animal. He said that an isolated individual cannot achieve all the perfections by ~~only~~ himself and without the aid of many other individual. It is essential for a man to join other men in the labour he ought to perform.

(2) The concept of happiness in Al-Farabi's state:-

The concept of happiness is essential to Al-Farabi's political philosophy. He said that in a virtuous society and in a virtuous city, everyone cooperates to gain happiness through goodness. A virtuous world is one in which all nations collaborate to achieve happiness. He says that it is the responsibility of the ruler to form the character of the lower classes either by persuasion or by compulsion in order to make them what is necessary to achieve their happiness.

(3) Qualifications of Ruler in Al-Farabi's state:-

Like Plato, Al-Farabi compares the functioning

of an ideal city to the functioning of a healthy human body. According to him, the idealized kind in Al-madina-Al-fadila (virtuous city) is an absolute ruler, who Socrates is united with "Active Intellect". He follows Plato in enumerating the qualities of a prince which are below:

(i) He should possess the right natural disposition and exhibit the right attitude for a ruler.

(ii) He should be a good orator.

(iii) He should have a strong physique.

(iv) He must have a strong understanding and memory.

(v) He should love learning and truth.

(vi) He should be above worldly materialism. If these qualities cannot be found in a single man then there should be two --- three --- many.

(4) Hierarchy in His State:-

The prince must ~~possess~~ assume "absolute power" over the state and all others are responsible to him. Citizens are also classified in terms of the power and rights they enjoy, and each takes orders from those who are above them and has the power over those who are below them.

Political Society of Al-Farabi

According to him, Society is either perfect or imperfect.

perfect society:-

It has three kinds:

- (i) Highest:- The highest society is the whole inhabited earth coming under one political organization
- (ii) Intermediate:- Intermediate society is a nation occupying a specific place of the inhabited world
- (iii) Lowest:- The lowest society is a city which represent a fraction of the territory of nation.

Imperfect Society:-

The village, the outskirts of city and the home are the three kinds of imperfect society. These are merely steps leading to the organization of society state.

Model state:-

Al-Farabi describes the model state in these words;

Just as the whole world is ruled by the highest authority of God, Just as the human soul is one in different powers, Just as the human body



is an organized whole moved by heart, in like manners the state is to be regulated after these manners.

In the model state there must be hierarchy of rulers coming under the control of supreme head or prince.

Oppose to the model state:

He said that oppose to the model state are the ignorant state, the perverted state and the mistaken state.

Ignorant state:

- (i) This state has no knowledge of true happiness
- (ii) It has for its end the acquisition of things such as food, cloth and shelter
- (iii) It believes in false liberty by which every one can do as he please (democracy)
- (iv) It pursues imperialism as a national policy

Perverted state: The perverted state is similar to the ignorant state but it knows what is true happiness and perfection.

Mistaken state: It is the state which has wrong ideas about God and happiness.

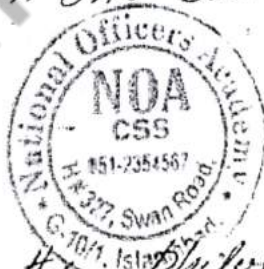
Al-Farabi as Aristotle and Plato:

The political theory of Al-Farabi is a mixture of Aristotelian and Platonic elements. The main Platonic element is to put the whole universe humanity in one universal state. For him, the existing state is not a model state. The model state with no national boundaries has not yet realized.

Furthermore, Al-Farabi tempers the ideal state of Plato with some Aristotelian elements, such as private property and the monarchic form of government. This, however, could be easily changed to an aristocratic republic if the required intellectual and moral traits of the chief executive cannot be found in one but in few persons.

Conclusion:-

After studying the philosophy of Al-Farabi, one come to three conclusion: first, that Al-Farabi brought about the first penetration of Arabism into Hellenism and Hellenism into Arabism. Second, that Al-Farabi exert a great influence on Medieval thinkers, specially on Magnus and St. Thomas.



Third, that Al-Farabi improved many Aristotelian theories, solved many problems that are still unsolved.

Most important claim:-

He claims that reason based on intellectual perception was superior to revelation and imagination.



Ibn Khaldun the Father of Political Economy:

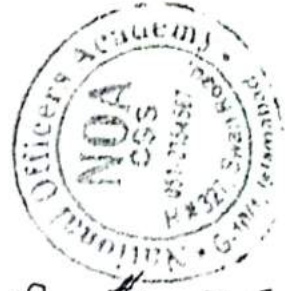
Ibn Khaldun has rightly been claimed as the forerunner of great many western scholars, such as Machiavelli, Bodin, Montesquieu and Hegel etc. There is hardly any western thinker with whom he might not be compared. His *Maqaddimah* is a work which deals with variety of subjects.

Long before Adam Smith, Ibn Khaldun foresaw the interconnection between political and economic institutions. He made an inquiry into the various aspect of economic activities and recorded their political significance in respect of their good and bad effects on the state. He was able to discover in the middle ages the principles of social justice. He was an original economist who understood fully the principles of social justice and political economy and applied it them very skillfully, long before it was known to western thinkers.

Below are the characteristics of his theory of political economy.



(1) Role of ^{capital} Labour in economy



Ibn Khaldun depicts a clear picture of the role of capital and labour in an economy. He the Ibn Khaldun beautifully ^{defines} described the term ^{sustenance} profit. The part of economy that is obtained by an individual through his own effort is called profit. When a particular individual spends that profit on his need then it is called sustenance. He further says "If the profit obtain from something other than craft, the value of the resulting ~~product~~ profit must also include the value of the labour, without labour it would not have been acquired. This theory of Ibn Khaldun greatly influenced Ricardo and Karl Marx. In the same way Karl Marx says the the power to labour is itself a commodity and its value is fixed in the same way as that of any other commodity.

2) Condemns the role of Rulers in State Economy:-



Ibn Khaldun severely criticises the engagement of rulers in commercial activities because it creates hurdles in the development of free competition in economic field.

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according to him is most essential for the circulation of wealth in the society. He said that if the rulers indulge in trade activities, they would be in an advantageous position of selling and purchasing commodities because of their political influence. Thus injustice would be brought about in the society which is a kind of economic disaster.

Taxation policy:-

Among the economic problems, his discussion first elaborates start with taxation. As a practical politician, he had full knowledge of ways and means to collect Government's revenue. He said that taxation must be equitable and just. When equality and justice are lacking in the economic policy, the government is inviting its ruin. He said that at the beginning of a dynasty, taxation yields a large revenue from small assessments and at the end of a dynasty it yields a small ^{revenue} ~~revenue~~ from large assessments. He further said that decrease in pay means a decrease in revenues. The reason is that the ruler and the state are the largest economic consumers.





market in the world. If the ruler keeps back the revenue or if the revenue is not there, then he would not be able to spend it. If so, then the economy of the state will be ruined. For the betterment of the state's economy, the wealth must flow between the ruler and the ruled, from him to them and from them to him. If he holds it back, his subjects suffer loss. He further said that in the beginning the taxes are low but as every muslim is entitled to pay Islamic taxes like Zakat, Kharij and jayya. So, in the long run it will be definitely beneficial for the state's economy.

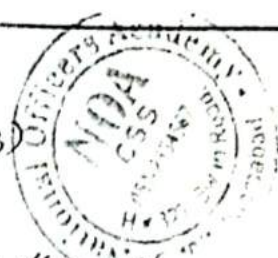
Salaries and allowances:-

The deduction in salaries and allowances will probably decrease the income of those from whom they buy things. This decrease in the business in the state and thus lead to diminish tax revenues in the state. He therefore disapproves such policies by the state. Ibn Khaldun deals with the injustice to the people and is of the view that it bring



Economic Injustice to the people:-

(73)



Ibne Khaldun greatly deals with economic-injustice to the people and is of the view that it ruins civilizations. Attack on people's property removes the incentive to acquire or gain property. He mentioned various kinds of economic-injustice such as, confiscation of property without a just cause; to take anybody's property on one pretext or other and to compelled the people for force labour. Above all the great injustice is to buy the people's property at cheaper rate and to sell it at higher rate. It is most destructive to civilization. Consequently, all these tactics of the government prove to be a death blow to the state.

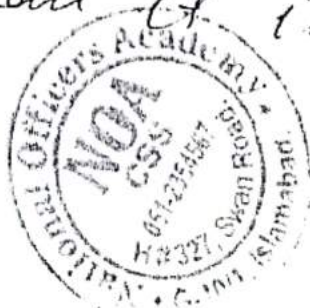
Standard of living:-



Here, Ibne Khaldun compare the economy of the larger cities with that of the economies of the smaller cities. He said that labour is the fundamental source of income. The larger the labour, the higher the income.



The living standards of the high population cities are well off as compared to small population cities. The only reason is the availability of different labour in different cities. He said that even the beggar of the larger cities beg for meat, butter, garments and for many luxurious things. While the beggars with such demands in smaller cities would be treated harshly and will be disapproved. He says that income and expenditure, balance each other in every city. If the income is large expenditure will be large and vice versa. If both are large, the inhabitants are prosperous and the city grows. He gives the examples of populated countries such as Egypt, China, India, Syria as being more prosperous as compared to the very small populated countries. It is strange that today the smaller countries are more prosperous than larger. However, if his conclusion is applied to the cities then it is still valid and correct.



The rise and fall of dynasties: Ibn Khaldun

Ibn Khaldun here distinguishes five stages. A state can go to the whole cycle within the span of three or four generations of the rulers.

1st Stage:-

In the beginning the first stage is the period of establishment. Here, a group solidarity which is based on family ties and religion play a vital role in the preservation of state. The ruler is more a chief than a lord or a king. He himself has to follow the rules of religion.

2nd Stage:-

In the second stage the ruler succeeded in monopolizing power. He became an absolute master. This monopoly of power by the ruler is the natural end of the rule that began on the basis of group solidarity.



To achieve monopolization of power, the ruler destroy those, who share power with him in the beginning and also destroy the national solidarity. He purchases the support of bureaucrats and mercenaries who are loyal to him and paid. In addition to the paid army and administrative bureaucracy, a group of learned advisers become instruments who ^{preserve} rule the state according to the wishes of ruler.

3rd stage:-



The third stage is burdensome. Here the ruler use his authority to satisfy his personal interests. He reorganises the finances of the state by to increase his own income by lowering taxes on his subjects. This resulted in large revenues from small assessments. He then, lavishly spends on public's works and on the beautification of his cities.



There is economic prosperity for everyone and all men enjoy the comforts and pleasures of the world.

In all these three stages, the rulers are powerful, independent and creative. The resulting economic prosperity, ~~added~~ constitutes an instrument of additional power for the ruler.

4th Stage:-



In the 4th stage the luxury and comfort become a habit. Rulers and ruled are confident that they will last forever.

Their maintenance depends upon the power and solidity of the achievements and of the founders of the state. However, during this stage state is already starting to decline and disintegrate and the 5th stage of waste began.

5th

It now became painfully evident that the vital forces of solidarity and religion were



destroyed in the beginning and that the strong natural power of the Kinemen was replaced with the purchased support of the army and the bureaucracy who are not willing to sacrifice themselves for the ruler. To ensure their continued support and to maintain the luxuries the ruler commits severe blunders and raises the taxes, because the remaining old tax policies cannot satisfy the desires of ruler. The increasing new tax policy discourage economic activities in the income of state declines. Ultimately it becomes impossible for the ruler to support the new followers. The luxuries and comforts result in the weakness and vice. The tough and encouraging manners of the primitive life are forgotten. The hopes of rulers become weakened, and people refrain from making long-range plans. The entire population is physically weak and living in large crowded cities with environmental problems become subject to diseases.

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The state begins to disintegrate. Even in the capital of the state, the military and bureaucracy engage in intrigues to wrest the actual authority from the ruler. Finally, an outside invasion by a young, healthy group may put an end to the life of the state, or it may decline further and further until it withers away.



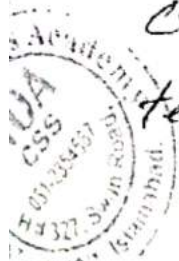
Iqbal vs Communism. (77)



Iqbal lived in a century in which he saw untold miseries, unprecedented ~~misery~~ immolation and political changes, due to Balkan wars, world war I and liquidation of Austro-Hungarian Empire. In that century many states perished and new states emerged on the map of the world. There was nothing but human dead bodies. The enemies of Islam entirely destroyed the centre of spiritual gravitation of Muslims and they were helpless and sorrowed. Those were the circumstances that turned Iqbal to take refuge in the building of poetic pessimism. In the changed and hopeless world people accused Capitalism as the sole cause of destruction.

Karl Marx's doctrine of Communism deeply penetrated into Capitalistic world and the poor welcomed it as the only source of their existence and salvation.

Iqbal as a social reformer, saw the fight between haves and have-nots and cried for peace and freedom on unconditional terms. As a great philanthropist, he felt



great outrage at the miseries caused by capitalism, which ignores all spiritual and ethical requirements. It has reduced human beings as a marketable commodities and believed in commercial exploitation and political domination. According to Iqbal capitalism had led to imperialism and the subjugation of weaker states by the stronger. It has given birth to such a civilization that promote, greed, lust and commercialism.

Iqbal traces this greed to the complete divorce between religion and politics.

بوی دین و دولت تین جس دا جوائی
ہو سکا اچھری ہو سکا دزیرا

(As soon as religion and politics separated, greed become the ruling power, King and ministers, he criticised the League of Nations and describe it as an association of thieves thieves serves as a mark for war preparations. He has the opinion that European civilization is on the way to self-destruction because it has set a bad precedent of commercial greed and national rivalries.

And no amount of diplomacy and political strategy can create stability in a civilization resting on capitalism and imperialism.

تعماری تمزیب اینہ مشنبر سے آپ ہی خود کشی کریں گی
جوشاخ ناز پر اشیانہ بنے گا ناپائیدار ہوگا

but civilization will commit suicide on with its own dagger and the nest on a weak branch will remain unsecure and unstable.

Allama Muhammad Iqbal is quick to catch the hypocrisy of the west that designed policy to overthrow the Automan empire and said: the sword:

سپرے سوداں ملکیت کو کھراں، تو تم
تم نے کیا بھی ہوئے نہیں مگر در و قوموں کا راج



[Why do you condemn my imperialistic ambitions; Have you not shattered the strength of many weaker,

one of his finest poems, which will long endure as a revolutionary song is called

« God's Command to the Angels » whereby he

says:





اٹھ لیبری دنیا کے غریبوں کو جگا دو
کاخ امراء کے در و دیوار جلا دو۔

Go and awaken the poor and despossed of my
Universal

And shake the walls of the newly rich places
to the foundation.

In another place he said:

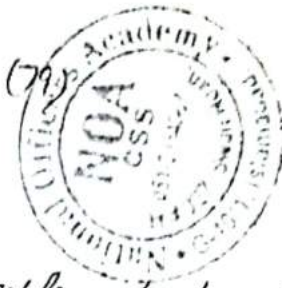
جس گیت سے دھکان کو مسسرتی اس روتی!
اس گیت کے سر کوشہ گندم ہی جلا دو۔

If there is a field which yields no livelihood
to the peasants

Go and burn to the ground every grain
of wheat in it.



Iqbal and Communism.



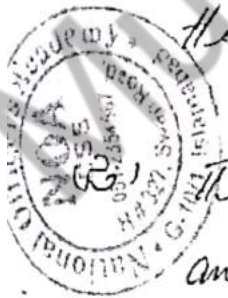
During Iqbal's life some people had the opinion that Iqbal was impressed from communism. They based their arguments on some verses of Iqbal that were in favour of communism and its ideology. The question arises that why Allama Iqbal has lauded communism so much?

There are three reasons:-

(1) The first reason is psychological and political.

The Indian sub-continent as well as other Islamic countries were under the capitalist colonial system. When the destruction of this centuries-old capitalist system started by Marx and Lenin, it naturally attracted the attention of Iqbal and lauded it.

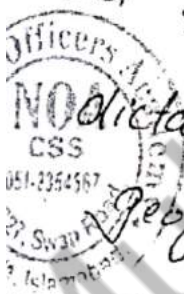
The second reason was that the defeat and destruction of capitalism would not only be the freedom of Islamic world from colonialism but that of entire world would be free from slavery.



Iqbal's criticism on nationalism -

Iqbal's approach to nationalism was more deep than that of democracy. As Plato compared the poets with ministers of prejudice and enemies of truth, similarly Iqbal termed the nationalists as ambassadors of conflict and discord. The lethal creed of nationalism preached by Metchnikoff, Bismarck and their successors such as Hitler and Mussolini leads the world to the untold destruction of human race. Loyalty to colour and race ~~is~~ not to humanity, usually blinded to man, and made him usually narrow minded and egoistic. Politically it is rejected to dictate peoples loyalty to racial and geographical factors. The territorial nationalism and aggressive patriotism is not good because it militate against international outlook and disrupt the essential solidarity of mankind.

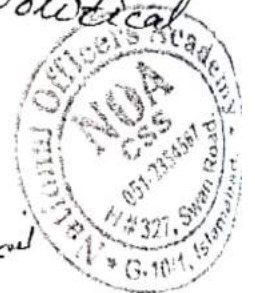
Iqbal looked at upon geographical and



racial groups as temporary organizations responsible for all political evils and conflicts

Iqbal on Machiavelli:-

Machiavelli is considered the Father of modern political thoughts and he was the man who preached the separation of religion from politics. Iqbal has the opinion that Machiavelli was an ardent supporter of nationalism, who raised the state to the position of an absolute deity and openly preached the subordination of moral and ethical principles to political expediency.



دین کا دائرہ بیکار گشت

لنگھتا ہر شے ہاں گوشت

"He wrote a new code for the guidance of rulers!
And sowed the seeds of war in our clay."

فکر و نڈ اور اے محمود سالت

ملکت رادین او محمود سالت

"His religion made the state into a deity!
And presented what was evil as goods."

His views of Fascism and Nazism. (11)

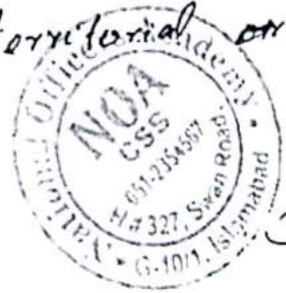
The harmful practice of subjugating all values and loyalties to the interests of a particular race or nation was vigorously revived by the reactionary political systems of Fascism and Nazism. According to Iqbal they have undermined the foundation of brotherhood and established nationality on the basis of country. They have stand a man stranger to man. According to Iqbal, colour, race and nationality forms trinity of destruction and in order to save humanity, they must be rooted out.

His views of an Islam against nationalism:-

Iqbal has ~~the~~ opined that the above forces depict hatred and provoke antagonism. On the other hand, Islam, he argued, establishes the community of mankind not on geographical accidents but on belief in one God and, consequently, in the brotherhood of man as a practical working idea.



Iqbal holds, that such an idea can act as a centrifugal force and breaks the destruction of man-kind into militant Hence the internationalism of Islam rejects territorial or or racial patriotism.



قلب او از حد و شمار نیست
هرز دولت او بجز اسلام نیست

Our heart is bound neither to Syria nor Turkey its birth-place is nought but Islam!

He offers a remarkable interpretation to the migration of Holy prophet from Mecca to Medina. This transfer of migration of the Holy prophet demonstrate that there is no room for geographical nationalism in Islam.

Iqbal and Patriotism:-

It is natural that all human beings love their country because of their inseparable association with the soil. Similarly, Iqbal was a man of

(82)
 deep patriotism and he greatly loved his country. He was wrongly accused by some critics for lack of patriotism. As a matter of fact, he was so much patriotic that he wanted to see Mir Jaffar of Bengal in the fire of hell, who was a traitor of his country and sided with foreigners and helped them to deprive it of political liberty. He expresses these feelings in Javid-Nama.

He speaks of India in these lovely words:

ہاوردی ایشیا کا بڑی حصہ ہے مرکز
 اقبال کی اشکو سے بڑی حصہ ہے کرب



This is the land, the centre of the hopes of the east!

This is the land watered by Iqbal's tears.

So it is quite clear that Iqbal was a great patriot, but when this patriotism is used in a barbarous way to gain the nation at the cost of others

then Iqbal discarded this ideology as a dangerous one. Our Great philosopher warns the muslims, not to imitate the West because the nationality and patriotism of West is based upon the race and country while that of Muslim is founded on the power of their creed and religion.

Iqbal and Internationalism.



Some critics argues that Iqbal was inspired by a narrow type of religious enthusiasm and he was concerned with the welfare of the muslim world only. They say that he had no broader sympathy which could link up the muslims with people and cultures equally grounded with in the broader humanism and spiritual values.

But there is sufficient evidence to contray in the words of Iqbal himself:

ee It was Islam which first gave the message to mankind that religion is neither national nor racial, neither personal nor private but purely human. Its aim despite of all differences, is to unify and discipline the whole humanity.

تفریق بلل علت افریق کامفقود
اسلام کامفقود فقط ملت آدمی

(The disruption of human is the aim of West!
The object of Islam is the unity of man.

Conclusion :-

It is clear from the above discussion that Iqbal is opposed to Nationalism, because of his humanistic and spiritual approach to man's religious, economic and political problems. According to him, the concept of nationalism is destructive for humanity and will lead to the conflict among the races. His prophecy was right

because after his death, the western world started the most destructive war on the basis of racial superiority.



Mubashir

Iqbal philosophy of Khudi.. (84)

Throughout the history, the prophets, poets and philosophers had tried to remind human beings of their true nature - a nature that consist of a temporal as well as a heavenly element. They have attempted to rekindle in the human beings the Divine Spark which is an integral part of their makeup. Speaking of the first human being, the Quran notes that when God created the new creation, He has breathed His own Spirit into this rather it is a "humanness" that has an element of Divine in it. But after having been created in a best formation, the human being was seduced to the lowest of low (Al-Teen). Now a question arise that whether the human individual can again rise to the original noble height at which he/she was created. In 20th century, no muslim thinker was more involved in this issue than Alama Muhammad Iqbal. Iqbal formulated his theory of Khudi, in order to express his ideas on this subject. Here the following verses illustrate his idea about this issue.

Why should I asked the sages about my beginning?

It is my ultimate destiny that I am really concerned about.

Rise your Khudi to such heights that before everything decree.

God himself ask you & Tell me what is your wish?"

Iqbal's philosophy revolves around the issue of the progression of human being to the rise of "Ego" in the direction of such heights at which the Allah Almighty Himself begins to take the wishes and hopes of the human being into account before formulation his decree.

Iqbal argues that Khudi is such an entity which may appear to be perishable, but which can attain immortality. The human ego or "I" has the potential of achieving permanency. The ego can evolve, progress and succeed as well as degenerate and fail. According to the holy Quran, "The one who causes 'self' to grow in purity has attained success; and the one who is negligent of 'self' is utterly failed." The human ego has the ability to grow by absorbing the elements of the universe as well as the attributes of Allah. He says that in order to reach these noble heights of perfection the ego has to pass through three stages:

- i) Obedience to Divine Laws
- ii) Self-control, which is the highest form of egoism
- iii) The viceregency of God.

Many writers argue that Iqbal took these three stages from the Nietzsche's three stages of metamorphosis of the spirit. Though they are seem similar to each other, yet there is difference in them. Iqbal himself warns to reader that "Nietzsche does not at all believe in the spiritual fact which I have described as Khudi." Nietzsche argues that the human "I" is a fiction since it has not proved itself on intellectual grounds. But Iqbal insists that the existence of the "I" cannot be rejected just because it cannot be proven on intellectual grounds. He argues that it is because that human nature is not purely an intellectual entity - its existence is also rooted in the inner experiences.

Bradley, also explains that when one moves

beyond the constraints of purely intellectual thought, (85)
and view the issue from the "inner experience",
the "I" is no longer a fiction but a fact.

In the light of all this discussion, the most pressing question for Iqbal is that whether the ego is reality or not and whether this weak, created and dependent ego can ~~attain immortality~~ survive the shock of death. As Iqbal argues in *Asrar-e-Ikhtiadi*, the human ego can attain immortality if it adopt a certain way of life through which it can come into contact with the Ultimate Ego.



Iqbal argues that all philosophical problems have their solution in the self, but unfortunately, it is this very self which is still ignored. The reason is that people thought of the self as being a material entity.

The reality is that ^{human being} self is not only a material being but it also contains non-material components. He argues that there is an element in human being that differentiates itself from bodily elements and this non-material element is the human soul. Together the body and soul exist as a unit. Thus the Iqbalian self is an entity in which the body and the soul work together. Both have to work together in a harmonious way if the personality of the person is going to be strengthened.

According to Iqbal, the soul is that element in the constitution of human being, that can be explained only in the sense that it is a Divine Spark in the human body.

The ambiance of the Divine Light is shrouded within
this very clay

O you heedless person! You are much more than a sanctioned
being

Iqbal argues that when human being forgets this
Spark of Divinity within, he/she falls prey prey to the
false sense of liberty - a liberty which in reality
is the worst kind of slavery. When the human being
neglects the realization of Divinity within, then the
Divine Spark withers away itself. This leads to
an un-balanced life in which the individual exists
as an animal and loses all senses of humanity.

Moreover, Iqbal says that Khuda cannot fulfill its
true potential only through the sources of Science and
philosophy. According to Iqbal, it is only religion can
provide us a knowledge for this purpose.



(26)

Iqbal on Democracy:

There are few factors due to which Iqbal is against the Western democracy. The factors are below.

(1) Sovereignty of People:

Iqbal criticise western democracy in a strongest possible terms. He says that by perverted democratic principles, the West has unleashed the monster. He opposed the western democracy, as it is methodology rather than an ideology or philosophy. He says that this system is not qualitative and the decisions made on the basis of quantity is not correct. He criticise the aspect of "Sovereignty of people" of the western democracy, which rests with the masses that have no capacity of the same.

جمہوریت ایگزٹرز حکومت ہے کہ جس میں
مرد کو بتا رہے ہیں تو نہ اس کی

He believes that if a common man has not wisdom as well as his opinion but always dominated by the opinion of Capitalists and industrialists through the propaganda tactics. Therefore, according to Iqbal there is no difference between democracy and other kinds of despotism. In Bang-e-Dara he describe that the western democratic institutions as old wine in new bottles, which contain no tune other than despotism. He says that it is the demon of despotism ~~that~~ dancing in the garb of democracy and you think it is a fairy of freedom.

یہ وہی سارے لوگوں کو
صبر پرورد میں نہیں غیر از نوائے قہقری
دلجو استبداد و جمہوری قبا میں پائے کو
کو سچا سے بہ آزادی ہی ہے نیک بری





(2) Secularism.

Secularism is another aspect of western democracy due to which he hates it. It means the separation of politics from religion. He says that nations that believe in secularism, cannot exist longer. In the name of it, thousands of atrocities have been committed in the world. Iqbal reports the "satan" as saying: There is no need of presence in the world as there are enough devils in the shape of politicians in Western democracy.

جہو، اے ابلیس، میں ادا رہتا ہوں
باقی اسے قبر کا کھردر نہ اقلد

Iqbal further says that the western democracy is not only irreligious but it is also designed by the capitalist for their own interests. He says that God has created one devil while West has created number of devils in the shape of democracy.

بنا کر ابلیس آپ سے تو نے
بنا کر ہے اس نے ابلیس،

(3) Liberalism: The sovereignty of people and the separation of religion from politics resulted in too much liberalism, which is the basic principle of western democracy. The liberty led individual to many unethical and inhuman acts.

The young generation involves itself in such activities which has destroyed the social life of human beings. Iqbal has severely criticized the liberalism in western society and says that complete liberty of thoughts led the people toward destruction. If thinking is misguided, the freedom of thought can easily convert a human into beast.

آزادی افکار سے ہے انکی تباہی
اگے ہیں جو فکر و تدبیر کا طریقہ
میں فکر آگے ختم تو آزادی افکار
انسان کو حیوان بنا دے گا طریقہ

(4) Capitalism - It is another characteristic of Western democracy, which means that all resources of a state are in the hands of few individuals. Individuals are independent in earning money and can use all sort of means to have unlimited property. In simple words, Capitalism is decentralization of wealth and exploitation of it by few capitalists. Iqbal has felt this situation and has been deeply influenced by the tactics of capitalists and the miserable conditions of poor workers. He says that the capitalist have been victorious due to their deceitful tactics, while the workers have been ruined due to their simplicity.

گرمی جانوں سے بازی لے لیا سرمایہ دار
انسانی سادگی سے کھا لیا مزدوریات

Line 100 Karl Marx Iqbal ~~advice~~ have like Karl Marx advises the workers to realize the situation of the world, which has been changed in their favor, a new era has begun both in East and West

مگر اب نیرم عیاں کا درمیں انرا ہے
مشرق و مغرب میں تیرے (دور) کا آغاز

(5) Nationalism -

The fifth important characteristic of Western democracy which means a feelings of group of people living in a well define geographic area, having common language and common culture and traditions. Thus the basis of Western nationalism is: geography, race, language and common traditions etc. Iqbal condemns the Western nations and their democracy in possible harsh terms and says that it is against the principles of

Islam, and nationalism and Islam cannot go hand in hand. He says the migration from homeland is the Summa of Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H) and be a witness to the truth of prophethood.

دے تو کہ وطن سنتِ محبوبِ الہی
 دے تو کہیں نبوت کی علامت ہے تو ایسی



(b) Party System:

The party system is another corner stone of western democracy. According to the system, the like-minded people come together with the objective to be victorious at national polls, to get the political powers of the state. These groupings constitutes political party which is the part and parcel of western democracy. He criticizes the party system and says that the politicians who come to power through party system, never allow the people to share the power with them like kings. Thus the politicians and the kings are defective rulers of the world.

سربلند علمِ عدل و آزادی
 خدایا، میں فقط ایک چور اور دار



Iqbal concludes the discussion and says that on the surface western democracy appears radiant but its inside is darker than the despotism of Changan Khan
 تو نے کہا، کیا ایسی مغرب کا چور اور دار تھا
 چہرہ روشن اندرون عینک سے تاریک تر

Iqbal's millet.



The relationship of an individual with society is indeed the most pertinent problem for all thinkers to meditate for a possible concrete solution. There have been two schools of thoughts confronting this problem i.e. Mechanistic and organic.

The Mechanistic school of thought has been supported by Aristotle, Bentham and Nietzsche. They had the opinion that individual is supreme and preferable to society. Individual is concrete while society is abstract. Individual is reality while society is an illusion. Their philosophy led to Laissez Fair and divorced the religion from state.

Organic school of thought had been supported by Plato, Hobbes and Marx. They had the opinion that individual is nothing without society. Society is an imperishable organism which has its own entity without individual. Their philosophy led to absolutism, fascism and communism.

On the other hand Iqbal took a balanced position between these two. According to Iqbal, in Islam, individual's interest are not against the interest of society. Both act in a parallel way which is visible in the form of millet. Millet, according to Iqbal, is a universal community of believers, transcending all barriers of cast, colour, language and nationality. Now a question arise that who is believer? or according to the

Holy Quran, believer is described as muslim; who surrenders his will to the will of Allah; and Muslim who has faith in Allah. Iqbal distinguishes between believer and non-believer and says that unbeliever is lost in the cosmos while the cosmos itself is lost in believer.

کافر کی پہچان نہ آفاق میں کھم ہے
مومن کی پہچان نہ کھم میں ہے آفاق



Iqbal advises believers to understand the world and the power of self awareness and to discover the secrets of the world by it.

فوق دنیا سے دنیا پہ چاہتا
مقام دیکھ لو گا، ار یا جا

Iqbal again distinguishes between believers and non-believers and says that whenever faith is born in believer, he creates the wings of angel Gabriel and no one can assess the strength of believer who can be changed even the fate.

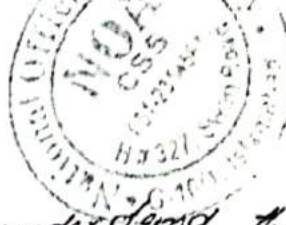
ہم اس انکارہ حاکم میں پوتا ہے یقین پیدا
تو کبر بنا ہے یہ مال و پیر روح الہ میں پیدا
کوئی انرا زہ کر سکتا ہے اس کزور بازو کا
نشاہ خرد مومن سے بدل جائے تو ہرگز نہیں

The Islamic individual moves ahead and merges himself with the fellow believers to constitute what the Holy Quran described "Millet". The focal point of Millet is when all believers surrender their wills to the will of God, subordinating themselves to divine laws.

Iqbal says that individual is strong when he is remain within the bond of Millet, alone he is nowhere; like a man in ocean but nothing outside.

خود قائم، لڑائی سے ہے، تنہا کون نہیں
سوج ہے دریا میں اور بیرون دریا کون ہے ایسا

Iqbal categorically rejects all other bond of unity, such as race, caste, nationality, Geography and accept only Millet in this regard. He says that bond of Millet was the only way of deliverance for East but the Asians are still unaware of this. He advises the Muslims to unite themselves from the bank of Nile to the city



(81)
of Kashmir to protect the "Haram".

رابطہ و ضبط ملت برصغیر مشرق کی نجات
ایسا ہے اس نکتے سے اب تک جو عبرت
ایک ہوسم صرم کی پاسانی کیلئے
نیل کے ساحل سے لیکر تاجکات کا سفر



He says that if Muslims believe in Discrimination
on the basis of Colour, they will be ruined.

نسل اور رسم کی مزید پر مقدم ہو گئی
اور دنیا سے تو باندھ کر

Factors leading to an Ideal Millet:-

(i) Believe in the unity of Allah and prophethood.

Iqbal says that the unifying element of muslim
all over the world is their monotheism and their belief
in the prophethood of Muhammad. Keeping in view this
thing, all muslims have a common heritage, common
joy and sorrow and common brotherhood. The Muslims
whether from Hijaz, China or Iran are like a the
leaves of the same morning.

رعجاز و چین و ایران میں
سب یک رنگ و وحدانیت ما



(ii) Hatred of Nationalism:

Iqbal believes that hatred of Nationalism also forged
the Islamic individual into Millet. His reasons for
opposing nationalism are Islamic as well as human.
The principles of nationalism are against Islam and

Islam and nationalism cannot go together. that migration from homeland is the Summit of prophet (P.B.U.H) and be a witness to the truth of the

پس ترک وطن کونہ قبول الہی
 دے تو کما نبوت ہی حلاقت کی گواہی



(iii) Millet above race and creed.

He believes that Millet is above all race and creed, colour and nationality. He advises the Muslims to merge themselves into a Millet, breaking all labels of colour and blood, because the Turanian, Iranian and Afghan laws test their past glories.

بتان رنگ و جوں تو درگزر ملت میں گم ہو جا!
 نہ تو دانی رہے نہ ایرانی نہ افغانی



(iv) Respect and recognition of individual.

Millet is a great blessing for individual, because it is a community alone in which an individual develops all his qualities of head and heart. Individual get respect and recognition only by being a member of Millet. He says that Millet is reality while individual is an illusion. He says that one should have relations with the Millet in order to acquire greater strength.

ملت کا ساتھ رابطہ استوار کرو
 ہو گزرے شور سے امید ببارد کرو

(v) Force: Force is the basic factor for an ideal umma and membership. Islam has made Jihad compulsory for Millet and Jihad is declared an obligation for every Islamic individual. He entered in controversy with Gadianis over this topic. He says that Mirza had declared that this is the age of 'pen' not of 'sword' and sword had become useless. He addressing Mirza, is war prohibited in East and not in West.

قوت کا ہے شمع کا یہ زمانہ تلک نا ہے
 دنیا میں اب رہی اس تلوار کا ر
 ہم پر تو جمع ہے شمع جلیسا تو از ہے
 میرزا کو کہہ کر

Ideology of Muhammad Rashid Rida



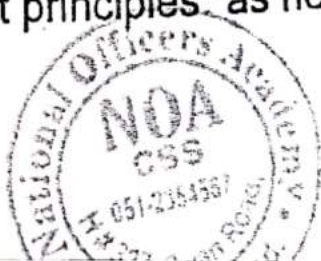
Muhammad Rashid Rida was an early Islamic reformer, whose ideas would later influence 20th-century Islamist thinkers in developing a political philosophy of an "Islamic state". Rida is said to have been one of the most influential and controversial scholars of his generation^[4] and was deeply influenced by the early Salafi Movement and the movement for Islamic Modernism founded in Cairo by Muhammad Abduh.^[22]

Rida's philosophy evidently represented a transition from the modernist, rational, liberal and reformist tradition represented by Muhammad Abduh and Jamal al-Din Al-Afghani to the radical, violent, reactionary, racist and Muslim supremacist philosophy of Hassan al-Banna and Sayyid Qutb.

Following the death of 'Abduh's in 1905, Rida came to be regarded as the leading disciple of Abduh and exponent of Islamic reform, after he published an extensive biography of Abdu. He also continued the Tafsir (commentary) of the Quran begun by Abdu. Most of Rida's energies were focused on publication of al-Manar. However, he also wrote at length, both in Al-Manar and various books.

Despite extensive actual departures from Abduh, Rida's ideas were viewed as a legitimate continuation of 'Abduh's thought, and a pathway for reinvigorating Islam and demonstrating its compatibility with modernity.

In common with Abduh and Afghani, Rida blamed Muslim decline on the Ulema (Muslim authorities), excesses of some Sufi sects which were opposed to political involvement (apparently he joined the Naqshbandi Sufi) and taqlid (imitation of previous jurists), and abandonment of what he considered the original Islamic writ. Like them, he called himself a Salafi, in the sense that he wanted to return to "first principles" as he saw them, and reinterpret Islam



according to reason and first principles. He was convinced that the "correct" Islam lay not in the pronouncements of the Ulema of al-Azar and other prestigious places, but rather in the rulings of village elders and notables such as his own family.

But Rida diverged from Abduh and Afghani in very significant ways. Rida was, or became a pan-Arab advocate as much or more than a pan-Islamic advocate and used al-Manar to promote pan-Arabism with an Islamist slant. During and following World War I, he opposed the breakup of the Ottoman Empire because he correctly foresaw that it would mean the end of the Caliphate, and he likewise opposed the British sponsored Pan-Arab movement of Feisal, especially when it was defeated in Damascus. ^(ref)

Rida's version of *Ittihad* - Islamic unity - called for a Caliphate as Maududi had. Rida was profoundly affected by the dissolution of the Caliphate by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. He believed that the abolition was part of a conspiracy by the west to sow disunity among Muslims and weaken them. He cited Lord Cromer as stating the unity of Muslims was a challenge and a source of resistance to the forces of the Christian countries and that it had to be watched carefully (Dawoody, Ahmad Mohsen al-, The Intellectual Repercussions of the Abolition of the Caliphate in Egypt, unpublished MA thesis submitted to Leiden University, 1999, p. 25.)

Rida's caliphate would be a collection of states, with a supreme Mujtahid to rule as an expert on matters of religion, with the consensus of a Shura council (Zubaidi, 1989, p. 15). As Bassam Tibi points out, (Tibi, p. 153) and as others have pointed out (especially Raziq), there was no Caliphate in the time of Muhammad, and the Caliphate as such is not mentioned in the Quran (the word *Khilafah* appears, but in another context). Therefore there is a contradiction between the supposed return to



"first principles" on the one hand, and the insistence on a Caliphate or Islamic rule on the other.

Rida identified many defective Muslim traditions with "Israiliyyah" - traditions that were supposedly inserted into Islam by converted Jews, and that were therefore suspect. Both from his early life history, in which he abandoned a Turkish school for an Arabic language one, and from his writings, it is apparent that Rida advocated Arab supremacy within the Islamic world. In his Fatwa against the translation of the Quran, he argued that parts of the Quran were untranslatable, and that only Arabic speakers could fully comprehend it. Translations of portions of the Quran could be made for those who required it for ritual purposes. However, a translation would produce a variant meaning. He explained:

The Qur'an prohibited *taqlid* [imitative reasoning] in religion and denounced the imitators. Deriving [the rulings of] religion from the translation of the Qur'an is an imitation of its translator, so it is a deviation from the guidance of the Qur'an and is not in accordance with it. (Al-Munajjid and Khuri, Fatawa al-Imam Muhammad Rashid Rida, Dar al-Kitab al-Jadid, Beirut, 1970, vol. 2, pp. 642-650. Tr by Mohamed A. M. Abou Sheishaa ref)

In theory, at least, Rida's philosophy was liberal. He pleaded for Ijtihad (innovation). He stressed that Islam is based on reason and claimed that the Islamic Sharia is founded on the basis of Ijtihad. Without Ijtihad, in his view, Islam could not adapt and could not be an eternal religion. Thus, anyone who is opposed to Ijtihadis undermining the basis of Islam and of Sharia. "What a heinous crime is being committed, then, by these ignorant persons who call themselves the Ulema of Islam," he wrote. (Tafsir al-Manar vol. IV Cairo, 1375 (1956) p.240). The call for perpetual and free Ijtihad could hardly sit well with Sunni Ulema who believe that the gates of Ijtihad are closed, and especially not with traditional Salafi theologians.





In apparent contradistinction to those who view Islam as prescribing a whole way of life to the smallest details, Muhammad Rashid Rida claimed that Islam gave great liberty to order the affairs of every day life. Islam requires that issues should be settled by consultation, The restrictions on Ijtihad placed by the ulema are not warranted, according to him. (Tafsir al-Manar vol. V Cairo, 1374 (1955) p.189).

Rida must have been among the first to become aware of Zionism and to warn of the dangers of Zionism as he saw them. In 1898, he wrote in *Al Manar*.

Apathetic people, lift up your heads and see what is happening. Consider what people and nations are doing...Does it please you that the newspapers around the globe are reporting that the impoverished of the most miserable people [the Jews] whom all governments are expelling from their countries, have so mastered knowledge and civilization that they can come to your country, colonize it and transform its masters into wage laborers and its affluent men into paupers... Ponder this problem [Zionism] and make it the subject of your conversations, to ascertain if it is just or unjust, true or false. If it is clear that you have neglected to defend the rights of your fatherland and the interests of your nation and your religious community, ponder and study, debate and examine the matter. It is a worthier subject for consideration than focusing on shortcomings, spreading slander and insulting the innocent. It is more worthy of discussion than ridiculing and accusing your [Muslim?] brothers. (Rida, Muhammad Rashid, *Khabar wa itibar* (News and Views) al-Manar (April 9, 1898), p 108)





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His Controversies:

One of his controversial views was his support of Darwin's theory of evolution. To justify Darwinism, Rida considered it permissible to "interpret certain stories of the Qur'an in an allegorical manner, as, for example, the story of Adam." He also believed that the origin of the human race from Adam is a history derived from the Hebrews and that Muslims are not obliged to believe in this account.

Other controversial beliefs held by Rida included:

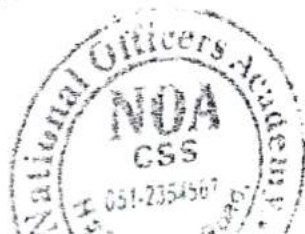
- His view that usury (riba) may be permitted in certain cases
- His idea that building statues is permissible in Islam as long as there is no danger of their being devoted to improper religious uses.
- His support of the British against the Ottomans
- His view that "the minute living bodies which today have been made known by the microscope and are called microbes, may possibly be a species of Jinn

Works by Muhammad Rashid Rida

Tafsir al-Qur'an al-Hakim known as *Tafsir al-Manar* (Continuation of the commentary on the Qur'an begun by 'Abduh. Rida continued up to *surat Yusuf XII*, verse 100)

Al-Tafsir al-Mukhtasar al-Mufid (Intended as a summary of the *Tafsir*, begun by Rida and published by Muhammad Ahmad Kan'an and Zuhayr al-Shawish as *Mukhtasar Tafsir al-Manar*, 3 vols, Beirut-Damascus, 1984).

Al-Manar Journal (The first volume was published in 1315A.H. [1898], the second section of the last volume (volume 35) was published and distributed after his death on 29th Rabi' II, 1354/1935)





Tarikh al-Ustaz al-Imam al-Shaykh Muhammad 'Abduh (A biography of his teacher published in three volumes)

Nida' lil Jins al-Latif or *Huquq al-Mar'ah fi al-Islam* ("A Call to the Fair Sex" or "Women's Rights in Islam").

Al-Wahy al-Muhammadi (Rational and historical proofs that the Qur'an is a Divine Revelation).

Tarjamat al-Qur'an wa ma fiha min Mafasid wa Munafat al-Islam, Maṭba'at al-Manar, Cairo, 1344/1926.

al Naqd Dhikra al-Mawlid al-Nabawi (Summary of the Prophet's biography and the foundations of Islam al-Manar 20, 1336/1918).

Al-Wahda al-Islamiyya ([Islamic Unity]. Most of this work was first published under the title *Muhawarat al-Muslih wa al-Muqallid* ["Debates between the Reformer and the Imitator"])

Yusr al-Islam wa Usul al-Tashri' al-'Amm ("The Accommodating Spirit of Islam and the Sources of General Jurisprudence" published in 1928.)

Al-Khilafa wa al-Imama al-'Uzma ("The Caliphate and the Greater Imamate" Cairo, Manar Press.)

Al-Sunna wa al-Shari'a ("The Prophetic Tradition and Islamic Law")

Al-Muslimun wa al-Qibt ("Muslims and the Copts")

Al-Wahhabiyyun wa al-Hijaz ("The Wahhabites and the Hijaz")

Al-Manar wa al-Azhar ("Al-Manar and al-Azhar")+

Ami Isseroff



Rashid Rida In short notes:



Syrian Islamic revivalist, reformer, and writer. Lived in Egypt from 1897 until his death. Close associate and disciple of Muhammad Abduh. Published the journal *Al-manar* to articulate and disseminate reformist ideas and preserve the unity of the Muslim nation. Concerned with the preservation of Muslim identity and culture. Viewed original Islamic sources—the *Quran*, *Sunnah*, and *ijma* (consensus) of Muhammad's companions—as the basis for reform. Believed that matters of worship (*ibadat*), intended to organize human behavior, were revealed in the *Quran* and authentic *hadith*, making them unchangeable. Human relations (*muamalat*), in the absence of an explicit, authentic, and binding text, can be reinterpreted according to the interest of the community (*maslahah*). *Ijtihad* (independent reasoning) is to be exercised to achieve the common good of the Muslim community. Believed the decline of the Muslim nation was due to the stagnation of scholars and tyranny of rulers. Viewed European dominance over Muslims as a result of Muslim weakness due to a lack of mastery over the sciences, an inability to form organized political institutions, and a lack of restrictions on the power of government. Considered education a precondition for political reform and independence. Urged Muslims to acquire the commendable aspects of Western civilization, such as science, technical skill, and wealth. Tried to combine modern education with religious teachings. Supported revival of the caliphate as essential to the unity and coherence of the Muslim community.



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Political Science

Theory and Practice

Shah Zeb

Section - (J)
by

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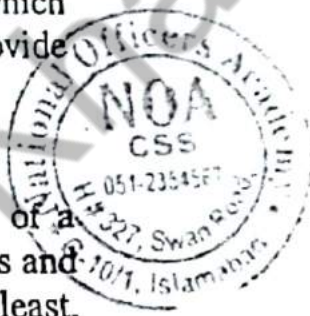
The 1973 Constitution of Pakistan, Modern Constitutions,
Modern Political Theories (Isms), Elements of Civics, Civics of Pakistan,
Nazri-wa-Amlī Siasiyat, A Short History of Islam,
A Short History of Muslim Spain, Outline of Islamic History etc.

Shah Zeb



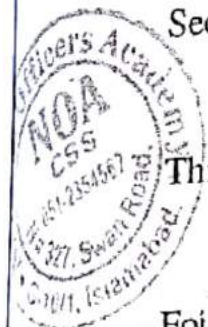
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people into outputs or decisions of the political authorities. It is a structural functional subsystem of the society, which is its environment, from which it derives its resources in order to satisfy the demands of the people. However, the environment also includes several political and social subsystems. The political subsystems are political parties, interest or pressure groups, etc., while the social sub-systems are the families, religious communities, cultural associations and clubs, educational institutions like schools, colleges, universities, etc., commercial, industrial and other economic organisations like the factories, farms, trade unions, corporations, etc. All these political and social sub-systems are the sources of the demands which their members, or people, make on the government and also provide supports to it.



Political Systems and its Sub systems:

As we have said above, a political system is a sub-system of a larger political system, while, in its turn, it has a number of sub-systems and sub-systems of subsystems. It has been calculated that there are, at least, four levels of political systems and their subsystems. They can be hierarchically arranged as below:



- First Level International Political System
- Second Level National Political Systems, e.g. Pakistan, China, Iran, Egypt, Algeria, France, Great Britain, Holland, Canada, USA, Mexico, Brazil etc.
- Third Level Decision-making sub-system; e.g. governments, political parley (sub-system) Interest or pressure Group (Sub-system)
- Fourth Level The individual, as a voter, etc., with his/her interests, demands and supports.

First level: the International Political system. It can be divided, at second level, into several national political systems, such as those of Pakistan, India, China, USA, USSR, Great Britain, France, Saudi Arabia, UAE, etc. There are nearly 160 national political systems or national States in the world today. Thirdly, each of the national political system can be divided into such subsystems as decision-making system or government, party system, etc. Finally, each of the political sub-systems consists of several individual men and women, as voters or participants in political activities. Each individual has his or her interests, attitudes, beliefs, values, etc. They link him or her with a political subsystem and national political system, on the one side, and with other social or economic, and other sub-systems and systems, such as a family, a school, an office, a shop or a workshop, a factory, farm, religious group or community and so on and so

forth. Thus every man, woman and child is embedded in a vast political and social systems of his State and society.

Types of Political Systems:

In the world today, there are several types of political systems. They are differentiated from each other on the basis of the principles of (i) democracy and (ii) modernity. A political system is said to be democratic if its political subsystems, like political parties or interest groups, enjoy autonomy with regard to the decision-making governmental system. If not, it is a non-democratic political system. The second criterion means that a political system has modernised its social and economic systems. If not, it is a traditional political system. Hence there are four types of political systems, as under:

1. Traditional non-democratic political system:

It is a political system in which the traditional forms of social life, such as castes, and clans, still exist and dominate the decision-making governmental system. Such political systems existed in the ancient times in Asia, Africa and Europe. They were either tribal chieftainships, or monarchies, in which the kings or emperors were autocrats or despots. But they ruled with the support of powerful tribes and clans while the rest of the population did not participate in the governmental decision-making activities, as for examples the ancient Persian Empire or the Mughal Empire in medieval India. In modern times, such political systems have virtually vanished. Still a few examples are found in such States as Ghana, Uganda, Saudi Arabia, etc.

2. Traditional Democratic Political System:

In this type of political system, the governmental decision-making system is democratic; at least, constitutionally speaking, and the political sub-systems, like political parties, etc., enjoys constitutional freedom to participate in politics and possess political autonomy to do so. But they are really dominated by such traditional kinship groups as castes, tribes, local *baradaris*, etc. The result is that though the governmental structure is democratic, but it operates in the interests of powerful traditional groups. Examples are mostly found in the Third World countries, such as Pakistan, India, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Egypt, etc. India's case is very interesting. It claims to be "the biggest democracy in the world", but it is a democracy of dominant Hindu high castes, such as the Brahmin, *Bania*, etc. A Hindu businessman has aptly remarked, "India's constitution may be secular but India will always be a theocracy." It means the Indian political system is a rule of the priestly class of the Brahmins for the sake of the Indian *Bania* or middle classes. Even the rapid industrialization of India will not make it a

modern democratic State, due to such new forces in Indian politics, as the rise of Hindu Fundamentalist and Communalist groups and parties, like, Shiv Sina. Etc.

3. Modern Non-democratic Political System:

The modern non democratic political system is really a new type. It came into being with the rise of modern dictatorships, whether fascist, Nazi, communist, military or nationalist. In this type, the political and social systems possess no constitutional, even legal, right and autonomy to share in the political process of governmental decision-making. All powers are in the hands of the dictator and his group or party. This type is of two varieties: authoritarian and totalitarian. If the dictator uses modern means to maintain his sole absolute authority, the type is authoritarian, e.g. Nasser's Egypt. But if the dictator exercises his authority over all sphere of national life and society, whether political, social, economic, cultural, educational, intellectual, academic, etc., the type is then totalitarian, e.g. Nazi Germany, Soviet Union, Communist China, and other communist States. However, the communist totalitarian type is changing at present due to such programmes as glasnost (openness) and *perestroika* (Restructuring), as in the Soviet Union, which may change it into a modern democratic political system.

4. Modern Democratic Political System:

This type of political system is modern and democratic. It is modern because of its high level of industrialism, pluralist society, autonomy of the social and political sub-systems, such as political parties, interest groups, etc. It is democratic because of freedom of political participation for all citizens and groups by means of right to vote to elect the decision-makers. This type is "the wave of the future".

Can one type of political system change into another? Most of the behavioural political scientists are of the opinion that no political system can change from one type into another. They believe that every political system is unique. It is neither produced by any other type of political system, nor does it give rise to any other. In other words, it has neither history, nor evolution. However, some political scientists believe that there is some change in every political system, for instance, Gabriel Almond has expounded a theory of development in a political system, which we shall discuss in a later section of this chapter.

Two Well-known Political systems Analysts:

David Easton and Gabriel Almond:

Since 1945, many political scientists, at first mostly Americans, have adopted the systems approach to the study of politics. Among them,

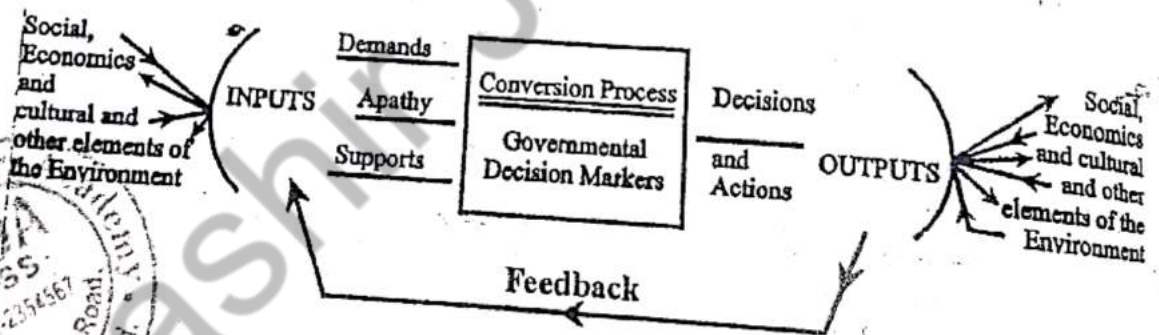


two are most prominent, namely David Easton, who "was, in fact, the first to do so, and Gabriel A. Almond, who further elaborated it. We shall first discuss David Easton's analysis of the political system, and afterwards that of Gabriel A. Almond's.

David Easton and his Systems Analysis:

David Easton was the first American political scientist to apply systems analysis to politics in his book, *The Political System*, which he wrote in 1953. He continued to discuss the systems approach in his later books: *A Framework for Political Analysis* and *A System Analysis of Political Life*, both written in 1965. He claimed that his systemic theory embraced all the social systems as well as the whole political process. Since 1953, David Easton became one of the prominent exponents of the "general systems" approach to Political Science. He was one of the few who came from within this discipline rather than from other social sciences, such as sociology. In 1969, he became the president of the American Political Science Association. In his presidential address to the Association, he modified somewhat his behavioural approach to politics. He asserted that the political scientists should not concentrate on facts only, but explain them on the basis of a theory which was usually neglected by them, i

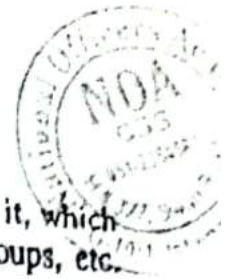
Before we explain his political system, we may depict its basic components in a diagram as below:



Flow Chart of David Easton's Political System (Polity or State)

Definition: Easton defines a political system as "that system of interactions in any society through which binding or authoritative allocations are made and implemented. Authoritative allocations relate to the values or objects or resources of human needs and desires. They can be roughly translated as laws or acts of policy.

Easton's model of the political system (commonly called a polity or State) consists of two main parts: the environment and the political system as such. The political system consists of (i) the conversion process, shown as "the box" in the model (ii) the inputs, (iii) the outputs and (iv) the feedback. We may add here that, according to Easton, there are, besides the



political system, two other political systems. One of them is below it, which is called *para-political* system, e.g. political parties, pressure groups, etc. and the other is above it, namely the international political system. But it is the national political system which is a political system par excellence because it alone makes and implements authoritative decisions allocating values or goods and resources to individuals, and groups, in the society.

Environment: According to Easton, political life is "a system of behaviour embedded in an environment to the influence of which the political system itself is exposed and in turn reacts". The environment, within which the political system exists, comprises all the social, economic, cultural, religious, ideological and other conditions, without which a political system cannot exist. In more concrete terms, it means the natural and human resources of the economy, ecological conditions, and all other material and non-material variables. They also include the international resources, influences and conditions. For instance, both Soviet Union and U.S.A. are international resources for Bharat, while for Pakistan. America is the only resource. Both the internal and external variables are not a part of the political system. According to Easton, "In the environment we have such systems as the ecology, economy, culture, personality, social structure and demography". The limits or lines, which separate the environment from the political system, constitute its boundary. Within the boundary lies the political system, which is defined by the possibility of the exercise of legitimate force of its binding decisions. But the boundary is constantly changing, because the conditions in the environment are also constantly changing and the political system has to cope with these changes or variables. They constitute the external variables of the political system. They are the forces which shape and change the inputs some of them come from within the system itself. It may be further noted that Easton's model is based on behavioural approach to politics. As he himself said in a later article, "We have been interpreting political life as a system of behaviour set in an environment and open to the influences stemming from that environment, as well as from internal sources."

The Inputs: Political process begins with the inputs. They are, broadly speaking, of three kinds: demands, supports and apathy or opposition. The government receives the demands and the supports from the domestic and foreign interests, that is, from the environment around the political system. Demands provide the raw material or information, which the system must process and the energy which the system needs. They lead to political activity. They are the signs that the people or the groups want action. They arise either in the environment (external) or within the system itself (internal). The external or environmental sources of the demands are the major portion of the demands, shaping the variables from outside the

political system. They can be expressed in all manner of ways, such as public opinion, polis, political parties, pressure groups, letters written to the governmental system, and also by means of riots, public demonstrations, and protest marches, etc. But the demands may arise internally from within the governmental system itself. They arise from such aspects and influences as the representation system, the nature of the constitution itself and the norms and procedures of the governmental system; they also arise from the values of the political culture of a political system. In short, they are the significant parts of the material on which the system operates. They are also the one important source of change in the political system. Roughly speaking, out of about one lakh needs, desires, expectations, plans and projects of the people, including social groups and political parties, about one thousand become their demands. Out of about one thousand demands about one hundred become challenges or issues which influence the government decision makers. Out of one hundred issues about ten are actually converted into outputs, i.e., become laws and acts of policy. In a democratic polity, out of the ten outputs, nine have originated from the people or political parties and groups, while one has come from the government itself. But in an undemocratic polity, such as a dictatorship or an autocracy, the ratio is reversed: one effective demand comes from the people, while the nine come from the government. Demands are of several kinds. They depend on the type of the political system. Some of them are as follows-

Economic demands include the desire for higher living standards, better employment opportunities or welfare or social security benefits.

Regulatory demands means the demands for specific legislation, laws for maintaining peace and order, improving Community relations, protecting human rights, etc.

In Islamic countries like Iran, Pakistan, or Saudi Arabia, religious demands may be more important than economic or cultural demands.

The "*Intermediary gatekeepers*" In the examples given above, we have said that demands can be in thousands. If all of them become effective or realisable demands or issues, requiring to be converted into outputs, they will overload the political system the conversion "box", i.e. the government. Every desire or hope cannot become a demand. The "*intermediary gatekeepers*" are the regulatory mechanisms which enable the political system prevent some wants. e.g. expectations, opinions, preferences or interests, from becoming issues or realisable and effective demands, and thus prevent overloading of the political system. They are as follows:

1. Structural mechanisms: They are the activities of opinion-leaders, political parties, mass media, pressure groups and the elite classes.

2. Cultural mechanisms: The cultural mechanisms are the norms which regulate behaviour, impose taboos; and also include the socialisation process.

The "gatekeepers" operate at various levels of the political system. They sit astride the flow from demand to output and, via the feedback loop back to the input side. They are known as "gatekeepers" because they operate at those strategic points, where demands can be stopped, selected, winnowed down, combined with others or are otherwise altered. It may be mentioned that there are more "gatekeepers" in a democratic State than in the undemocratic dictatorships or autocratic governments, which restrict them from arising. In the examples given above, in a theocratic State, the- gatekeepers winnow out economic or cultural demands, while they select and strengthen religious ones.

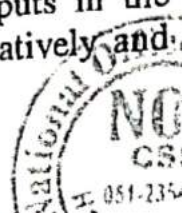
The supports: Supports constitute another kind of inputs. In simple terms it means that the political system exists so long as the government has the support of the people. Supports can be in both active and passive ways. An active support is in the form of actions or attitudes which promote or resist a political system or the demands and decisions which are needed to keep the system going. This refers to three levels which exist to ensure the maintenance of the system which are as under:

Firstly, the political community: It supports the system through payment of taxes, participation in elections, obeying laws and accepting certain values. Thus people are part of a total political community, and provide allegiance to the system. The allegiance expresses national unity or "consensus"

Secondly, the regime: its members must support the constitutional principles of the political system which legitimise action and provide authority and links between various parts of the political system, such as the executive, the legislature, judiciary, political parties.

Thirdly, authorities: They must support the actual government if it is to perform its functions. Public opinion or the views people hold on political or social issues, can also act as a support. Governments generally see to it that their policies satisfy the public's expectations.

Apathy: It is a lack of input. It is a matter of common observation that there are always some people who are indifferent to the political demands. For instance, they do not participate in voting at the time of election. It is a passive indifference. But it affects the inputs. The fewer there are those who participate in politics, the lesser the inputs in the conversion process. Thus the political process is both quantitatively and qualitatively affected.



Conversion Process: Surprisingly enough, Easton says little about the conversion process by which the government actually transforms the inputs into outputs by authoritative allocations or binding decisions. It is the process by which (i) demands are articulated and aggregated into policy proposals and (ii) demands are converted into authoritative decisions which are the **OUTPUTS**.

Outputs. Outputs are laws or policies. They are the decisions and actions of the authorities. They are of the following kinds:

- (a) extractive, e.g. tax-collection;
- (b) regulative e.g. laws;
- (c) allocative, i.e. activities which allocate public funds to alternative uses; and
- (d) judicial decisions, treaties, executive orders and administrative decisions.

The list of the outputs can be much longer than mentioned above. Briefly, all the activities of the government can be grouped under the broad heading of the outputs of the government. What government does to allocate values or objects of human needs to the society in response to the demands and supports of the people and of special interests are the-outputs.

The feedback: The feedback may be defined as the reactions of the people to the decisions and acts of the-government called the output. Every government action is bound to cause some reaction from at least some of the people. It may be a response of the people who made the original demand or of those who are affected by the output. The feedback is, thus, a dynamic process through which information about the output is communicated back to the system in such a way as to affect the subsequent behaviour of the system. It is a cyclic process by which the government can know how the system is working for the satisfaction of the needs or demands of the people. This is the reason why Easton's model is called flow model of the political system.

The stress: A political system may be in a State of stable equilibrium when the input-output flow may be operating smoothly. But there may be conditions when it is subject to various stresses. They are, for example excess demands, lack of support or the outputs which produce hostile or adverse effects in the environment or the feedback may be overcharged with old and new demands. In such conditions there are various kinds of political protests, which include pickets and strikes, rallies and riots. As the political system seeks to persist in time, it will meet the stresses by its own remedial or regulatory mechanisms and responses. Indeed, no real political system works exactly like the model. There are often many kinds of snags, especially in the developing countries. They are,



to mention a few, lethargy of the people, including that of the authorities, corruption, lack of democratic freedoms or outright acts of tyranny and oppression.

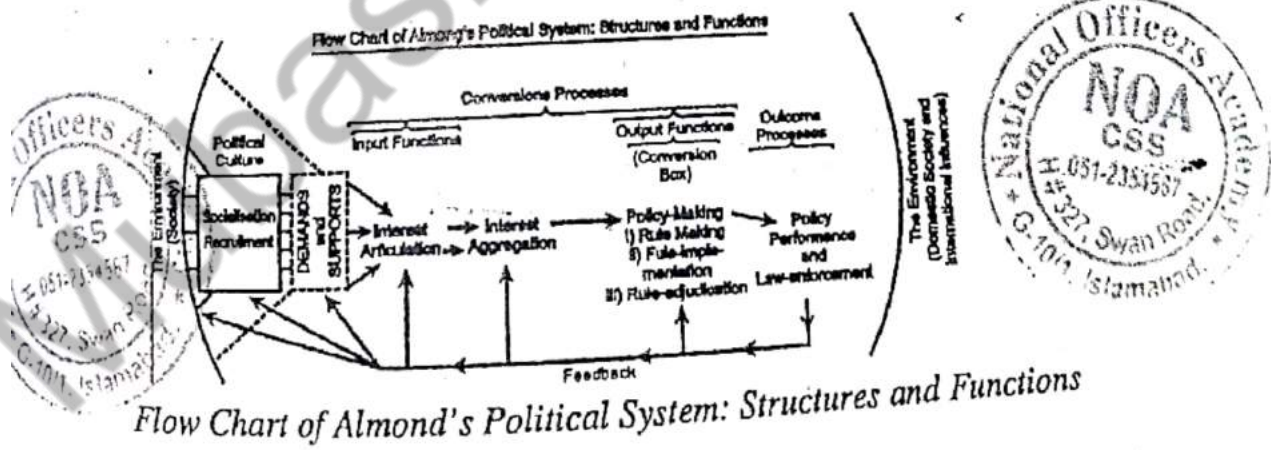
Gabriel Almond and his Systems Analysis:

Gabriel Almond is another prominent American political scientist who has adopted the method of systems analysis in Comparative Politics. He presented it in a number of articles, first of which was written in 1956, and later in a number of books, viz. *The Politics of the Developing Areas* written in 1960 and *Comparative Politics: A Development Approach*⁶ written in 1966. He became the President of the American Political Science Association in 1966. In his presidential address, he again discussed the systems approach to politics.

Like David Easton, Almond was in search of a "functional theory of polity". His field was comparative politics, which he studied as a developmental process. He sought to explain how various types of political systems change from the "traditional" to the "modern" systems. His aim was, as he says, "to explain and even predict cycles of short range or long range change of the political system in response to various kinds of environmental pressures." This is developmental approach, which is the main difference between his and Easton's theories.

Almond's theory was more sociological than that of Easton. He was influenced by the German sociologist, Max Weber, and still more by the American Sociologists, Talcott Parsons and Edward Shills. Indeed, it was Talcott Parsons' theory of social systems which he adopted in his analysis of the political systems.

We shall first describe Almond's political system in the form of a flow chart.



Flow Chart of Almond's Political System: Structures and Functions

⁶ See Comparative Politics: System, Process and Policy by Gabriel A Almond and G Bingham Powell, Jr. Second Edition, Ferozsons (Pvt.) Ltd. Lahore. 1987

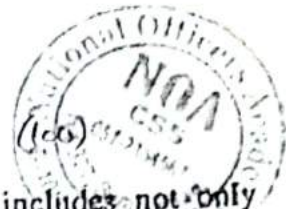
Political System:

Why do we use this term? First of all, Almond discusses the reason why the term political system is used in Comparative Politics. Formerly, political scientists used such terms as State, government, nation, etc. But these terms are limited by their legal and institutional meanings. Their use does not inform us about the roles played by these institutions in different States or countries. The reason is that the role of such an institution as a legislature or a court, is determined not only by the formal provisions of the constitution and law, but is also influenced by the informal groups, political attitudes, and a great many interpersonal relationships. Therefore, Almond says, "If political science is to be effective in dealing with political phenomena of all kinds of societies, regardless of culture, degree of modernisation, and size, we need a more comprehensive framework of analysis." Now the concept of political system directs our attention to "the entire scope of political activities within a society, regardless of where in the society such activities may be located." In other words, the use of the term "political system" is structurally and functionally more accurate and meaningful than the use of such terms as State, government or the like. These are particular terms and not universal terms like political system.

Regarding the usefulness of the concept of political system, Almond says further "The principal advantage of the system concept is that it analytically differentiates the objects of study from the government, directs attention to the interaction of the system with other systems in its environment, to its own conversion characteristics, and to its maintenance and additive properties."

What is a political system? This term consists of two parts, "Political" and "System". The term "system" we have already explained as the interdependence of the parts of an organism or machine on each other. If one part is changed in any way, it affects all the others. For instance, in a motor car the ring is a very small part of its engine. But if it is worn out, it will affect the working of the engine. It will then consume more petrol and produce less power, which will affect the speed of the car. Thus the wearing out of the ring will change the whole performance of the car.

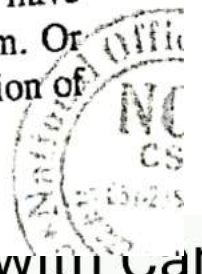
Now, interdependence or interaction between the parts and the whole is common to all systems, whether social, economic or political. The question is: what makes a system political? It is the use of legitimate force or physical compulsion which distinguishes the political system from all other kinds of systems. Therefore all relations, whether social, economic, cultural, religious, etc., which depend upon the use of legitimate force or threat of use of such a force become political relations and thereby become a part of the political system. He says, "When we speak of the political system, we include all the interactions which affect the use or threat of use



of legitimate physical coercion. The political system includes not only governmental institutions such as legislatures, courts, and administrative agencies, but all structures in their political aspects. Among these are traditional structures such as kinship and caste groupings; and anomic phenomena such as assassinations, riots and demonstrations; as well as formal organisations like parties, interest groups, and media of communication." For instance, the political system of a country is of one kind, when there is no television station in it. But it will be changed into another kind when a TV station or stations are installed in it. What is more, even, if a country has no TV station in it, but a neighbouring country installs one, the political system of the TV-less country will be accordingly changed, for it will be affected, adversely or not, by foreign telecasts. Thus the installation of a TV system is not merely a recreational matter, but has political effects not only on the political system of the country in question but also on all those countries which come within its telecast range. This leads us to the question: where is the boundary of a political system?

Boundary of a political system:

David Easton has given a rough and ready description of the boundary between the society and the polity. But Almond has described it in more operational terms hard and fast line of demarcation can be drawn between a political and the social, economic or religious systems, because the boundary of the political system is constantly changing. It is sometimes expanding, and at other times contracting. Take the case of inflation. When prices are stable, the political system of a country has nothing to do with religion the question of wages or salaries. It is a matter between employers and employees. In other words, it is only an economic relation. However, when prices rise, the wages of the workers may not be sufficient for their daily needs. But their employers may refuse to increase their wages accordingly. The workers may threaten strike to compel the employers to do so. The strike may turn into a riot, which becomes a political question. Thus inflation brings economic relations within the boundary of a political system, which may in its turn affect even the political philosophy of the country. In short, the question of inflation expands the political system. Or take another example. In an Islamic country, religious questions expand the political system. While in a secular country, in which politics has nothing to do with the religious questions do not become political, the political boundary is accordingly contracted. Or take the case of the student's unions. Once they were peaceful bodies, interested in training students for debates and such other educational matters. But when they were turned by some political parties into instruments of students' strikes and riots, they have become political and come within the boundary of the political system. Or take the case of women. For centuries women lived under the domination of



Chapter 8



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Inter disciplinary concepts in Political Science.

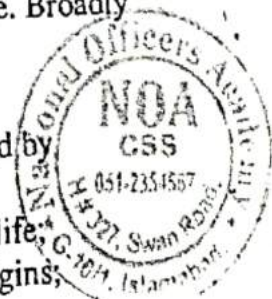
Political Science has been influenced by the discoveries, concepts and theories of modern social sciences, such as psychology, psycho-analysis, sociology, anthropology, etc. These influences have given it many new concepts, such as political sociology, political socialisation, political culture, political personality, etc. They are the approach factors to Political Science, which we have referred to in the Chapter Two above.

POLITICAL SOCIOLOGY

Political sociology is the sociology of politics. It may be defined as the systematic and empirical study of political phenomena and organisations as they influence social life and social structures and are, in turn influenced by them. In short, it studies the influence of politics on society and of the society on politics.

Political sociology has a very long history, going as far back as Aristotle, Ibn Khaldun, Montesquieu, Karl Marx, de Tocqueville, Lord Bryce, Max Weber, Graham Wallas, Mosca and Wright Mills. For instance, Marx (1818-1883) was the first to study class conflicts and social stratification on the basis of economic means and methods of production. Max Weber (1864-1920) the German Sociologist emphasised the role of religion and politics on the growth of new social systems, while sociologists like the Italian Mosca and the American Wright Mills studied the role of political elites and the processes of consensus and conflict in society. However, the term "political sociology" first came into use in 1945. Since then, political sociology has become an empirical study of actual political behaviour of the voters, political leaders or elites, attitude research, etc. It studies political institutions, both formal and informal, as parts of the social system, and not as separate from the society, in which they operate. Broadly speaking, political sociology studies the following problems:

1. Political conflict and consensus in human society;
2. Social stratification, influencing and being influenced by politics;
3. Various kinds of *elites* and their influence on social life;
4. Alienation: and its social, economic and political origins;



5. Voting behaviour and its effects on political parties;
6. Political parties;
7. Interest or pressure groups.
8. Ideologies, their rise and influence on politics and society.

Conflict and consensus approach of political sociology gives us two views of its influence on politics and society. Karl Marx was the first to emphasise the role of class conflicts in the evolution of society. According to him, when new means and methods of production come into being, they produce a new class, which comes into conflict with the older classes still in possession of the old productive forces and relations in the society and when it overthrows the old classes, it transforms the whole society and culture. But the new society again gives birth to a new class due to new technology and methods of production. As opposed to Marxist sociology, the consensual political sociology declares that with the growth of industry, a middle class comes into being, which harmonises the interests of the working classes with industrial classes and thus produce consensus in the society.

Elite Groups:

Political sociology, in present times, has concentrated attention on the study of elite groups, especially political elites, their membership and influence on social, political and economic relations and processes. Analysis of the elites is also closely connected with questions of political leadership, party organisation and political power. An interesting type of elite group is the military elites. Military leaders have always influenced political and social life of the nations and countries in all ages. In modern times, military elites have joined hands with industrial, religious and other social groups and thus control political power and economic resources of their States.

Political parties are also studied and analysed by the political sociologists. As political parties penetrate all aspects of modern State and society, their organisation and influence are important parts of the research by political sociologists. R. Michels, a political sociologist, asserted in his book, Political Parties, that in every party there are always some individuals or leaders who will dominate it. He called it the "iron law of oligarchy". He asserts that where there is organisation, there is oligarchy. He thus sought to prove that even representative institutions, like modern political parties, cannot be democratic. Even democracies will be dominated by elite groups. However, elite analysis has now shifted to the problems of elite behaviour, which is influenced by the way they are recruited and thus acquire opportunities for control and promotion. In present times, the political and party elites are selected on the criterion of achievement rather than on the

basis of birth, status, wealth or social background, as was the case in the past ages.

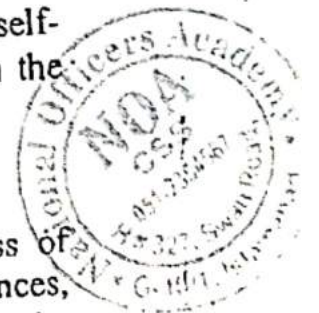
Alienation is another important topic of political sociology, both theoretical and research-oriented. Alienation is a socio-psychological phenomenon. It means a tendency to withdraw or disengage from political affairs and problems and to be reluctant to participate in politics or in political activities. It is a form of political apathy. Alienation is manifested by various social groups during certain periods, such as youth, minorities, intellectuals, etc. It may be due to the structure of political or social life. For instance, in male-dominated traditional societies, women show political apathy and disinterest in politics. Marx was the first writer to study alienation. But he believed that it was permanent State of mind of certain groups, such as of the working classes in the capitalist society. In modern times, however, alienation is regarded as an attitude, which changes when social or political system changes. Alienation leads to various kinds of political movements and revolts, which aim at bringing about a change in the political system which has alienated the majority of the people.

Voting behaviour of the people is another important field of research and empirical studies in political sociology. These studies have indicated that, under ordinary circumstances and conditions, the voting behaviour of the people does not change and that the people are very conservative in their political attitudes and loyalties to political parties and ideologies. But their voting behaviour changes in times of social or political crisis.

To conclude, political sociology has revealed close links and interdependence between society and politics, that is to say, between the social, economic and psychological conditions and attitudes, on the one side, and political organisations and processes, on the other, and that political systems, governments and political parties are not so self-subsistent and independent phenomena as they were believed to be in the past ages.

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

Political socialisation is both a formal and informal process of social and educative learning, by which political attitudes, preferences, skills, habits and beliefs are consciously and unconsciously imbibed by the individuals or citizens. It is a very important process. It orientates the people not only towards one or the other kind of political behaviour, political philosophy and ideology, but also causes stability or instability, continuity or change, and strength or weakness in a political system, and in the government of a country. It determines the type of participation in politics and government by the people. It is, indeed, the political aspect of



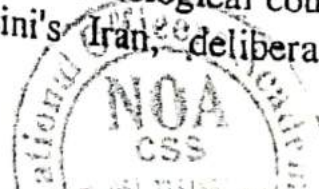
the general process of socialisation which is always taking place in every society and culture. Harold D. Lasswell explains this process as thus: who learns what, from whom, under what circumstances, and with what effects.

Political learning begins early in family life, when the child is still young, when different treatment of the little boys and girls produces different political attitudes and behaviour in them. Generally speaking, boys are expected to be active in politics, while girls are deliberately denied political orientation and participation by their parents and other people around them. Class differences also produce differences in political attitudes and behaviour. Richer and well-off classes expect their members, young and old, to learn political skills and habits of domination and superiority, while the poorer classes are mostly humble, docile and submissive in their political attitudes and behaviour.

Agents of political socialisation are several; some of them influence the people more actively and deliberately, while others inculcate political attitudes, etc., more passively and unconsciously. Among the first is the family. Many of the political attitudes, beliefs, preferences and skills are learnt by the children at home. But, as we said above just now, this learning is affected by sex and class differences. In a traditional society, as for instance in India or Pakistan, the political education in the family is also influenced by the larger groups around the family, such as the castes and clans, tribes and *baradaries*, etc. Ethnic troubles, e.g., in Pakistan, are mainly, though not exclusively, caused by this kind of political socialisation in the family and neighbourhood life.

The second powerful agent is the school. Not only the political attitudes and beliefs of the teachers influence their pupils, but civic education is purposely imparted to them. This is one reason why the subject of civics is always taught in schools. Moreover, patriotism is also taught in schools by such methods as the daily singing of national anthem or saluting the national flag.

Other agents of political socialisation are newspapers, and journals, radio and television, political parties, pressure and interest groups, friends and neighbours, etc. Sometimes the influence of these agents is deliberate and consciously inculcated, but most often it is not so. Moreover, their influence produces some de-stabilising effect on the growing minds of the young people, for they sometimes learn the political cynicism of the adults around them. Consequently, they begin to downgrade political sentiments of loyalty and patriotism. This type of dichotomy in political socialisation also causes the phenomenon, called the revolt of the youth, especially among the college and university students. However, in the ideological countries, such as the Communist countries or Khomeini's Iran, deliberate political



socialisation, called political indoctrination, is regarded as a primary duty of the State.



POLITICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Political anthropology studies the origin of political power and authority in the primitive folk-societies of the past and present times. According to it, there are two kinds of societies: present societies with the State structures, and Stateless societies of the primitive times. The Stateless societies (as among the tribal peoples in Asia, Africa and other continents) were for a long time without a State system. But they had such political features as tribal leadership, control, as well as conflicts over the pastures, herds and such other rudimentary forms of property. These conflicts are not among individuals, as in modern societies, but among groups, which the political anthropologists call tribal segments. They are based on paternal-lineages/baradaries in Urdu or descent from common male ancestors. Still more primitive folk-societies, as among the aborigines of Australia or in the remote jungles of Indonesia, where society was matriarchal or there were not patriarchal segments, but bands. They hunted together and divided the food among them almost equally. Among these primitive bands, there was no politics, because there was no conflict. The whole band lived, moved and hunted together as a single social unit.

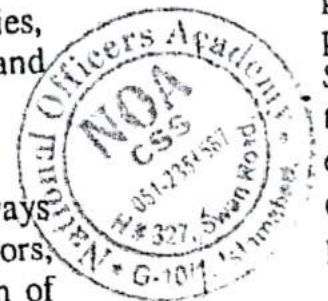
In short, political anthropology has described three kinds of societies: (i) States, as in the modern times (ii) Stateless folk-societies, which have or had rudimentary forms of political system and authority; and (iii) the apolitical bands of the most primitive times.

POLITICAL PERSONALITY

The idea of political personality is very old. People have always thought about the habits and qualities of the kings, rulers, conquerors, Statesmen, ministers, politicians, judges, administrators, and other men of authority. But the development of psychology, psychiatry and especially psycho-analysis has made the concept of 'political personality' qualitatively different from the earlier concepts.

Political personality may be defined as the enduring, organised and dynamic response-behaviour which is habitually expressed in a political situation. In other words, the habitual patterns of feeling, learning, knowing and behaving in leadership situations constitute political personality. In short, it is the leadership qualities of an individual.

The political personality of an individual is formed by his need or urge for power and control over others and his reactions to their opposition and resistance. He is confronted with such a situation from early childhood in his family life to adult age. Its formation depends not only upon the individual's psychology and character but also on the national character,



social and political system in which he lives and the political culture and national character of the people of his country.¹⁶ In short, political personality is formed by the life-processes of an individual: patterns of one's need for power, expressed through need-coping mechanisms (e.g. repression, stimulation, ego-striving, etc.), modified by his perceptions of reality and habits of learning, and screened through ideological influences.

Political personality must be 'dynamic', that is, it must be capable of doing something important or achieving such a change as desired by the group or people around the leader. In other words, a political leader must be a man or woman of action. This quality differentiates and distinguishes a political leader from a man of letters, a scholar or a philosopher. Sher Shah Suri, the Pathan Emperor of India, explained this quality succinctly as thus: "It behoves the great to be always active." A political leader must possess dynamism, which means the ability to change the behaviour of others. He should, therefore, be at once a man of words as well as of action, but more essentially of action. In past ages, political personality was mostly formed by the ideology and culture of the country in which the leader arose. But in present times, it is also influenced by international conditions and culture.

Various forms of political personality:

Political personality is different in different political systems. The personality of a parliamentarian is different from that of a leader of a political party. This is the reason why sometimes a powerful party leader proves to be a poor parliamentarian, or he may become a failure as a ruler. Similarly, a good judge may be a bad administrator, and vice versa. Even the political personality of the leaders of various political parties differ from each other, e.g., the political personality of the leader of a socialist party is different from that of a conservative party, of a religious party from that of a progressive party and so on.

The reason lies in the differences in party ideology as well as of the political environment of the party and of the group of people among whom they work.

Types of Political Personality:

Modern political scientists, psychologists and sociologists have analysed political personality into various types. They may be enumerated, briefly, as under:

1. Democratic personality;

¹⁶ George Plekhanov, a Russian political thinker, writer, "A great man is great not because his personal qualities give individual features to great historical events, but because he possesses qualities which make him most capable of serving the social needs of his time, needs which arose as a result of general and particular causes."

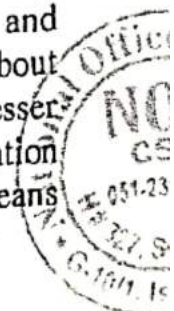
2. Liberal personality;
3. Conservative personality;
4. Progressive personality;
5. Radical or extremist personality;
6. Charismatic personality;
7. Revolutionary personality;
8. Authoritarian personality;

Indeed, the list is too long to be enumerated here. A conservative personality seeks to maintain status quo, while a radical personality wants to change the existing order of his country. Broadly speaking, the differences of the personality types lie in the process of political socialisation of the person concerned in his family, school and adult age, in the ideology and culture of his society and in his own attitudes and belief-systems. Moreover, it should be noted that the personality types often overlap. Thus a political personality may be at once liberal and democratic, conservative and democratic, progressive and revolutionary, charismatic and conservative, authoritarian and conservative and so on. In short, the personality configuration is often highly varied. What is more, the voters often vote for a candidate whose political personality they prefer. At least, this is what is expected of the system of political representation. Two factors may also produce various types of political personality. They are alienation i.e. dislike and disloyalty towards authority and anomie or apathy and disregard of political norms or rules. These conditions may produce, on the one hand, passive and traditional (political) personality and, on the other, radical, extremist or revolutionary personality.

POLITICAL CULTURE

Although it was known for ages that the cultures of various peoples and countries were and are different from each other, yet the idea of political culture is a recent one. In fact, it has been derived from the researches of the political scientists in the field of political systems analysis.

Definitions of political culture are many and varied. Roy Macridis says that it is "the commonly shared goals and the commonly accepted rules" regarding government and politics. Sidney Verba says: political culture is "the system of empirical beliefs, expressive symbols and values, which defines the situation in which political action takes place." Their definition makes it clear that "political culture" is not an a priori concept, but is about the day-to-day behaviour of the rulers and the ruled. Samuel Beer says that political culture consists of political values, beliefs and emotional attitudes about how government ought to be conducted and about what it should be. These values and beliefs, with greater or lesser modification, are passed on by instruction or imitation from one generation to the next. Thus Beer emphasizes continuity in political culture. It means



that the political culture of a country is part of its general culture. It springs from the conceptions of authority and the conceptions of purpose for which authority is exercised in a country.

One difficulty of defining political culture is that it is a result of two opposite and sometimes contradictory trends, namely the political beliefs and attitudes of the individual and the political values and attitudes of the people and society in which he or she lives. Individual's attitudes and values are the result of political socialisation through which he or she has gone from childhood to adult age, which orientate him or her towards the political system. Political orientation of the individual can be due to three factors: individual perceptions of the political system and of its political personalities and structures; his or her feelings towards them; and the conclusions and opinions a person draws about them. These perceptions, attitudes and opinions produce effects on the political system. This is called his or her *political efficacy*. It means that the citizen can influence positively or negatively the decisions and policies of the rulers by his efforts, such as by his or her vote. This belief is the basis of democratic political culture. On the contrary, a person may believe that his political system is one of bribery, favouritism, nepotism and influence peddling. In this case, its political culture excites feelings of distrust, apathy, and a low degree of commitment to the political system. Moreover, in a country, there may be groups whose beliefs and values are different from the majority group. Such groups have a sub-culture. The political culture must, however, be acceptable to the bulk of the people in the country, if its political system is to achieve some degree of stability and security. In other words, it must have legitimacy, if it is to be a viable political system. This is the role of political culture in the political system. Every political system is embedded in its political culture.

In some cases, however, it may so happen that a political system "may change, but its political culture may not change correspondingly, or the political culture may change, but its political system may not. In such situations, the stability and continuity of the political system may be threatened. Such situations are the results of political alienation or *anomie*, apathy or disbelief in the old rules and norms of political culture or may be due to new forces of change, generated among some individuals or groups in the community, which may challenge loyalty, allegiance and trust in the decision-making authority of the political system. In more concrete terms, this dichotomy is due to the failure of the conversion processes or of the feedback to change the demands of the people into laws and policies by the decision-makers. It means that the "culture" of the decision-makers has become different from the "culture" or beliefs, attitudes, expectations and wishes of the people.



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We may define the political culture as those ideas, values, attitudes or orientations about a political system which are acceptable to and shared by the majority of the people in the State.

Elements of the Political Culture:

Every political culture consists of various elements, which are orientations of the people towards different aspects of the political system. They are as follows:

1. Orientations towards governmental structures:

It means orientations towards governmental inputs and outputs. They may result in allegiance or alienation of the people towards the government. Robert Dahl has characterised these orientations or attitudes as *allegiant* or *alienated*. The *allegiant* orientations cause stability and continuity in the political system, while the *alienated* orientations lead to instability and change, which may result in revolt, revolution or transformation of the political system.

2. Orientations towards other people.

They produce trustful or distrustful attitudes towards the political authorities or government. They arise when the people ask: does government mean well in its policies and acts?

3. Orientations towards collective actions.

This kind of orientation or attitude is the basis of an individual's political participation, which may be active or passive. Active orientation makes an individual believe that he can influence the decision-makers in the political system by his efforts. In case of passive orientation, the individual has no faith in his ability to influence the decision-makers. Instead, he passively accepts what they do. This is the basic difference between democratic and non-democratic political cultures.

Some examples would illustrate the differences between various political cultures. In the countries in which government is regarded with fear and awe, majority of the people do not participate in politics and government, which they consider to be the privilege of the elite classes. Such attitudes are even impressed in their daily behaviour. In Mughal India, for instance, whenever a man saluted the emperor or governor, he bent down in obeisance, or "*kornish*", before him. This practice, an outgrowth of feudal culture, was continued even during the British Rule in India. In the present-day independent Bharat, it is the practice of standing with folded hands before a man of authority. It is an outgrowth of the Hindu religious and culture. In Japan, the culture requires that when two men meet, they bow before each other according to their social status: man with lower



status will bow much lower before the one of higher status: and when they bow before a man of authority, they bow the lowest.

In truly democratic countries, political cultures are quite different. In the United States, for example, people show their respect to men of authority but in a dignified manner. They only shake hands and address even the President of America as "Mr. President". It is because the American Constitution had abolished all kinds of feudal honours and modes of address. In Great Britain, where feudal traditions have persisted in social dealings, the popular attitude towards the government is more deferential. In France and Italy, political subcultures are still strong, causing governments to be unstable, and alienation and anomie so common attitudes of the people in politics. In West Germany, where the culture of obedience and discipline prevails, the people are not very much insistent on political rights. In most Muslim countries, passive obedience of men of authority is a part of their political culture.

The concept of political culture enables us to distinguish between power and authority. Unlike power, authority is exercised with the consent of the ruled. The people, who value power more than authority, will tend to be ruled by military men or dictators, while those who value authority more than power, tend to have democratic systems of government among them. What is more, the people who value authority more than power will possess such democratic values as rule of law, respect for the dignity of the individual, respect for rights, respect for electoral decisions, etc. In short, their political culture will be radically different from that of the people who value power as the basis of relations between the rulers and the ruled. But political culture is not something permanent or eternal. Most of the time, it changes slowly, though at times it may change rapidly. These changes may come from within the people themselves or from foreign sources. Foreign domination is one of the most powerful sources of changes in a political culture, because it results, in the establishment of a new political system, devised by the foreign rulers. For instance, the rise of the British Rule in the South Asian Sub-continent transformed its political system from what it was in pre-British times. For instance, all the talk in the Sub-continent of democracy, parliamentarianism, elections, rule of law, freedom of the press, rights and freedoms of the individual, etc., is due to the political culture inculcated by the British Rule, which culture was absolutely unknown to the peoples of the Sub-continent. But foreign influences on a political culture can also take place without foreign domination, as for instance through such information agencies as foreign radio or television stations, foreign news agencies, books, publications and foreign travel. Not only the general culture but also the political culture of a people changes under these influences. However, they can protect themselves from these influences by

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xenophobia or fear or hatred of the foreign persons and things. This is the reason why the political cultures of Japan and Turkey, who resisted Western domination for so long, are so different from the political cultures of other peoples of Asia, and Africa. In Europe, the English people have the most xenophobic political culture. Moreover, the history of a people is greatly determined by the kind of their political culture. The people with xenophobic political culture protect their national freedom and independence more successfully than others. Furthermore, the more their political culture is uniform and influential among the whole people, the more they will be able to resist the fissiparous and disintegrative tendencies of the political sub-cultures among them, that is, of the political subcultures of their ethnic, religious and other minority groups. In short, the political system of a country depends greatly on the type of its political culture.

Significance of "political culture":

According to Almond and Verba, the concept of political culture provides the connecting link between micro-politics and macro-politics. Political culture is not a unitary concept. Lesser social and political groups have their sub-cultures, or micro-political cultures, while in modern societies and countries; there is also a macro-political culture of the nation or State. However, in the developing countries, the micro political cultures of the lesser groups or communities may be too powerful or influential for the macro political culture to be effective or efficient such are the cultures of the tribal or caste societies. On the contrary, in the modern States, the micro political cultures of the parochial groups or loyalties are either non-existent or ineffective. In other words, the decisions or a preference of the voters, of the officers or of the governmental decision- or policy-makers is made with a view to the interest of the whole nation. The problem of modernisation in the developing countries of the Third World is really the problem of transforming their micro political cultures into macro political cultures. The difference in political decision and policy making provides us with different types of political cultures.

TYPES OF POLITICAL CULTURE

The structural and functional differences in political systems give us different kinds or types of political cultures. Broadly speaking, they are of five types, as under:

1. **Parochial political culture**, in which there is loyalty and allegiance to the tribes or tribal groups, as in the Stateless societies of the primitive times or of the sub-Saharan African tribes of the past & present times.



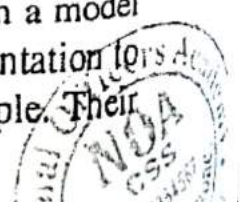


2. **The parochial-subject political culture**, in which the first loyalty and allegiance of an individual is towards his caste or tribe or local community, and lesser allegiance to the State. The State also fulfils minimal demands of its subjects. As the culture is parochial; the people do not make many demands on the State; they are not citizens, but subjects. This type of culture existed in ancient and medieval times, as in the Gupta Empire of ancient India, or the Mughal Empire of medieval India, or in the Ottoman Empire, etc.

3. **Parochial Participant Culture.** The parochial participant political culture is one in which commitment and allegiance to the parochial communities, like caste, tribes and local communities or baradaries is still strong but the people also participate in the political activities of the State, such as elections, in which they cast their votes in the interest of their parochial groups, not for the political parties or national interest. This kind of culture is found mostly in the newly independent countries of Asia and Africa and of South America.

4. **Subject political culture.** It is one in which there are several political sub-cultures and therefore the subjects (people) participate in the political authority to a limited extent; hence they are not citizens, e.g. in the Bourbon France before the French Revolution of 1789. It becomes subject-participant culture, when the subjects (people) participate in the political system to some extent. In this culture, there is some alienation and apathy among the people. This type of political culture is found in modern France, Germany, Italy, etc.

5. **Participant Political Culture.** In this type of political culture the people participate in the political authority. They are, therefore, not subjects, but citizens. G. Almond and S. Verba have called this type of political culture as civic culture, as for example, in the United Kingdom or in the United States. This type of political culture requires two things of the citizens: rationality and active participation in political affairs. Political thinkers, from Locke to Harold Laski, have always favoured this kind of the rationality-activist model of political culture. According to this model, a successful democracy requires the citizens to be involved and active in politics, informed about the political affairs as well as influential in them. Their decisions, including that of voting, should be based on a careful evaluation of evidence and careful weighing of alternatives. The passive, non-voting, poorly-informed, or apathetic citizens may weaken democracy. Moreover, they should not be motivated by any lesser loyalties or solidarities, as do the voters in parochial participant cultures. Such a model of active and rational participation emphasises the participant orientation for politics, and especially to political inputs, or demands of the people. Their



allegiance is also primarily to the State or nation, even though they differ among themselves on party or policy matters.

6. **Authoritarian participant culture.** It is the type of political culture in which participation in political affairs and decisions is according to the *authority* of the State or government. The ruler is the real decision-maker and the people, as voters, are to comply with his decisions. This type of culture existed in Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany and exists now in the Soviet Union, Communist China and such other countries.

Change in Political Cultures:

Some political scientists believe that political cultures are not subject to much change. It is said that constitutions are not exportable. The truth is that a political culture is liable to change, although it changes gradually over generations, sometimes over centuries. But, during a revolution, it may change more rapidly than ever before. Such a change can also be brought about by the rise of a powerful political personality or by the domination by an advanced political culture, as it happened in those countries of the Third World which came under the domination of the Western Imperialisms. That was the reason why their parochial subject cultures changed into parochial participant cultures as we have noted above. In more recent times, the authoritarian cultures of the Soviet Union and Communist China are changing under the glasnost and perestroika policies of the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and identical policies of the Chinese leader, Deng Xiaoping. Nevertheless, a political culture has a momentum of its own. Even if a culture changes, it changes according to its internal conditions, which may help or hinder the change process. That is why, for example, the British model of parliamentary democracy in the present-day Bharat has been greatly changed by its dominant Hindu caste culture. In Pakistan, the reason why parliamentary democracy does not work properly is the influence of feudal, caste and tribal sub-cultures. On the other hand, introduction of sudden radical changes in political structure or in the social system may prove to be disastrous, as for instance was the case of the introduction of socialist reforms in Pakistan by Mr. Z.A. Bhutto's Government. The reason is that such changes are incompatible with the political culture of the country in question.

Lastly, political cultures are rarely integrated and homogeneous wholes. Instead, they may have one or more political sub-cultures due to racial, ethnic, religious and other reasons. This fact may result in one sector of the culture to change or develop more rapidly than other sectors or groups. If the sub-culture is more powerful, it may become such a political force as to lead to the disintegration of a political system of the country, due to its ethnic, religious, linguistic and such other differences in it. It is

necessary, therefore, for such a political system to foster homogeneous and uniform economic, social and cultural development in the country. This is the essence of nationalism.



We may define it thus: The State is a community of people, occupying a definite territory, organised under a government, which is supreme over all persons and associations within its territory and independent of all foreign control or power.

ELEMENTS OF THE STATE ✓

From the definitions of the State, given above, we learn that it is composed of four essential elements or attributes:

1. Population;
2. Land or Territory;
3. Government; and
4. Sovereignty.

Physical bases of the State;

Political or spiritual bases of the State



1. Population. --

Man is by nature a social being; he cannot but live among other human beings. The State is an association of men living together. We cannot, conceive of a State without a population. Broadly speaking, the population of a State consists of three kinds of inhabitants; full Members State, called the citizens, who enjoy all rights and perform every duty towards their State; the subjects or nationals of the State who enjoy some rights; and non-members, called aliens, who are given only civil rights of life and property. The first two categories are the real elements of the population of a State. The question, which had much occupied the attention of ancient as well as modern thinkers, is: How large should be the population of a State? Plato believed that an ideal State should have a population of 5040 persons. Aristotle considered that it should be between ten thousand to one lakh persons. He, however, laid down a general principle that the number should neither be too large nor too small. It should be large enough to be self-sufficient and small enough to be well governed.²² But the ideal of these thinkers was a city-State. Rousseau, who also did not like large States, put the figure at 10,000.

In modern times the States consist of large populations. There are small States with a population of few lakhs, like Panama or Albania, and very large States such as USSR with 28 crores, or China with 100 crores

²² 'A city (State) should consist of such numbers as will be sufficient (to enable the habitats to live happily in their political community'. Cf. *Politics of Aristotle*, p. 210. (Everyman's Library).

population.²³ No limit, theoretical or practical, can be placed on the population of a State. Only one thing can be said. The population should be so much as would be sufficient to perform all the needs of culture, arts, learning, industry, agriculture, defence and civilised life. It should not exceed the natural and human resources of the country.

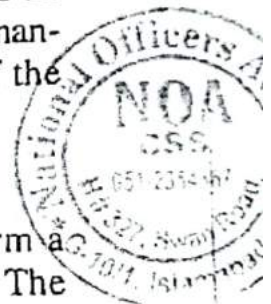
2. Territory:

It is the second physical basis of the State. The people must live on a definite portion of territory of an appropriate size.²⁴ They must not wander from country to country, like the nomadic tribes. Wandering tribes do not form a State. When a people live together on a particular territory, they develop community of interests and patriotism, which are necessary elements of Statehood. For instance, the Jews of Europe and America did not have a State till they occupied Palestine with the help of Anglo-American support and built their State of "Israel". Similarly the Muslims of pre-partition India were a nation but no State, till Pakistan was parcelled out of the pre-Independence India. Like the population, the territory of modern States varies greatly. There are small States, like Luxembourg and big continental States, like Russia and Australia. Political writers differ regarding the size of the territory of the State. Formerly, they generally declared that the territory must be small enough to be well administered. It was thought that "a small State was proportionately stronger than a large one". On the contrary, in modern times, the tendency is towards large States, because the means of communication and transport have become so fast and cheap that vast areas can make a compact State. Democracy is possible in vast countries, as it was not possible in ancient or medieval

²³ When Zanzibar, Kenya, and other new States, became sovereign States in Africa. The Times of London bemoaned over their tiny populations and meagre resources as thus: "Zanzibar now will be simply one of the many tiny States thrown up by the process of decolonization as the result of fierce but parochial nationalism, and it is far from being the richest. Cyprus has a population of 5,800,000 and exports and budget of about £ 30 per head. Trinidad, with a population of 9,00,000 has exports of L145 a head and a budget of £ 50 a head. Gobao with a population of 3,20,000 exports of £ 20 a head and a budget of L15 a head. There is a deficit of L4.50.000 on a budget of L32.47.000. Expenditure will rise as the cost of a diplomatic establishment is added, and on account of rising expectations of education, health and welfare." The London Time has conveniently forgotten to mention Kuwait, Israel or Singapore, the tiniest of all the tiny States but not so meagre in finances and budgets. (L = Pound Sterling).

²⁴ Aristotle remarks: To the size of States there is a limit, as there are to other things, plants, animals; implements; for none of these retain their natural power when they are too large or too small but they either wholly lose their nature or are spoiled. For example, a ship which is only a span long will not be a ship at all, nor a ship a quarter of a mile long; yet there may be a ship of a certain size, either too large or too small which will still be a ship, but bad for sailing. In like manner a State when composed of too few is not as a State ought to be. Self-sufficing: when of too many, though self-sufficing in all mere necessities, it is a nation and not a State, being almost incapable of constitutional government: See Politics (Jowett's translation) Book VII. Chapter 4.

times. Moreover, a small State does not possess enough natural resources within its boundaries for economic and military needs of modern life and defence. A small State cannot defend itself and perform other functions adequately which a State is expected to perform. The German writer, Treitschke, said, "The State is a power, and it is a sin for the State to be small". Modern tendency is towards economic self-sufficiency which is possible in large-sized States? Nonetheless, the population and territory should be correlated: State does not mean only the land, soil, rivers, lakes, mountains, etc. but also the subsoil and its natural resources. It extends to three miles into the sea or ocean and up to 20 miles (32 Kilometres), for economic purposes. If it is a Maritime State up into the air space above it. As regards the limits of air-space of the State, a very interesting question has arisen in the present days due to the invention of the artificial satellites and spacecrafts which spin around our planet thousands of kilometres up in the cosmic space. When the aeroplanes were invented, the air-space was extended as far as the highest flight of the latest aeroplane. But there is an obvious difficulty to apply this rule of the international law to the man-made "moons" and spaceships. This problem of the territorial limits of the 'cosmic space' is yet to be solved by international law.

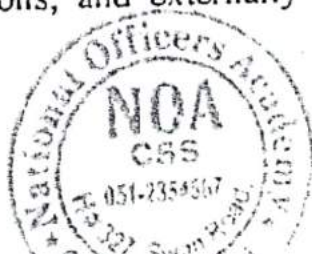


3. Government:

A people living permanently on a definite territory do not form a State without a government to which they render habitual obedience. The State is nothing if there is no government to make it real. A people without a government are a mere assemblage of human beings and not a politically organised community. Government is the machinery or agency through which the will of the State is formulated and expressed. The State plans and acts through the government. It is the government that administers the State, keeps law and order, formulates the policy of the State, and organises the people dwelling within its territory. If the people are the limbs and the territory the body, the government is the head of the State.

4. Sovereignty:

The fourth essential element of the State is sovereignty. It means the supreme, original and unlimited power exercised over all persons and associations within the boundaries of the State, independent of every outside power. It is the soul of the State. The State alone is the sovereign association. It has two aspects: internally the State is supreme over all persons and associations; and externally it is independent of all foreign control or power.



Other Features of the State

Although the State is composed of the four essential elements, described above, it is also characterised by certain other features. They follow from the four essential elements, especially from the two, sovereignty and territory. They are as under:

1. Unity:

It simply means that the population and territory of the State are organised and united under a single supreme power. Unity, however, is an attribute, not an element. It arises from the elements of territorial integrity and sovereignty of the State.

2. Continuity or Permanence:

It means that the State continues to exist for all times. Theoretically, the State is immortal. Its laws and sovereignty are for all times. Governments may change, but the State continues to exist; the king dies, but the kingdom lives on. In actual practice, however, it is not the State but the idea of the State that is immortal. The actual States have frequently changed in history, at times by slow evolution and at times, by forcible revolution. Once England was an absolute monarchy, then she became an oligarchy, now she is a crowned democracy, in which the Queen or King is a mere figurehead. In France, these changes have taken place in a violent, revolutionary way. Similarly, Russia before 1917 was an absolute monarchy, but she is today a Communist State. Moreover, one State can be conquered and annexed by another State, just as England subjugated many States in the post-Mughal India. So, in practice, States are not continuous and immortal, as they are claimed to be in theory.

3. Equality:

It means that all States, whether big or small, are equal in the eyes of International law. It is an attribute of external sovereignty.

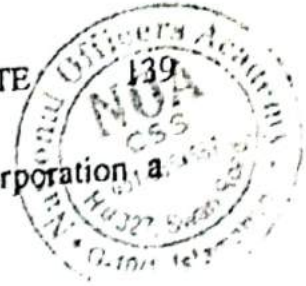
UNSCIENTIFIC USES OF THE TERM 'STATE'

As we have said above, the word 'State' is sometimes used in an unscientific manner. For example, each of the units of the USA is described as a 'State', e.g., the New York State. Similarly, in pre-Partition India, the native princes ruled certain parts of the Indo-Pak subcontinent, which were called the 'States', e.g., the Hyderabad Deccan State, or the Swat State in Pakistan.

Hence questions may be asked: (a) Was Hyderabad or Swat State a State? (b) Is New York State a State? In the same way a question may be asked whether the U.N.O. can be regarded as a State or not. (d) Is a British



Dominion a sovereign State? (c) Is Peshawar or Lahore Corporation a State?



(a) **Hyderabad (Deccan) State:**

It was a 'State' in British India. But it was a misnomer to call it a State, because it had no independence and no foreign policy of its own. It was under the paramount power of the British rulers of India, who interfered even in its internal administration and law. The Bharat Government, which succeeded the British, has therefore dismembered and put an end to it, without any international reactions, because it was an 'internal matter' of Bharat. Similarly Pakistan has annexed such princely State as Swat, Chitral, Bhawalpur, into its territories.

(b) **New York State:**

It is one of the 50 'States' of the U.S.A. It is a component unit of a federal State, but it is not a 'State' in the sense as understood in Political Science. No doubt, it has the three essentials, namely, people, territory and government. But it does not possess the most essential element of sovereignty. New York State has no army, no defence or foreign policy of its own. In this respect, it obeys the authority of the Federal Government of the U.S.A. at Washington D.C.

(c) **U.N.O.**

It is also not a State. Although it has a rudimentary kind of governmental organisation, e.g., a General Assembly, a Security Council, a Secretary-General and an International Court which might be regarded as its legislative, executive, administrative and judicial organs, like that of a State government, yet it lacks all essential elements which constitute a State. It has no people whom it can rule, no territory which is its own and, above all, no sovereign authority. It is not even a 'super-State' as it is sometimes claimed. It is only an association of independent, sovereign States, which have agreed to participate in its discussions and decisions for their national ends and interests, and to obey it only in those matters which suit their own interests or purposes. It is claimed by some American and European writers that the U.N.O. would become the world-State of the future. But such an evolution seems to be quite improbable, because it would violate one of the basic principles of the U.N. Charter, viz., the sovereignty and independence of its member-States. The U.N.O. is only a glorified International Postal Union or such other international organisation.

(d) **British Dominions:**

British' Commonwealth of Nations comprises several States which enjoy what is called a Dominion Status. They are Canada, Australia, New



Zealand, etc. Ghana, Bharat and others are also Dominions with somewhat different status. Is a Dominion a sovereign State although it is a member of a wider political union, the Commonwealth? It is said that they are no sovereign States, because, firstly, they have accepted constitutions framed by the British Parliament, and, secondly, their Heads of State, the Governors-Generals, are appointed by the British Sovereign. But this is wrong. The British Dominions are sovereign States, as it is shown by the definition of the Dominion Status. The Dominions are autonomous communities, within the British Empire, equal in status and in no way subordinate to one another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs. Though united by a common allegiance to the British Crown, they are freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Every Dominion is sovereign and independent both in its internal affairs and external relations. It has voluntarily accepted the membership of the Commonwealth. The white Dominions, like Canada, Australia, have accepted this membership for racialistic and imperialistic considerations, while the 'coloured' Dominions, like Ghana or Bharat, have done so for certain national advantages. In the case of India the Constitution was not given by British Parliament and the President is not appointed by the British Crown. So its relation with the Commonwealth is still weaker than that of the 'white' Dominions. In short, the British Dominions enjoy full internal and external freedom. They must, therefore, be regarded as sovereign States.

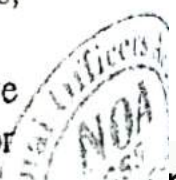
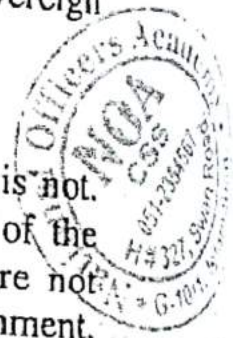
(e) **Municipalities and other local self-governing bodies:**

Is a municipality, like Lahore Corporation, a State? No, it is not. Though the local self-governing bodies possess the three features of the State, viz., population, territory and a governing body, yet they are not sovereign: They exercise delegated powers from the Central Government, which is really supreme and final in authority. In short, they lack sovereignty. Hence they are not States.

(f) **Ancient city-States and Modern mini-States:**

In ancient Greece and Rome, the States were no larger than a city or town, called 'polis' or 'civitas' in Greece and Rome respectively. It usually comprised a few thousand citizens, besides slaves and foreign residents, and extended over a small territory and villages around the city or town. In spite of its small size and population, the ancient city-State exercised all powers and sovereignty of modern nation or country States, which contain large populations and extend over vast areas.

There are a few tiny city-States even in the modern times, like Monaco on the coast of France. But they are not States in the real sense, for



they are not recognised as such by other States of the world. They have no place or position in International Law and relations.

In recent times, however, especially after the Second World War, several small-sized States have come into being in former colonies and dependencies of the Western Imperialisms, as we mentioned above. A few of them, like Singapore, Kuwait, are even of city-size dimensions. They might better be called 'mini-States' or 'pigmy' States, as a Secretary-General of the U.N.O. described them. They are, however, full-fledged States are internationally recognised and are members of the international bodies, like the U.N.O. Their populations are a couple of lakhs. The strangest development in this respect is the attempt of a tiny island in the Caribbean Sea, off the coast of Central America, called Anguilla, to become another 'mini-State' though its population is no more than 16,000 persons. Presently its former colonial master, Great Britain, is restraining its efforts to become a sovereign State. But if it succeeds in its independence struggle, Anguilla will become the tiniest of the 'mini-States' in the world to-day. It is, on the whole, an interesting experiment in the evolution of the States in the modern times. But it seems to be a *reductio ad absurdum* of the modern State, as shown by the fate of such tiny States as Bhutan, Sikkim, Maldives, and others, which are subjugated by India, their powerful neighbour.

STATE DISTINGUISHED FROM GOVERNMENT

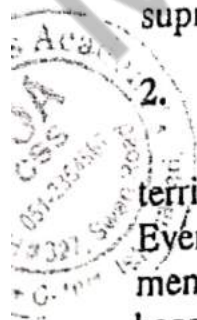
In popular discussion, the terms 'State' and 'government' are often used interchangeably; the one is used for the other. The two are often confused together. There is a celebrated saying of a French King, Louis XIV, "I am the Stat". What he meant was: "I am the Government." Let us now distinguish the State from the government, a distinction which was first made by the famous French thinker, J.J. Rousseau.

1. *The State is abstract, the government concrete.*

The State is an abstract concept, which cannot be perceived by our senses. It comprises of four elements. All States are identical, because they must consist of the four essential elements. The government is a concrete term, which refers to a group of persons who can be seen exercising supreme authority.

2. *Government is a narrower term than the State.*

The State consists of the total population which lives in a particular territory. But the government means only a few persons who administer it. Every citizen is a member of the State, but he or she is not necessarily a member of the government, unless he or she is elected to the legislature or becomes a minister or a judge, etc.



3. *The State is permanent, the government is temporary.*

The State has the quality of permanence. The whole world is divided into a certain number of States, each occupying a portion of territory on the globe. Hence it is a permanent association. On the other hand, the government is temporary. When one government falls, either by election or revolution, another is formed, but the State continues to remain the same, provided revolution does not bring about a political transformation, in which case a new type of State comes into being.

4. *Sovereignty belongs to the State, not to the government.*

The State is the sovereign community, politically organised, whereas the government is only an agent of the State. The government exercises such authority as is given to it by the State through its constitution. The relation between the State and the government is like that of a principal and his agent.

5. *Territory is an essential characteristic of the State but not of the government.*

The State cannot exist without the territory, but the government has no reference to territory; it refers to persons or groups of persons who exercise political power or authority.

6. *The State is an association; the government is an organisation.*

The State is an association of human beings for realising common ends or purposes, whereas the government is a machinery or organisation for realising the purposes or ends for which the State exists. It is the government which carries out the purposes of the State. That is why one cannot imagine a State without the government, which expresses the will of the State.

7. *The individual can have rights against the government, but not against the State.*

STATE AND SOCIETY

The two terms, State and society, are sometimes used interchangeably. Ancient Greeks and modern idealist thinkers make no distinction between the two. However, there are some differences between them, as shown by both Sociology and Political Science. These differences are as follows:

Society is a wider term than the State.

1. Society is defined as "the complex of organised associations and institutions within a community". It means that all the relations which exist between human beings, whether social, economic, religious or political, are social. The State is only one of these many relations. They are those relations which exist between the rulers and the ruled. They are the product of government. Maclver has rightly remarked, "There are social forces, like custom or competition, which the State may protect or modify but certainly does not create; and social motives like friendship or jealousy, which establish relationship too intimate and personal to be controlled by the great engine of the State".²⁵

2. *State has territorial reference, but not society.*

Territory is an essential element of the State. If there is no territory, there will be no State. But "society has no references to territorial occupation: it refers to man alone, and not to his environment". For instance, though Islamic society extends over several countries of Asia and Africa, yet they are distinct States. Some of the social organisations and associations go far beyond the boundaries of several States, e.g., the Red Cross Society, or the Rotary Club. In a sense, there is only one human society all over the globe, which is, however, divided into more than a hundred and fifty States.

3. *State is sovereign, society is not.*

One of the basic differences lies in the fact that the State is sovereign; it exercises coercive authority, and enforces its laws and orders by force. But society has no coercive power to punish those who do not observe its customs and rules. It appeals and persuades its members to observe its rules. Society is based on voluntary co-operation. Its energy is goodwill. But the State is based on coercive action, its energy is force and its method is rigidity of laws.

4. The State cannot exist without a government but a society may not be politically organised. There were societies before the State came into being. And there may, in future, be a society without the State. Even today, there are some simple communities, which have no State, e.g., the tribes of the Eskimos. They are known as "Stateless societies". The term society applies to all organised and unorganised human communities. A tribal people have a society, but may have no State.



5. *The State and the society differ in purpose.*

The State exists for one single purpose of maintaining peace; society exists for a number of purposes, "some great and some small, but all, in their aggregate, deep as well as broad".

Their inter relation.

In spite of their differences and distinctions the State and society are interrelated. As Prof. Barker says: "They overlap, they blend and they borrow from one another". The State is the highest form of social organisation. It provides the framework of the social order. According to Laski, the State is a way of regulating human conduct. "Any analysis of its character reveals it as a method of imposing principles of behaviour by which men must regulate their lives". A well-ordered society cannot exist without the State, because it is the State which binds the individuals to certain rules of outward conduct. Society is held together by the State.

Their interrelation should not, however, be carried to an extreme. If the State endeavours to regulate every aspect of social life and relationship, it will become despotic and tyrannical, and destroy the liberty of the individual. It is for this reason that the two terms, State and society, should be clearly distinguished. "To identify the social with the political is to be guilty of the grossest confusion", writes MacIver, "which completely bars any understanding of either society or State".²⁶ It will justify State interference in all aspects of human life. It will make the State an end and a means to an end. The State is really a means rather than an end in itself. An omni-competent State will really become an incompetent State. Hence society and State must remain distinct and separate in nature, functions and ends.

STATE AND ASSOCIATIONS

An association is a group of persons who have a common purpose or purposes for which they organise themselves, it has, therefore, three elements; namely, a group of people, a common purpose or purposes, and common rules which organise the activities of the members. A crowd of people in the bazaar is not an association, because they have no common purpose and rules. A school, a university, a Trade Union, a church, or a literary club, etc. are associations. The State too is an association. But it is different from other associations, as shown by the following features:

1. *Associations are voluntary, while the State is a compulsory association.* A person can become member of several associations, but he or she will necessarily be a member of one State, in which he or she is either born, or which he has adopted as his or her country. He can withdraw from

²⁶ Ibid, p.4



the membership of any association as he likes, but he cannot leave his State without its permission.

2. *The State is a permanent association, while other associations are not necessarily so.* Some of them last longer than other. For example, the Roman Catholic Church has existed for about 2,000 years. But most other associations are temporary. They cease to exist when their purposes are achieved. The State continues to exist for long time. It can be destroyed by conquest, revolution or decay. For example, the Mughal Empire ceased to exist when overthrown by the British and the Roman Empire or the Abbasid Caliphate ceased to exist when they decayed and disintegrated into several succession States.

3. *The state and associations differ in their purposes.* All associations have definite and limited purposes and interests. The State has the general purpose of maintaining Peace and order and promoting the happiness and welfare of all of its citizens. The State is essentially and order-giving organisation.

4. *The State is sovereign and possesses coercive power to compel obedience to its law by punishment.* Associations are voluntary and cannot compel obedience to their rules by fear and force of punishment. They may impose a fine, or expel the recalcitrant members, but the State alone can impose punishment on law recalcitrant members, but the State alone can impose punishment on law breakers to the extent of life imprisonment or death. In other words, State has unlimited power, while the associations are either political bodies, or they possess powers, defined and limited by the authority and law of the State.

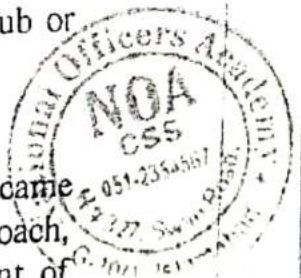
5. *The State controls all other associations, while none of them can control the State.* It is supreme over all of them, because it is sovereign, it is an omnipotent association. No other association can claim such powers.

6. The State has also the power to create any association and prescribe its powers and functions, e.g., it sets up universities.

7. *The State is a territorial association.* It includes several other associations within its boundaries. But other associations are not territorial in structure and purpose. Some of them exist within the confines of a State but other may extend beyond its boundaries. The jurisdiction of the State ends at its frontiers, but a voluntary association may regularize the conduct of its members dwelling in several States, e.g., Red Cross, Rotary club or Universal Postal Union.

Revolt against the use of the term 'State government, sovereignty'

In the nineteenth century, when the science of politics rally came into being, political scientists, with their legal-institutional approach, "accepted a more or less rigid concept of the State as a component of specific mechanisms of government" They applied this term to the States



which existed in Europe and to those which existed in ancient Greece and Rome. Accordingly, these European States possessed the attributes of well-defined territorially sovereignty. They also did not bother to study whether there were States in Asia and Africa, like those of the European States. Political Science was then only concerned with States in the Western world, i.e. Europe and North America.

Discarding the term State.

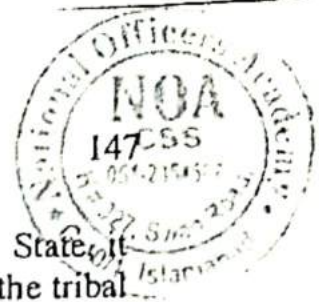
Reaction against the use of the term "State" began early in the twentieth century. It was due to the influence of such social sciences as psychology, anthropology and sociology, as well as biology. It gave rise to the theories of functional and operational systems. Functional approach is derived from sociology and anthropology. It emphasizes the fact that a social or political system is a process, and therefore not something static; secondly, that it has no end or goal, and thirdly, that the activity of one part of a system is related with that of the other. Hence, if one part is affected, the whole system is affected too. A system is, therefore, an integrated whole, or a structure. It may be noted that the third element is in contradiction to the first two, for an integrated whole is necessarily static: it militates against change. Anyway, this approach is known as functional-structural analysis.

Side by side with the functional approach to politics was the influence of the operational research. The result of functionalism and operationalism was the virtual elimination of the term "State" and its "elements". Indeed, the "State" was believed to be too complex and too unwieldy a subject for operational research. At this stage came the influence of behaviouralism in the middle of the twentieth century. Behaviouralism was derived mainly from psychology, emphasized the micro processes of politics, especially the decision-making processes. The result of these three influences, viz., of functionalism, operationalism and behaviouralism, was the virtual elimination of the term State and of its elements from political science. "As a result" writes Morton H. Fried, "it is impossible to offer a unified definition of the State that should be of satisfaction to those seriously concerned with the problem." Instead, they prefer to use the term "political system". Let us now see how these political scientists refute and reject the "content" or elements of the State.

1. Territoriality:

As defined above, the term "State" consists of four elements, viz. government, territory, people and sovereignty. The third element, people, cannot be eliminated at all from any political organization. Government is so essential an element in the concept "political scientists attack the remaining two elements, namely territoriality and sovereignty.



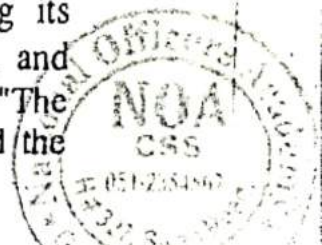


Although territory is an essential "element of the modern State, it is not found in the simple societies of the primitive times, such as the tribal or kinship societies of the past and present times. In the past ages, nomadic tribes used to wander all over the earth without being bound to any particular place or territory. We may further add that in the medieval kingdoms and empires in Asia and Africa, and in pre-Columbus Americas, although the concept of territory was known, but the idea of well defined borders or frontiers did not exist; they constantly shifted from place to place, with the result that whole districts, or territories, were sometimes regarded as part of one or the other kingdom or empire. The same was the case in Feudal Europe. It was with the rise of the modern States in Europe during the 15th and 16th centuries, that the concept of clearly well-defined borders first arose. When the European States acquired colonies in Asia and Africa, they imposed well-defined frontiers on their colonial possessions. Accordingly, the behaviour a lists and some other present-day political scientists reject the concept of territoriality as too ambiguous for purposes of political analysis.

2. Sovereignty:

Modern political scientists attack the concept of sovereignty also. According to them, there are various levels of administrative power of decision-making in a political system. In the kinship societies, the decision-making power was both customary and parochial, without any supreme authority in them. In the modern States, there is a supreme authority. But it exercises no absolute, unlimited and unconditional sovereign authority over the lesser administrative units. Instead, its function is to maintain channels of communication between various levels of authority in the State. Accordingly, the emphasis should not be on sovereignty but on legitimacy of authority, which makes people to accept it as rightful and legitimate.

The result of these attacks is that the concept of "State" is virtually discarded by some political scientists in the present times. But its repudiation has led to a strange phenomenon. What these political scientists have thrown out from the front door, they bring back through the backdoor. So the term "State" is sometimes used by them, although half-heartily. They define it in circumlocutory manner. For instance, Robert A. Dahl, a behaviouralist political scientist, first defines government and then equates political system with the State. He says, "*The Government is any government that successfully upholds a claim to the exclusive regulation of the legitimate use of physical force in enforcing its rules within a given territorial area.*" He thus recognises the physical force, enforcing its government's rules. But this is really what sovereignty stands for, and exercised over a given territorial area, which is territory. He then adds, "The political system made up of the residents of that territorial area and the



Government of the area is a State." Thus, the behavioural political scientists also recognise the "State", though in a roundabout manner. According to them, State = political system = government + residents (people) + territorial area + exclusive regulatory power. Obviously, this is what the State is, as defined by the earlier writers. The advantage of the new definition of the State is one: it can indicate when the State will begin to vanish. Dahl writes, "We can be reasonably sure of one thing. When large numbers of people in a particular territory begin to doubt or deny the claim of the Government to regulate force, then the existing State is in peril of dissolution". In Political Science, this condition of a State is known as "*crises de regime*" or crisis of the regime. It portends the coming revolt or revolution against a particular State. It means that the behaviourist concept of State has made it an operational concept, that is, research in political analysis has become possible. This term "State is again rehabilitated in Political Science, but has been made operational, something which it has lacked in its earlier definition. This enables the political scientists to anticipate political change or development.



Chapter 13

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✓ Islamic Concept of the State

In the previous chapter, we have studied the traditional and modern concepts of the State. We shall now study its Islamic concept.

Nature of Islamic Polity:

Islam is a complete code of life. It means that it takes a comprehensive view of life and covers all its aspects and phases. Nothing in human life and behaviour is outside or beyond Islam. Unlike Christianity which declares: "Render unto Caesar what is Caesar's and unto Christ what is Christ's", and thus separates religion from politics and Church from the State, Islam does not believe in the separation of religious room political life. Hence there is no secularism in Islam, or rather the secular or worldly is made a part of the sacred or spiritual. In other words, Islam takes an integrative view of human life, which it declares to be a preparation for the life hereafter: the life in this world is meant for preparing for the eternal life of the Next World, which is everlasting. The concept of the State in Islam should therefore be understood on the basis of this integrative principle of Islam.

1. **Sovereignty of Allah:**

Sovereignty of Allah is the fundamental principle of the Islamic concept of State. The Holy Quran says: "To Him belongs the dominion of the heavens and of the earth. It is He who gives life and death, and He has full knowledge of all things."

Again: "He is the First and the Last, the Evident and the Imminent (*Zahir wa Batin*), and he has full knowledge of all things."

Again: "The command is from none but Allah (*Innil hukmu illa lillah*)". And again: "Allah has power over all things (*Kulli sh'ai-in Qadir*)".

In short, sovereignty in Islam does and can belong only to Allah and none can claim to be sovereign. Allah is sovereign, because He is Omnipotent, Omniscient, Omni competent and Omnipresent; The principle of Allah's sovereignty does not recognise the possibility of dictatorship, absolute monarchy or autocracy in an Islamic State. It is because the basic allegiance of the Muslims is to God and His Law, to which even the head of the State is subservient.

Present every-where

(ii) Knowing everything



2.

Khilafat:

The Holy Quran proclaims the Vicegerency of Man. It says "And when thy Lord said unto the angels: Lo! I am about to place a vicegerent (Khalifa) in the Earth." It says further: "Say, O Allah! Owner of Sovereignty! Thou givest sovereignty unto whom Thou wilt, and Thou withdraw sovereignty from whom Thou wilt. Thou exactest whom Thou wilt and Thou abasest whom Thou wilt. In Thy hand is the good. Lo! Thou art able to do all things."

The institution of Khilafat or Caliphate came into being after the demise of the Holy Prophet ﷺ. The Khalifa was also known as *imam*, for he combined both political and religious duties of leadership of the Muslim community both in matters of the State as well as of religion. "Under the sovereignty of God and the authority of His law, the Shariah of Islam, the caliph is the temporal ruler of the State and the defender of the faith": writes E.I.J. Rosentahl. "Constitutional law in Islam", he writes further "is based on the theory of the Khalifa". However, a French writer, Gaston Bouthoul, asserts that "the theory of Caliphate has always been very controversial". If by controversial the meant as of doubtful existence, he is obviously wrong. Muslim jurists have always recognised the institution of caliphate as a legally valid constitution of the Muslim community or Ummah, as we shall presently explain when we shall consider the theories of caliphate, as expounded by al-Mawardi, al-Ghazali and Ibn Khaldun. In practice also, the institution of caliphate had a very long history. It had existed from 632, when Hazarat Abu Bakr became the first Caliph in the history of Islam, down to 1924, when the Caliphate was formally abolished by modern Turkey under Kamal Ataturk.

3.

Government by consultation:

Mutual consultation among the Muslims is a commandment of the Holy Quran and an injunction of the Sunnah of the Holy Prophet ﷺ. The Quran says in the Surah 42 "When they are said to put their trust in God, when they are regarded as shiners of evil, when they are said to be brave defenders of their rights, they are praised for taking each other's counsel in time of need." It further says that "Not only that but the Apostle, while he is enjoined to trust only in God when he has made up his mind, is also advised to consult even those who are his enemies at heart". (Quran III: 159) It was also the practice of the Holy Prophet ﷺ who consulted his Companions in all matters of State. The institution of *Majlis-e-Shoora* was developed by the Khulfa-e-Rashideen afterwards. This institution is the foundation of democratic government in Islam.

Obedience of the Awulal Amr or the Ruler:

The Qur'anic injunction calls upon the Muslims to obey the *Awulal Amr* or the supreme commander among them.

5. ***Equality of all mankind:***

The fundamental doctrine of Islam is the equality of all mankind. It is implied in the basic Islamic teaching of the *Tawhid* or belief in the Unity of God. As Allama Iqbal puts it, "the essence of *Tawhid* as working idea is equality, solidarity and freedom." Accordingly, in Islamic polity there is no distinction or discrimination of man and man on the ground of race, colour, language, profession or country.

6. ***Order well and punish wrong:***

Islam enjoins the State to maintain morality. It asks the ruler to order well and punish wrong: *amr al-maruf wa'l nahi-an-al munkar*. The Quran also requires the Muslims to 'enjoin upon each other to do well and prevent others from committing wrong'. These Qur'anic verses are very significant in as much as they declare that the chief objectives of the Islamic State is to be the enforcement of duties on the Muslims.

7. ***Payment of Zakat:***

Collection of Zakat is one of the essential functions of the Islamic State. It is also the primary duty of the Muslims, who are enjoined to pay it as dutifully as they perform five time prayer.

Theories of the Khilafat (Caliphate):

As we have said above, Khilafat or Caliphate was the political organisation of the Muslim community under the four Orthodox Caliphs. When the Umayyad dynasty (661-710) came to power in 661 A.D./32 A.H., it kept its outward form but changed it into a monarchy. The Caliphal structure remained the same under the Abbasids (750-1258), but with one important change: they upheld the authority of the Shariah. Under the Abbasids, the Caliph remained the political and religious leader of the Muslim Ummah. But when the Abbasid Caliphate began to decline from about 940 A.D, the Caliphal authority was challenged by rival Caliphs in both the eastern and western provinces of the Caliphate, while independent Muslim rulers or sultans usurped the political authority of the Abbasid Caliphs. This critical situation made several Muslim political thinkers to expound various theories of the Caliphate. Among them al-Mawardi, al-Ghazali and Ibn Khaldun were most important.

Al-Mawardi's Theory of the Khilafat:

Abu'l Hasan Ali ibn Muhammad al-Mawardi (975-1058 A.D./364-450 A.H) was the first political thinker in the history of Islam. He was a

Chapter 15

Sovereignty



Political Science revolves around two poles, viz., the sovereignty of the State and the liberty of the individual.³⁸ In order to understand the one, we must know the other. We begin with the study of the sovereignty.

We have said in a previous chapter that the most important characteristic of the State is sovereignty, which distinguishes it from all other associations. Modern State is a sovereign State. There can be no State without sovereignty. And yet the term 'sovereignty' is analyzed and explained in bewilderingly different meanings and theories. We propose, firstly, to give a general concept of sovereignty, then its theories and finally the pluralistic attack on its very concept.

General Concept of Sovereignty.

The State is a politically organised society of individuals and associations, institution and groups. In order to preserve social unity, peace, and progress, the State regulates and co-ordinates their activities, interests and relations by means of laws, customs, and authority. Sovereignty means the supremacy of the will of the State, as expressed by its laws, over all individuals and associations within its boundaries. It means the supremacy of the authority of the State within its territories and against all powers and authorities beyond its frontiers. It is a supreme law-making power of the State.

Various Definitions.

Sovereignty has been variously defined by the writers. Aristotle defined it simply as the 'supreme power' in the State. Jean Bodin (1540-96) defined it as "the supreme power over citizens and subjects, unrestrained by law" Hugo Grotius defined it as "the supreme political power vested in him whose acts are not subject to any other, whose will cannot be over-ridden". The English jurist, Blackstone, says, "it is the supreme, irresistible, absolute, uncontrolled authority in the State." Burgess defines it as the "original, absolute, unlimited power over individual subjects and over all associations of subjects." Friderick Pollock writes that sovereignty is "that power, which is neither temporary, nor delegated and nor subject to particular rules which it cannot alter." The famous definition of the English

jurist, John Austin, is: "If a human superior, not in the habit of obedience to a like superior, receives habitual obedience from the bulk of a given society, that determinate superior is sovereign in that society."

Willoughby says simply 'Sovereignty is the supreme will of the State'; while Duguk defines it as "the commanding power of the State; it is the right to give unconditional orders to all individuals in the territory of the State. Garner defines it as "that characteristic of the State by virtue of the which it cannot be legally bound except by its own will or limited by any other power than itself."

We may define sovereignty as "the supreme power or authority of an individual or a group of individuals which is unquestioningly obeyed by the bulk of people in the State, as laid down by its constitution and law."

It is interesting to mention that we have not quoted the definition of sovereignty by any political scientist of the behaviouralist school of Political Science. Like the concept of the State, they do not recognise the concept of sovereignty also, for reasons which we shall explain at the end of the next chapter)

From these definitions of the sovereignty we infer the following points about it:

- (a) It is the supreme, unlimited and absolute power of the State,
- (b) It is the supreme power to make laws and enforce them.
- (c) Its authority cannot be resisted or disobeyed by any person or body of person within the State; nor does it obey any power outside its boundaries.
- (d) No limitations can be placed on the supreme will of the State, except those which it has imposed itself.
- (e) The supreme law-making power is itself unlimited by law; it cannot be legally bound, except by its own will. As Leacock puts it, "Somewhere within the State there exists a certain person or body of persons whose commands receive obedience".
- (f) The basis of sovereignty is the use or the possibility of use of coercive power of the State to compel obedience to its laws or commands. "The basis of State sovereignty", said Laski "is the contingent power to use the armed forces of the State to compel obedience to its will. And it is the possession of this legal right to resort to coercion which distinguishes the State from other associations." This is, in short, the meaning of sovereignty which indicates its attributes or essential features and qualities.



undivisible

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Attributes of Sovereignty.

The chief characteristics or attributes of sovereignty are: (i) absoluteness, (ii) indivisibility, (iii) all-comprehensiveness or universality, (iv) permanence, (v) unity, or exclusiveness, (vi) inalienability, and (vii) imprescriptibility.

(i) Absoluteness or Unlimitedness:

It means that the power or authority of the State is absolutely supreme and unlimited over all persons and associations within its territory and against all powers and authorities outside its frontiers. The State is both internally and externally supreme. It is omnipotent and omni-competent. It is subject to no legal limitations, internal or external. Sovereignty cannot be restricted, for the power that imposes restrictions would then itself become sovereign. Sovereignty is supremacy. Therefore, when a State is not supreme, it is not sovereign, and when it is not sovereign, it is not a State. Certain restrictions or limitations on the supreme power of the State are pointed out by writers and philosophers, but they are self-assumed by the sovereign. Although morality, religion, international law and treaties, prudence, expediency or considerations of policy may make a sovereign to refrain from a course of action, yet his power is legally unrestricted and unlimited.

The attribute of absoluteness is the fundamental and most important characteristic of sovereignty. All other attributes are really its corollaries. Moreover, it is also the most controversial feature of the monistic theory of sovereignty. It is contended that sovereignty is not absolute, that there are certain limitations on it. We shall discuss these objections hereafter.

(ii) Indivisibility:

unable to divide

Sovereignty cannot be divided. Every State must have one supreme power in it. It is impossible to have two or more equally supreme powers in the same State. If so, one shall become supreme sooner or later. We agree with John C. Calhoun when he says that "to divide sovereignty is to destroy it". Sovereignty is an entire thing or nothing. The State is unity; otherwise there will be not one but several States. There cannot be half sovereignty, as there cannot be half a triangle or half a living body. Jellinek has rightly remarked that- the notion of a "divided, fragmented, diminished, limited, relative sovereignty" is the negation of sovereignty.

The attribute of indivisibility of the sovereign power of the State is the second important and fundamental attribute. It is also subjected to several objections and criticism. It is attacked by the pluralists. It is also questioned by the federalists because in a federation, sovereignty is apparently divided between the federal and provincial governments. We shall also discuss this problem afterwards.

(iii) **All-comprehensiveness or Universality.** *involved everyone*

Sovereignty of the State is all-comprehensive or universal. It means that it extends to or comprehends all persons and associations within its territories. No one is ^{force} exempt from obeying the laws of the State or commands of the sovereign. The authority of the State is co-extensive with its territorial jurisdiction. It covers all without any exception. No person, association or institution, however universal, can claim exception from obedience to the authority or power of the State, as it was once claimed unsuccessfully by such religious bodies as the Christian Church or the Pope.

Extra-territorial Sovereignty:

There seems to be one exception to the all-comprehensive and universal power of the State; it does not extend to the diplomatic officials and embassies of foreign States within its territories. But it is not so. The sovereign has himself extended this concession to the diplomatic representatives of other States for the sake of international co-operation and courtesy. It is necessary for civilised intercourse between sovereign States. But what the State gives, it can also take back. By virtue of its sovereignty, any State can withdraw the diplomatic immunity of the representatives of the foreign State, if it so likes. It is a concession and not a compulsion. Hence, the extra-territorial rights and concessions of the foreign diplomats are no exception to the rule of universality of the sovereign power of the State.

(iv) **Permanence.**

Sovereignty of the State lasts as long as the State continues to exist. This attribute points out the basic distinction between the State and the government. The State is a permanent association; government is a temporary organization. The government may change, but the State continues to exist. When a king dies, another steps into his shoes, because the State continues to exist. The death of a king does not mean the destruction of the kingdom. This is the real meaning of the English saying: "the king is dead: long lives the king". It is the sovereignty of the king that lives long, though the individual king does not. Only by the destruction of the State itself can sovereignty be destroyed. Permanence, therefore, means the continuity or perpetuity of the sovereign power of the State, which is unaffected by governmental changes.

(v) **Exclusiveness.** *3)*

By exclusiveness we mean that quality by virtue of which there can be only one sovereign power in a State which is entitled to be legally obeyed by its citizens. One sovereign excludes another. It is nicely illustrated by the Persian proverb. "There cannot be two kings in a kingdom". This quality of sovereignty is really derived from its two other attributes, absoluteness and indivisibility. It is based on the principles of the

unity of the State, which means that the State is a single unit, ruled by one sovereign. To say otherwise would mean to admit "the possibility of *imperium in imperio*"--'a State within a State. But this is impossible. Sovereignty cannot be divided or shared between two or more persons. When two persons ride a horse, one must sit in front and hold the reins. It is said that ten beggars can sleep in a blanket, but two kings cannot live in a kingdom. The reason is obvious: none of the beggars is sovereign. And if one of them becomes a sovereign, he will surely drive out the others, or, if he is a clever beggar, make them his subjects!

(vi) **Inalienability.** *unchangeable* *unchangeable*
By this we mean that the supreme power cannot be alienated or taken away from the personality of its holder without destroying it. To alienate or give away sovereignty is to destroy it. "Sovereignty", said Lieber, "can no more be alienated than a tree can alienate its right to sprout or a man can transfer his life or personality without self-destruction". Sovereignty is non-transferable. When a State cedes away its sovereignty, it ceases to exist, and some other State may come into being in its place. It should be noted here that the quality of inalienability relates to the sovereignty and not to the territory of the State. A portion of territory can be ceded without affecting the sovereignty over the remaining portion, in which the State remains as supreme as before. For instance, a "Pakistan was carved out of the territory of the British India, as sovereign State.

(vii) **Imprescriptibility.** *unabolition / unended*
This characteristic follows from that of inalienability. It means that sovereignty is not lost even if its holder does not exercise or assert it for a long period of time. The State remains sovereign, whether it actually asserts its supreme power over a period of time or not. Once a Sovereign, always a Sovereign. Here the constitutional law differs from the private law. In private law, if a person does not assert his ownership over a piece of land or house for, say, 12 or 20 years, he loses his ownership of it. This is called the principle of prescription. But sovereignty is not lost by prescription. It is imprescriptible.

Limitation on Sovereignty.

Is the sovereign absolute? Many thinkers such as Bodin, Hobbes, Rousseau, John Austin, Dicey, Jellinek, have asserted that sovereignty is absolute, unlimited, original and supreme power of the State and that, as the State is a unity, there can only be one supreme authority in it. But this concept of monistic sovereignty is contested and rejected by others on various grounds. They point out several limitations on it. We shall consider them one by one.

Moral limitations.

Legally the State is competent to do everything, but in practice it cannot do many things. What is legally possible may be morally impossible. In Britain, for instance, parliament is, "from the legal point of view", the sovereign legislative power in the State. But it cannot make laws and the executive cannot enforce them, if they violate the moral principles and values upheld by the British people "If the legislature decided that all blue-eyed babies should be 'murdered'", said Leslie Stephen, "the preservation of blue-eyed babies would be illegal, but legislators must go mad before they could pass such a law and subjects be idiotic before they could submit to it". However powerful and despotic or absolutely supreme a sovereign may be, he cannot be successful in flouting the moral or religious sentiments, beliefs and inclinations of his subjects. Legally he is all-powerful, morally he is not so. "Legally an autocratic Tsar may shoot down his subjects before the Winter Palace in Petrograd, but morally it is condemnation that we utter". There is, therefore, a vast difference between what Dean Pound had admirably called "law in books" and "law in action". Hence a wise sovereign will not make laws which flout moral sentiments and convictions, violate religious beliefs, or interfere with long-established customs and traditions of people or their sense of justice and good. Otherwise, he would provoke opposition, bitterness and even revolt or revolution. On the contrary, laws are easily enforced when they conform to the generally accepted moral, religious and social ideas and customs of the people:

(ii) Natural limitations.

The sovereign cannot do what is naturally impossible. For instance, he cannot order the sun or the moon to rise, or make a law that the sun shall always rise at 6 o' clock or from the south. If a sovereign would order so, he will be sent to the lunatic asylum. Such are the natural limitations on the absolute competence of the sovereign's powers.

(iii) Human limitations.

There are several things which a sovereign cannot do; firstly, because he is a human being, and secondly, because he has to deal with human beings. Gilchrist has called them "the limits of human endurance", while Dicey has called them the internal limits, inasmuch as they rise from the very nature of the body or person exercising sovereignty. The powers of a sovereign are inevitably limited by the strength or weakness, capacity or incapacity of his character, mind, body and personality and also by his education, knowledge, religion, morals and environment. The same is the case of his subjects or citizens. They are also conditioned by their environment, education, religion, and moral value system, and determined by their habits, character, mind; body and personality. So, even if they are willing to obey a law, they may be physically or mentally incapable to do so. For instance, the sovereign can make a law that all men, women and



children will work at night and sleep in day-time. But how can he enforce it? Similarly, a ruler can make a law forbidding the people to hold a particular opinion because it is 'a dangerous opinion' But he is unable to enforce that law, because the people may continue "to hold it in their heads", while the sovereign can only punish them when they will actually write or talk about it. Expediency and common-sense would tell him not to make such a law. Such are the human limitations on the sovereign power of a ruler. "They are," as Gilchrist says, "limits of individuality, expediency and common-sense".

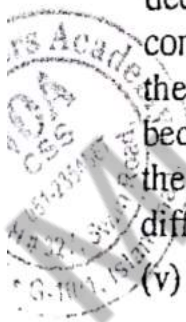
(iv) **Constitutional limitations.**

Some writers also point out constitutional limitations on sovereignty. These limitations are, firstly, the written and rigid constitution, and, secondly, the provision of fundamental rights in the constitution, and such other provisions in the written constitution which the legislature or the government is expressly forbidden to change, such as the parity principle in federal constitutions. The structure of a State, with a written and rigid constitution, cannot change except by a long and difficult process of amendment, which is a check on its sovereignty. It is said that in such a State, there are two kinds of laws, the constitutional law and the ordinary law. The constitutional law is superior to the ordinary law, which must conform to it or be declared null and void. So, the legislature which makes ordinary law, and cannot amend the constitution, is limited in its legislative power. Similarly, its power is limited by the other provisions of the constitution, such as the fundamental rights, etc.

These limitations are, however, no limitations on the sovereignty of the State. Firstly, the provisions of a constitution are limitations not on the State but on government. They require the government and its various organs to remain within these provisions, if their acts and laws are not to be declared unconstitutional. The State, that is, the people who can amend the constitution, remain as supreme as before, because they may amend it, if they so like. It is a self-imposed restriction and, therefore, not a limitation because it can be removed at any time. Moreover the distinction between the constitutional law and the ordinary law is not fundamental. The difference is procedural and not substantial.

(v) **Limitations of International Law.**

International law, conventions, agreements and treaties are regarded as another limitation on the sovereignty of the State. Bluntschli puts it in these words: "There is no such thing as absolute independence—even the State as a whole is not all-mighty, for it is limited externally by the rights of other States and internally by its own nature and the rights of its individual members". But, like the "constitutional limitations, the international limitations are not legal limitations. They are merely self-limitations which the sovereign States observe in their intercourse with on



another. There is no international authority or law-court to interpret and enforce international laws. They are self-imposed and can be repudiated by the State any time. This is shown by such behaviour of the States as when they tear away treaties as mere scraps of paper or when international conventions and rules are violated, and, above all, when a war is declared. It proves that the State is free to abide or not to abide by the international law. International law is rightly regarded as not a law in the strict sense. It is merely a code of international morality which the States generally find it expedient to observe.

Two Aspects of Sovereignty.

(i) Internal Sovereignty.

A distinction is usually made between internal and external sovereignty, especially by the writers on International Law. Internal sovereignty means the supreme and final power to command all persons and associations within the territory of the State. Its will is absolute over all persons and associations. It issues orders to all men and receives orders from none. Its will is subject to no legal limitations of any kind. "What it proposes is right by the mere announcement of intention," as Laski puts it.

(ii) External Sovereignty.

It means the freedom or independence of the State from any control, compulsion and interference by a foreign State or power. It means in other words, that the will of the State is supreme as against all foreign wills, treaties and International Law do not limit the supremacy or external sovereignty of the State, because they are self-imposed limitations. In short, external sovereignty means independence of the State. It is necessary to remark that while internal sovereignty is a positive exercise of authority, external sovereignty is merely its negative aspect. External sovereignty does not mean that the State has the right or power over other States. It only means that it will not submit to their interference or command. That is why it is suggested by some political scientists that it is better to use the word "independence" instead of "external sovereignty". Sovereignty is essentially internal power, which can exist only when it will not tolerate foreign intervention in it in any form. *No State comes into being with the goodwill and by the grace of other States, but in spite of the ill will and hostility of most of them.* Hence every State remains independent only so long as it is internally strong and supreme. To conclude, sovereignty means supreme, unlimited and absolute power in its two aspects, internal and external.

State in crisis.-

'De Jure' and 'De Facto' Sovereignty.- States sometimes become victims of political troubles, called revolts, rebellions, *coups d'etat*, revolutions, wars and foreign aggression. A rebel leader, a revolutionary,

party, a military junta, or a war leader, a priest or a prophet may overthrow the established government or destroy its power from a portion or whole of the country. The State is then in a crisis. It is to explain such times of crisis and transition, that the two terms, "*de jure*" and "*de facto*" Sovereignty, are used. ("*De jure*" means "by law" and "*de facto*" means 'in fact'.)

'*De Jure*' sovereignty means the authority of the ruler or government which is recognised by law as supreme. It is, therefore, the legal sovereign. But, in times of war, civil war or revolution, it may not be actually obeyed by all or part of the people or country. '*De facto*' sovereignty means the authority of the person or agency which can in fact or actually compel obedience. So, *de jure* sovereign has the right or law on his side, while *de facto* sovereign has might or physical force. Sometimes the *de facto* sovereign bases his claim to obedience on law, but it is not yet universally accepted. Hence Lord Bryce, the English political writer, defines *de facto* sovereign as "the person or body of persons who can make his or their will prevail whether with the law or against the law: he, or they, is the *de facto* ruler, the person whom obedience is actually paid."

The crisis of the State, however, cannot last for ever. Sooner or later, either the former government or the new one subdues the other. A *de facto* sovereign becomes a *de jure* sovereign when, firstly, he succeeds in basing his might or authority on law by making necessary law or constitution, and, secondly, when his sovereignty is recognised by other States according to international law and practice. Hence a successful *de facto* sovereign, whether a dictator, a military leader, a clever priest, a revolutionary or a usurper, must become a *de jure* sovereign as well, by making necessary changes in law and constitution. Otherwise his fate is like that of Bacha Saqqa of Afghanistan who overthrew the *de jure* sovereign, King Amanullah, but was himself soon ousted from power by Nadir Shah, who became then the *de jure* sovereign by adopting a new constitution.

In a well-ordered State *de jure* and *de facto* sovereignty coincide. In other words, right and might go together. The courts recognise only the *de jure* sovereign. Good government and peace are possible only when there is no split between the *de jure* and *de facto* sovereignty. As regards examples, modern history abounds with them. The communist government of China was the *de facto* sovereign when it overthrew the former *de jure* government of Chiang Kai-shek. But since it adopted a new Constitution of People's Republic of China and was recognised by foreign States, it became the *de jure* sovereign of the new China as well. Formerly, the Nationalist Government in Algeria was *de facto* sovereign, while the French Colonial Government was its *de jure* sovereign. But as the Algerians drove out the French colonialists from their country, their National Government became both *de facto* and *de jure* sovereign.



Titular and Actual Sovereignty.

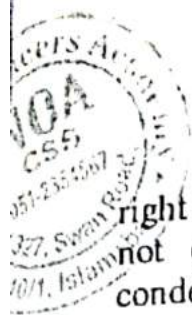
Another distinction is made between the titular sovereign and the actual sovereign. With the growth of parliamentary democracy, the king of a parliamentary State has lost the substance of power, although he is still called the sovereign head of the State. The actual supreme power is in the hands of his parliament or prime minister. It is to explain such a distinction that the two terms "titular" and "actual" sovereignty are used. A titular or nominal sovereign is one who does not actually exercise any power. For example, the King of England is a titular sovereign. He is still called "Our Sovereign Lord the King". But he is really a figure-head, a mere shadow of a great past. The same is true of the heads of the parliamentary republics, like the President of India. In such States, the real power and authority is in the hands of the actual sovereign, the parliament or the prime minister or the cabinet. In other words, the ministers decide things while the king merely signs their decisions. They rule the country, while the king merely reigns. They really use him like a rubber-stamp to sign their orders and laws. Lowell has described the change in the position and power of the constitutional king in these words: "According to the early theory of the constitution the ministers were the counsellors of the king. It was for them to advise and for him to decide. Now the parts are almost reversed. The king is consulted, but the ministers decide."

KINDS OF SOVEREIGNTY

Sovereignty is supreme power. But supreme power can be in the hands of one person or an assembly, voters and political parties, or in the hand of a nation or people. This gives us three kinds of sovereignty: viz., legal; political and popular sovereignty.

I. LEGAL SOVEREIGNTY**Its meaning:**

Legal sovereignty is the supreme and final law-making power, recognised by law, and exercised by a determinate person or organ of the State. In every State there is some authority legally entitled to make laws which the citizens have to obey. Such an authority is the legal sovereign. He expresses the will of the State in the form of laws or commands. The legal sovereign is unrestrained by law in the exercise of his law-making power. His power is not limited by the laws of God, the prescriptions of religion, moral principles, public opinion, old customs, or international conventions and agreements. Whatever he decrees must be obeyed by the citizens, enforced if need be by his supreme coercive power. Whatever he orders is binding, whether it is good or bad, moral or not, just or unjust. As Hobbes puts it bluntly within the sphere of law, there is no such thing as unjust command. So justice, morality or good is what the legal sovereign has decreed by-means of his law. All rights are created by him and there is no



right against him The law-courts apply the law of the legal sovereign and do not question its validity, even though it may be morally unsound, condemned by public opinion as 'black law and what not. So far as the source of laws is concerned, the courts and lawyers refuse to look beyond the legal sovereign.

This is the theory of legal sovereignty. It was, as we shall see later on, presented in its most precise form by the English jurist, John Austin. The law or the constitution of a State describes in whose hands legal sovereignty lies. In England, it rests with the Queen-in-Parliament. There is no legal limit to the power exercised by parliament. It has the power to do everything; except what is 'physically impossible, such as to make a man a woman or a woman a man. In a Federal State, however, it is somewhat difficult to say precisely as to who is the legal sovereign or as Laski says it is practically an impossible adventure.

Criticism.

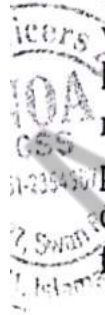
Legal sovereignty is the lawyers' view of sovereignty. As Ritchi says, "the legal sovereign is the lawyer's sovereign *qua* lawyer, the sovereign beyond which lawyers and courts refuse to look". But it does not fully explain the nature of sovereignty in the State. Behind the legal sovereign stands another sovereign power, the political sovereign, and, according to some, yet another sovereign, the popular sovereign. Some writers reject the theory of legal sovereignty as abstract and misleading. Woodrow Wilson writes, "Sovereignty, as ideally conceived in legal theory, nowhere actually exists". But it was the view of a person living in a federation.

abs. legal sovereign

2. POLITICAL SOVEREIGNTY

Its meaning.

Legal sovereignty is supreme but not omnipotent. Legally his will is absolute and unlimited, but politically he cannot act independently and exclusively. His will is actuated by many and varied influences and forces which are unknown to law. As Dicey says, "behind the Sovereign which the lawyers recognise, there is another Sovereign to whom the legal Sovereign must bow". He is the political sovereign. Dicey defines it thus: "that body is politically sovereign the will of which is ultimately obeyed by the citizens of the State". The political sovereign is the sum-total of the influences and forces in a State which stand behind the law.



The concept of political sovereignty is less exact than the concept of legal sovereignty. Its nature and location differ in different States. By its very nature, it is unorganized, vague, indeterminate and inexact. It may be the power of the people, the public opinion, the electorate or the dominant class or a section of the people such as the army, the landed aristocracy or a powerful priesthood. It depends upon the nature of a particular State as to



which of these forces and influences will actually exercise sovereignty at any particular time.

Relations of Legal and Political Sovereignty.

The problem of good government is really *one of proper relationship between the legal and political sovereignty*. In a direct democracy, as, for example, existed in ancient Greek city-States, the two practically coincided, because the people assembled and decided everything. The people were at once the legal and political sovereigns. But this cannot be so in the modern indirect democracies, which have representative governments, responsible to the people or electorate. The people, by voting and electing representatives indicate to the legislature, the legal sovereign, the type of laws they desire. But the political sovereign, the electorate, is influenced by the political parties, the press, public speeches and even friendly talks. In this way the political sovereign really manifests itself by voting, by the press, by speeches, by intelligent conversations and by various other ways, which cannot be easily described. It does not directly make the laws, but it lays down the conditions and terms within which they shall be made by the legal sovereign. In short, though the political sovereign is legally unknown, unorganised and incapable of expressing the will of the State in the form of laws, yet the legal sovereign will bow to him in practice and will express it ultimately. In despotic monarchy, the relation between the legal sovereign, i.e. the king and the political sovereign, is not so close and effective. Yet the king also depends upon the support of his army, his friends and class of nobles to rule. In all States, whether despotic or democratic, the legal sovereign is limited by the political sovereign. Professor Ritchie illustrated this fact by citing the example of the despotic government of the Russian Czars in these words: "the Czar of all the Russians rules by the will of his people, as much as does the executive of the Swiss Federation". The only difference is that the political sovereign in a despotic State is not as broad-based as in a democratic State.

The presence of the legal and political sovereigns in a State should not lead us to think that there are two sovereignties in it, or that sovereignty is divided into two. Really legal and political sovereigns are two different channels for the manifestation of the one and the same sovereignty or will of the State. There are two aspects of sovereignty, expressed through two channels: in its legal aspect by the deliberations and decisions of the legislative organ and in its political aspect by the votes of the electorate and the activities of the political parties, the press, and other agencies of public opinion. Law is and must be the manifestation of the will of the people. But the people cannot directly legislate. They first discuss their problems and needs among themselves, guided and influenced by the political parties and leaders, and educated and enlightened by the press and platform. Then they elect their representatives, the legal sovereign, who frames laws in

(123)

accordance with their wishes and opinions expressed before and after the elections. Thus the legal sovereign becomes limited and conditioned by the political sovereign, although in law it alone is competent to make laws. In this way the former mirrors the opinion of the latter. If, for example, the members of a particular Parliament do not reflect it, they will not be re-elected at the next elections, but some other persons will be elected in their stead.

Criticism.

The theory of political sovereignty is criticised by Leacock on the ground that the political sovereign is difficult to locate; "the more one searches for this final authority, the more it seems to elude one's grasp". The search for him is like the quest of the philosophers for the "first cause". The voters are obviously not the political sovereign, because they are influenced by the propaganda of the political parties and the press, and may even be under the influence of selfish and crafty leaders and demagogues. Public opinion is so fluctuating and vague that it cannot be called a sovereign: it is difficult to say when it is public and when it is opinion. Furthermore, the complexion of the political sovereignty is ever-changing, vague and different in different States. "In one State," writes Leacock, "the priesthood, in another the military or landed classes, in another the personal entourage of the king or the predominant influence of the metropolis, might supply the real motive power that controls the public administration". So the political sovereign is not as precise, exact and determinate as the legal sovereign.

But this criticism misses the real point. The theory of political sovereignty does not aim at the refutation or rejection of legal sovereignty. On the contrary, it accepts the existence of the legal sovereignty. What it rejects is its omnipotence and omni-competence. For law and law-courts, the legal sovereign is the final, omnipotent and determinate power or source of law. But, for political life and political obligation the theory of legal sovereignty does not fully and satisfactorily explain the nature and location of sovereignty. It does not explain the true reason why the citizens should obey the law. The theory of political sovereignty corrects these shortcomings and gives us the basis of political obligation and explains the real nature of modern democracy. Political power and obligation must be grounded on the consent and will of individual voter. As McKenzie says, "The will of the legal sovereign is or should be the authorized embodiment or manifestation of the will of the political sovereign. If the popular will is accurately expressed by the legal sovereign, the power of the people is effective, otherwise it is not". In other words, the legal sovereign, the parliament, is omnipotent only so long as it expresses 'the will of the people, their hopes and desires, needs and wishes. Should it disregard them, it would be repudiated by the voters. "Parliament itself would be purged of its

offending members. Parliament is master, can utter valid commands, only so far as it interprets, or at least does not cross the wishes of the people."

3. POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY

Its origin.

No political concept has played a greater role in human history than that of popular sovereignty. During the last few centuries it has agitated human hearts, organized peoples into powerful revolutionary forces and toppled over several thrones of ancient monarchies e.g. of France, Russia. It has been propounded by some of the greatest political philosophers, like Locke and Rousseau. Yet it has been questioned, doubted and even indignantly rejected by several others. As compared to its role in political thought and history, the theory of legal sovereignty seems to be mere hair-splitting verbiage of the lawyers and jurists, and the theory of political sovereignty as a distorted Statement of facts by honest and laborious professors of Political Science and publicists. The idea of popular sovereignty was first presented in the 16th and 17th centuries. But the high priest of the popular sovereignty was the Frenchman, J.J. Rousseau, who transformed it into a revolutionary dogma, and proclaimed the sovereignty of the people in the form of the General Will. It led straight to the great French Revolution of 1789. The growth of democracy, individual liberty, spread of education and political awakening have increased the influence and importance of the idea of popular sovereignty. It has now become, as Bryce says, "the basis and watchword of democracy".³⁹

Its meaning.

In spite of an unflinching faith in it, popular sovereignty is not an easy term to define. It is at once a very simple and a very complex concept. In simple terms, it means that supreme power ultimately lies with the people, that government should be based on the consent of the governed. It means, as Gilchrist says, the power of the masses, as distinguished from the power of the individual ruler or of the ruling classes. The difficulty arises when we try to see how and when the people exercise this supreme and ultimate power attributed to them. Various theories are suggested to show how the will of the people directs the will of the government in an actual State. One of them is that of Professor Ritchie.

Ritchie's Theory.

He says that the people exercise sovereignty directly through electoral power, and indirectly through influence, intimidation or potential threat of revolution or rebellion. The ultimate repository of political power is the mass of the people. They are ultimately the masters. Hence every kind of rule exists by virtue of their tacit consent. "Sovereignty, in last resort, is a

³⁹ Bryce. *Modern Democracies*, Vol.1, p.143.

matter of force and depends upon the ability to secure or to compel obedience; the power that in case of a struggle would have the strength to command obedience is the sovereign." And that sovereign is the people. Thus Ritchie bases the sovereignty of the people on their tacit consent and not on contract, as Rousseau did more than a century and half before him. The merit of Ritchie's theory lies in the fact that he did not assert that the people ought to be sovereign in the last resort, as others say, but that they are sovereign all the time. Yet he fails to explain the nature of consent and the organisation of the people's sovereignty, as we shall see presently.

Criticism.

The theory of popular sovereignty has been subjected to criticism on many grounds. They are as follows:

(1) *Vagueness of the Theory.*

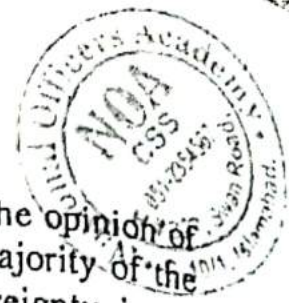
The theory of popular sovereignty is vague, and even confusing, because the popular sovereignty is itself of a very loose and inexact form. It has the same vagueness about it as the ancient saying, *vox populi, vox Dei* - the voice of the people is the voice of God. It does not explain the question, "who are the people?"

(2) *The indeterminate character of the 'people'.*

When asked "who are the people, the advocates of the popular sovereignty are unable to answer in clear-cut terms. If we mean by people the entire unorganised mass of people living in a State, then, we necessarily include in it the children, the idiots, the insolvents and all sorts of criminals and law-breakers, who cannot obviously be included among the sovereign people. In those countries where the women are not given the right to vote, they also cannot be included among the "sovereign people". That will create a new difficulty, because nearly one-half of the people are not included in the sovereign. So the more we try to analyze the meanings of the "sovereign" people, the less we know about it.

(3) *The inherent impossibility of organizing the sovereignty' of the people.*

It is easy to say that the people are sovereign, but it is difficult to tell how. Organization is the virtue of sovereignty. Sovereignty is the power to command obedience; but it must be an organised power before it is obeyed. When a people become organised they are necessarily led by some leaders and parties. But then they are no longer sovereign, for he who organises the people becomes the sovereign, which means the legal sovereign. Here we find a contradiction in terms. If popular sovereignty means the power of the unorganised mass of the people, there is no State and therefore no sovereignty. But if they become organised, they become legal sovereign. It is said that it can be expressed by public opinion. But unorganised public opinion, however powerful, is not an expression of



sovereignty. When it becomes organised, it does not remain the opinion of all the people; because it is necessarily the opinion of the majority of the people. Understood in any of these senses, popular sovereignty is an illogical and contradictory concept: either it is not sovereign, or it is not popular.

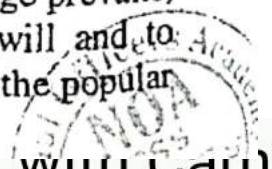
(4) It is also suggested that the sovereignty of the people is expressed by the electorate, i.e., by the right to vote. But the right to vote is a legal right which is given not to all persons but to those who are qualified to exercise it. Actually it is often found that only 30% of the entire population of a country really exercise the right to vote. As elections are decided by majority votes, the majority of the electorate will constitute barely 15% of the whole people, which is, indeed, a very small minority of the people. Hence the sovereignty of the people, as expressed by the electorate will be a sovereignty of a small and indeterminate minority of the whole population. So, adult suffrage is not a good criterion of popular sovereignty.

(5) Moreover, it is said by Ritchie that the people are sovereign because they are always more numerous than any government which might oppose them. Therefore, their physical superiority and force will always decide every political issue and limit the actions of the government. But millions of unorganised men without discipline, weapons and modern equipment, can be easily overawed by a few thousands of well-organised soldiers. Sovereignty, in this case, does not lie with the people but with a handful of men who have organised the army and the police.

We conclude, therefore, that either popular sovereignty is no sovereignty at all, or it is another name for political sovereignty. If the people are not organised, they are not sovereign; but if they are organised, they become political sovereign, who act through the legal and constitutional channels of elections and franchise. In any case, the notion of popular sovereignty is the vanishing point of sovereignty. "The will of the people", says MacIver, "is rarely, if ever, the will of all the people".

Importance and merits of the theory

It cannot be denied that the concept of popular sovereignty "contains great truth and is the basis of democratic faith. It emphasizes that the people are the sovereign power though they don't exercise it". It stresses the importance of public opinion in modern democracy. It is a useful concept, provided we keep in mind the distinction between the legal power and moral influence because, in the last analysis, popular sovereignty signifies the moral control and influence over the legislature or the legal sovereign. As Garner says, it is nothing more than the power of the majority of the electorate in a country where a system of universal suffrage prevails, acting through legally established channels, to express their will and to make it prevail. As Laski puts it, "All, in fact, that the theory of the popular



sovereignty seems to mean is that the interests which prevail must be the interests of the mass of men rather than of any special portion of community" Lastly, this theory rightly emphasizes the role of force of numbers in the State. Indeed force is an element of sovereignty, but the test of Statesmanship lies in the fact how and when this force is to be exercised: "the highest ideal of Statesmanship is to render the actual exercise of such force as seldom necessary as possible, and the extent to which this aim is attained will depend largely upon the degree in which the State action corresponds with the desire of Public Opinion or the General Will". The theory of popular sovereignty is both a guide to Statesmanship and a chart of the political health of a State. Lastly, the theory of popular sovereignty emphasizes a basic truth that government should be both constitutional and popular, that is, it must be so organised that public opinion is able to express itself in a legal way as readily as possible and that this opinion is expressed by as large a part of the people as possible. This is done by such means as a written constitution, fundamental rights, universal suffrage, representative legislature, frequent elections, local self-government and responsibility of the government to the people, and the direct legislation by the people in regard to certain important legislation by means of referendum and initiative. So, as Gilchrist says, the idea of popular sovereignty can be better expressed by the term "popular control" of the government. But it is more of a moral influence than a legal power.



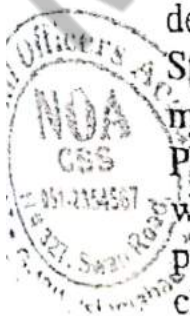
Law, its Kinds: Morality

What is Law?

The term 'Law' is used in different senses in various sciences. Basically, it means the uniformity or fixedness of action and behaviour of a thing or phenomenon. The word 'law' denotes this sense etymologically also. It is derived from the old Germanic word "Lag" which means something fixed or unchanging. But this term came to be differently understood in the two great divisions of the sciences, physical and social. In physical sciences, law denotes the principle of *uniformity* in the behaviour or movement of the things or in the occurrence of the phenomena of nature. It is in this sense that it is used in such phrases as the law of gravity, the laws of motion in Physics or the various laws in Chemistry.

In the social sciences, law is used in two different senses. Firstly, it is used in the same sense as in physical science, i.e., as a uniformity of occurrences or behaviour in social processes, e.g., the laws of demand and supply as in Economics. Secondly, it is used in a different sense, as explained here Man's behaviour is motivated by will, desire or, even by caprice and whim. But society cannot exist without some uniformity of behaviour and conduct. Hence it becomes necessary that human actions and movements should be regulated by a body of rules to guide them uniformly. This could be done by the conscience or moral sense of the individual or by customs and public opinion, guiding him to do what is good. But moral sense or conscience may be too weak to enjoin or prohibit one's actions and social opinion may be silenced by the wealth, social position or some other advantage which enable some persons to refuse to respect the custom or the moral rule. For this reason, society has created the State to see that certain socially necessary actions or prohibitions must be performed by all its members. The State enforces them by its coercive power. The rules, which define these socially necessary actions or prohibitions, are called laws of the State. They are political laws, to distinguish them from the social customs, moral laws and rules, and the physical laws of the exact sciences. In Political Science, Jurisprudence and other sciences we are concerned only with the political laws, or the *positive laws*, also called *laws as such*. The purpose of these laws is obvious. They embody the will of the State. They create the conditions of liberty for the individual. They create unity and organisation in the society. The State exists mainly to declare or frame these

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laws, and to enforce them, by its coercive power of punishing those who do not obey them.

Definitions of law. ✓

Here are some definitions of law given by eminent writers Aristotle defined law as "whatsoever the ruling party of the State shall enact" Austin defines law as thus: "Positive laws consist of commands set as rules of conduct by a sovereign to the member or members of the independent political society wherein the author of law is supreme" Or. briefly, "Law is a command issued by a superior to an inferior". T.H. Green defines law as "the system of rights and obligations which the State enforces" President Wood row Wilson gives a more comprehensive definition in these words: "Law is that portion of 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."

Holland, an English jurist, says, "Law is a general rule of action, taking cognizance only of external acts, enforced by a determinate authority, which authority is human, and among human authorities is that which is paramount in a political society", or, briefly, "Law is a general rule of external action enforced by a sovereign political authority" **J.C. Carter** in his book: *Law, Its Origin, Growth and Function*, says: "Law always has been, still is, and will for ever continue to be the custom". **Salmond**, another jurist, says: Law is "the body of principles recognised and applied by the State in the administration of justice."

We may define law simply thus: Law is a general rule of human conduct, taking cognizance only of external acts, recognised or framed by the State and enforced by its coercive authority.

Analysis of Law.

Knowledge or awareness.
If we analyze the nature of the positive law, we find that it consists of six characteristics: viz., uniformity, universality, externalness, content, formulation and enforcement or sanction.

Uniformity. Law is a general or uniform rule of human conduct. It requires that an individual will always do or refrain from doing something. It means that whatever the circumstances or situation, the individual will always perform a particular act as defined by the law or refrain from doing it as prohibited by it. Thus, law is, first of all, a Statement of "Do's" or "Do'nts".

Universality. Law is applied to the whole civic community. It is meant for all individuals who live in the State. Law is universal, because no persons or group of persons can claim exemption from its obedience. Law knows no exception. It covers all persons and associations equally. This is one of the important principles of law, known as the principle of equality before law.

Externality. Positive law or the law of the State deals only with the external acts and not with inner thoughts or intentions of an individual, as the moral rules do. It is because the State is unable to go into the motives and intentions of the individuals. It cannot enforce thoughts. It cannot compel the people to think honestly or truthfully. The courts also cannot take notice of the motives or intentions of the persons, because as the medieval lawyers said, devil himself does not know what is in their minds.

The action of these are the reasons why law takes cognizance only of external acts.
taking judicial notes.

Content. Most of the laws are the Statements of rights and duties. This is their real purpose and content. They define the necessary relations between two or more individuals or groups of individuals or between the individuals and State or public body. These relations impose a duty or an obligation on some other individual or individuals, on one side, and confer a right on some individual or individuals, on the other. There are, however, certain laws which do not describe rights and duties. They may better be called acts rather than laws. For instance, a law to build a particular hydel dam, say Tarbela Dam, is not a law, but an act of the State. Similarly, a law to set up a particular department, e.g., a university or a military unit, is not a law in the real sense, but an act of the State. Such laws do not grant rights to any person and strictly speaking are not laws.

Formulation. The law must be recognised as such when framed by the State, that is, by its legislative organ. Unless a custom or a moral rule or any social relation and interest is not formulated or legislated upon by the State, it will not become a law, nor will it be enforced by the courts. A mere custom is not binding on the citizens.

Sanction. Law is enforced by the State, if need be, by its coercive power or by its power to reward. It punishes those who violate it by fine, confiscation of property, imprisonment and, in the last resort, by execution or exile. This force or threat of punishment or giving of reward by the State is called its sanction. Other kinds of laws, such as moral rules and social conventions and customs, are not supported or sanctioned by the coercive authority of the State. Thus alone life in a society can be made comfortable and predictable for the well-being and happiness of its people.

Three Schools of Jurisprudence.

Since the days of John Austin a controversy is waged on two questions concerning law, viz., the nature of law and its source. Generally speaking, there are three views regarding the nature and origin of law. First, there are the views of the analytical school, which emphasize authority and compulsion of the formal rules of society. Second, there are those of the historical school, which emphasizes the development of habit and custom. Third, there are those of the sociological school which emphasizes the needs and conditions of the society and its individuals, which needs be protected by its necessary rules. We shall now describe each school here.

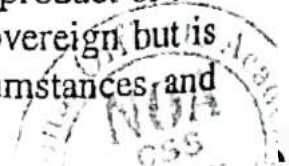


Analytical or Positivist School.

It owes its origin to John Austin who was its leading exponent in the nineteenth century. It is also called the 'positive' school, because it considers law as it is and not as it ought to be. As it was the first modern school of law, it is also called the classical, orthodox, or conventional school. The analytical or positivist theory of law is based on two principles. Firstly, as regards the source, *law is the command of the sovereign*, "the determinate human superior" as Austin said. In other words, law is made only by the sovereign authority of the State. Legislation is its only source. Secondly, force is the essence of law. What cannot or is not enforced or sanctioned by the coercive power of the State is not law. Law compels obedience: if it cannot, it is no law. As Holland puts it, "the most obvious characteristic of law is that it is coercive."

This theory of law was vehemently attacked by Maine and other historical jurists in the 19th century and is today severely criticised by the political pluralists and the sociological jurists. It is declared to be too rigid, abstract and unprogressive. It does not take into view the historical conditions in the growth of law and the social needs and interests. In spite of these shortcomings, the jurists of the Analytical School have contributed much to the theory of Law and Political Science. First of all, they have laid emphasis on clear definitions and logical distinctions. In this way, the analytical method has removed uncertain and ambiguous elements from the conception of law. It can no longer be confused with the "law of nature" or the law of God, as it was done before the 19th century. Secondly, this school has given us the juristic or legal theory of sovereignty. Lastly, as the analytical theory has been closely associated with the utilitarian theory, it has upheld the principle of *the greatest good of the greatest number* in legislation. Thus this school has advocated that Laws must be made by the State in the interest of general welfare. This school derives its political philosophy from Bodin, Hobbes and Bentham.

Historical School. It propounds a historical theory of law. It rejects the contention that the command of the sovereign and the coercive force of the State are necessary characteristics of law. Instead of being a deliberate enactment by the sovereign, it believes that law is a result of a long historical growth in the society, because it evolves from social customs, conventions, religious precepts and principles and economic needs and relations of the people. In other words, this school looks behind the sovereign into the history of the people or society in order to discover the real sources of law. It regards legislation as a formal source, and the customs, traditions and popular consent, as the material sources of law. It studies the origin and growth of laws. It views the law as the product of the forces and influences of the past. Law is not 'made' by the sovereign, but is 'suggested' to him, as Woodrow Wilson says, "by the circumstances and

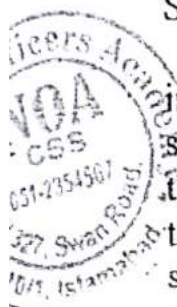


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opinions of the nation for whom he acts". The State does not create law it but merely formulates and enforces it.

The chief exponents of this historical theory were Savigny in Germany, and Maine, Maitland and Pollock in England. This school has one defect. It is conservative in its attitude and looks too much to the past. It emphasizes legal history, but not legal philosophy. It has one merit. It shows that law has its roots deep in the history and will of the people, without which it will not be really obeyed, no matter how powerful the law-making authority may be. It shows that law is first a custom and then a code. Thus it corrected the narrow, formal and rigid view of the Analytical School.

— **Sociological School.** It is a modern school of Jurisprudence, and is influenced by modern psychology and sociology. But the jurists of this school do not hold common principles and views. The chief exponents of this school were Duguit, Krabbe and Laski. All of them severely criticised the analytical theory of law. They find the source and sanction of law in social need and necessity. According to Duguit, man lives in a society in which his needs and interests can be realised. Society has unity or solidarity based on the social rules by which alone social needs and interests can be realised. Every individual observes these social rules because both self-interest and experience tell him that by doing so he can satisfy his needs and interests and live happily. The knowledge or awareness of the social needs and rules is the real source and sanction of laws. The State does not create them but merely formulates them, so that social solidarity may be preserved and social purposes of the individuals may be realised. *The social rules are the laws.* They come from the society and not from the State. The sanction of the law is not the force of the State; but the psychological awareness of the individual that his obedience of the law will meet with social approval and his disobedience with the disapproval of his society. Laws, as Duguit defines, are, in the fundamental sense, the rules of conduct which normal men know they must observe in order to preserve and promote the benefits derived from life and society. "They are the necessary relations of social living". According to Krabbe, another sociological jurist, the source and sanction of laws lie in man's sense of right, in his value judgement of what is right and wrong, just and unjust. He defines law as "the expression of one of the many judgements of value which we human beings make, by virtue of our disposition and nature". We obey law, not because we are afraid of the punishment or power of the State, but because it is just and good. Law is above the State. Krabbe upholds, as he puts it, the sovereignty of law and rejects the sovereignty of the State. According to Laski, the source of law is in the consenting mind of the individual. We obey it because it enables us to satisfy our desire, and not because of the policeman, i.e., the State.



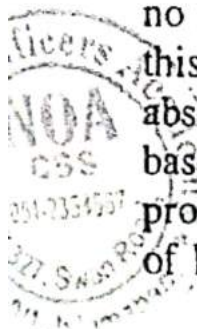
Liberty and Equality



Liberty of the individual and Sovereignty of the State are two poles of Political Science and Philosophy, around which most of their problems revolve. One of these problems is: How to organise the State so that its sovereignty is preserved without destroying the liberty of the individual. This problem leads us to a still greater problem, that of the relation between the State and the individual. Broadly speaking, these problems are solved in two ways, either by regarding the State as the end and the individual as a means to this end, or by regarding the individual's life, liberty and happiness as the end and the State as a means to them. The former view is that of Idealism and of such modern theories as Socialism and Fascism, while the latter is that of Individualism. In order to understand these problems and theories, we must know what is liberty, its various kinds and its relations to sovereignty, law and authority of the State.

What is Liberty: Its negative meanings.

The term "liberty" is derived from the Latin word 'liber' which means free or unrestrained. Montesquieu once remarked: "There is no word that admits of more various significations, and has made more different impressions on the human mind than that of liberty". In its absolute sense liberty may be defined as "the faculty of willing and the power of doing what has been willed, without influence from any other source, or from without." Or, briefly, "liberty is absence of restraint." Understood in this sense, it means the freedom of one man alone and the consequent restraint on others. Obviously, such an absolute liberty is not desirable at all. If one individual has unlimited freedom to do whatever he likes, all other individuals should also have the same unlimited and absolute liberty. But this is impossible in a society where one's action affects others and may injure their interests. So if there is no check on the liberty of an individual, he may do many things which may completely destroy the liberty of others. Moreover, if society is to exist and progress, there are certain things which no individual can be allowed to do at all, such as murder, theft etc. From this it follows that we cannot live without common rules which restrain the absolute liberty of all of us. Liberty has, therefore, to be defined on two bases: the desire of every man to have his own way and the social need to protect the equal freedom of others and their interests. Hence, the problem of liberty is not one of absolute freedom but one of relation between the



individual desire for self-expression and the need to control individual action by certain common and necessary social rules and obligations. As Laski puts it, "Historical experience has solved for us rules of convenience which promote right living and to compel obedience to them is a justifiable limitation of freedom. Understood thus, liberty is the power to do anything provided it does not injure the freedom of others. That was how Herbert Spencer, an individualist thinker of the 19th century, defined liberty: "Every man is free to do what he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man". This is, however, the meaning of liberty in its negative aspect.

Its positive meanings:

In its positive sense, liberty is not only the absence of restraint but also the presence of opportunity to do or achieve something. It is, as Laski says, "the eager maintenance of that atmosphere in which men have the opportunity to be their best selves". It means the power to develop one's abilities and to plan one's life according to one's own will. In this sense liberty is a product of rights. It may be remarked that the negative aspect of liberty implies duties; the duties imposed on others not to interfere in my freedom and the duty imposed on me not to interfere in the equal freedom of others. In its positive sense, liberty implies rights or opportunities which are essential for the development of the ability, personality, interests and ideals of an individual. Liberty must therefore, be defined both as the absence of restraint and the presence of opportunity. Ordinarily, liberty is understood by a rich man in its negative sense, as absence of regulation by the State, and by a poor man in the positive sense, as the provision of opportunity to live a good life.

KINDS OF LIBERTY

There are various kinds of liberty:

Natural Liberty:

The concept of natural liberty has played a very great role in the history of political thought; yet it is a vague and misleading term. It is vague because it can be understood in several senses. It means, firstly, the absolute and unlimited power to do whatever one likes. Obviously, in this sense, liberty is really a licence to do unlimited harm to others. Such a liberty cannot be possible in society and State. Secondly, as Rousseau said, natural liberty means the freedom man enjoyed in the State of nature before the State came into being. It is the unlimited liberty of the natural man, moved as he was by his impulses and instincts. Unlimited freedom, as natural liberty means, is impossible and even dangerous, for it will cause licence and anarchy which are hardly desirable for social security and progress. Liberty is possible only in society and State. Law is the condition of liberty. *In the State of nature, there was no liberty: natural liberty was natural*

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power and right was might. Historically, natural liberty was closely linked with the concepts of the law of Nature described above, and Natural Rights, to be dealt with later.

Civil Liberty:

The concept of civil liberty is opposed to that of natural liberty, because it is liberty in the society, guaranteed by the State. It is defined as the sum-total of the rights given by law and protected by the coercive authority of the State. It consists of the rights and privileges which are guaranteed equally to all individuals by the State, either individually or in association, to choose and pursue objects which they deem good. Unlike natural liberty, it is not absolute or unlimited, because it is necessarily limited by the equal rights and liberty of others. It is both negative and positive in character. In the negative sense, it means, exemption from the interference by the government, and in its positive sense, it means the particular rights of the individuals who can call upon the government to protect them against all other individuals and associations. These two aspects of civil liberty provide us with two forms of liberty: individual and constitutional. Individual liberty is protected by private law and the constitutional liberty by public law.

It is also called personal liberty. It is the essence of liberty. It is a product of the State. When there was no State, there was no individual liberty. When it came into being, it created and maintained the liberty of the individual. At first, it was not well defined and properly guaranteed, because the authority of the State and its law were also not thoroughly organised. But, in course of human history, as the State became better organised and its authority and laws more definite and effective, the right of man, which it guaranteed, also became more definite. Individual liberty is defined as the secure enjoyment by the individuals or associations of individuals, of the power to think their own thoughts and to express and act upon them in their own way under the shelter of law, provided they do not injure or destroy the corresponding rights of others.

J.S. Mill rightly-remarked' that an individual should have as much of liberty as does not injure the liberty of others. Bertrand Russell regards personal liberty as the greatest of all political goods. Rousseau declared that "to renounce liberty is to renounce being a man, to surrender the rights of humanity and even its duties." Individual liberty consists of rights, which are essential to the development of individual personality. These rights are guaranteed by law which assure the citizens, firstly, that they are protected against their infringement by other individuals, and, secondly, that the government will not interfere in their enjoyment arbitrarily. They are, to mention a few, the right to life and person, the right of property, freedom of expression of opinions, right to free speech, freedom of association, belief and worship, etc. We shall describe these particular rights in detail later on.

CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY.

It is another aspect of civil liberty. "Liberty of individual" says Laski "is never real unless the government can be called to account, and it should always be called to account when it invades rights." Constitutional liberty consists of rights available against the government, as guaranteed by the constitution of laws or the State. However, this immunity of the individual liberty from government interference is a recent development. For centuries past, did not distinguish between the State and government. They claimed rights against the State. There can, however, be no rights against the State, but only against the government which is its administrative machinery. These rights are defined and guaranteed by the constitution or the fundamental law of the State, embodied in the public law. The constitution or the fundamental laws embody the principles, which define and regulate the conduct of the government, set a limit to its action as against the individual and grant him certain privileges and immunities with which the government may not interfere. The rights of the individuals and associations against the arbitrary interference by the government are safeguarded by different methods in various States. Generally speaking, they are:

(i) a written constitution, as in Pakistan, India, U.S.A. which clearly defines and limits the powers and functions of the various departments of the government, (ii) The rule of law which proclaims the supremacy of law and equality of all citizens before it, whether they are ministers or private citizens, officials of the State or not. The Rule of law obtains in England, Pakistan and other British Dominions., (iii) a bill of rights or a declaration of Fundamental Rights, which are incorporated and guaranteed by the constitution, and cannot be infringed upon or denied by the government and (iv) the separation and independence of the judiciary from the executive.

Relation of Civil Liberty to Authority or Sovereignty.

Political life is, in fact, a perpetual tug-of-war between two conflicting forces, the desire of the government for more authority and the desire of the governed for more liberty. Liberty is sometimes believed to be opposed to law and authority of the State: the more of one means the less of the other. But law is the condition of liberty and authority its primary safeguard. Thus conceived, liberty is not consistent with (the exercise of coercive power of the State. On the contrary, since the freedom from interference can only be enjoyed by the forcible prevention of interference, liberty is seen to be dependent upon the existence of authority. The coercive power' of the 'State hinders the hindrances to the liberty of the individual. Thus the apparently contradictory ideas of sovereignty and liberty are found, on closer examination, to be correlative terms. However, the State which best guarantees and maintains liberty is a constitutional, responsible, and democratic State, and the methods by which it does so are that written

constitution, the Rule of Law, the declaration of Fundamental Rights, etc. We may, therefore, conclude in the words of Leacock that the existence of liberty is not logically incompatible with the existence of the State, and can hardly be thought of as existing apart from it."

ECONOMIC LIBERTY.

Economic liberty means both the freedom of earning a decent and sufficient economic income and also the freedom from fear of unemployment or loss of economic income. It implies, as Tawny says, the absence of such economic inequalities which can be used as means of economic constraint. Laski has defined it thus: "By economic liberty I mean security and the opportunity to find reasonable significance in the earning of one's daily bread." Really economic liberty exists only when there is "*sufficiency for all before there is superfluity for a few.*" It presupposes, therefore, a society in which there is no class domination and in which economic democracy prevails. Economic democracy means two things: firstly, the possession of economic rights by all citizens, namely, the right to work, right to reasonable hours of work, the right to minimum wage, the right to relief during periods of unemployment, sickness etc., the right to form trade unions, and the right to leisure, and secondly, the share of the workers in industrial organisation.

Its relation to other liberties.

Economic Liberty is the precondition of other liberties; none of them can really exist without it. An individual cannot be really free if hunger, starvation and destitution stare him in the face at every step. Nor can there be any liberty when there is a constant fear of unemployment and "insufficiency which, perhaps more than any other inadequacies, sap the whole strength of personality." Lenin has rightly declared that political or civil liberty is meaningless without economic liberty. The same is true of a nation. It cannot remain free and independent without being economically free and strong. A poor man has no freedom; he lives at the behest of other men, his employers. A poor nation has no independence; it exists at the mercy of its strong neighbours or at the charity of its foreign paymasters. In short, unless and until economic liberty prevails, civil, political and national liberties become illusory.

MORAL LIBERTY

It means the freedom of the individual to act according to his own conscience. Moral liberty is necessary for the growth of his or her character and personality. It does not exist when human mind or thought is controlled and regimented by religion, customs, tradition or political power or law. One of the great defects of Idealist philosophy of the State was that it declared the will of the State to be the real will of the individual and thus justified unconditional obedience to the State. But such an obedience will



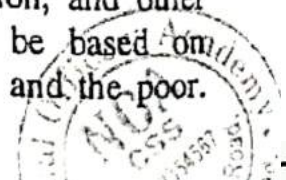
destroy the moral liberty of the individual. The real will is not the will of the State but the will of the individual himself which may or may not be embodied in the will of the State. Moral liberty consists in the right to freedom of belief and opinion.

POLITICAL LIBERTY

Political liberty implies the power of the people to determine as to how they are to be governed. Laski puts it thus: "Political liberty means the power to be active in the affairs of State". It means that each individual has the opportunity to contribute his opinion and his experience to the sum-total of public opinion and experience which go to determine the decisions and policy of the government and the laws of the State. Leacock calls it "constitutional liberty" and defines it as the power of the people to choose their government, which is responsible to them. Gettell regards political liberty in modern times as synonymous with democracy or popular government, because in such a government the people themselves determine how they shall be governed. Democracy, as Gilchrist says, is based on the principle that each citizen is able to express his opinion on the affairs of government which concern him or his country. So political liberty implies both the freedom to express one's opinion in the affairs of the State as well as a share in its authority. In other words, political liberty aims at placing both liberty and sovereignty in the same hands. It consists in such rights as the rights to vote, the right to be elected, the right to hold a public office, if adequately qualified for it, the right to criticise the government, the right to be informed of the affairs of the State, etc.

Its relation with other liberties.

The struggle for political liberty has a long history behind it. At first, the people struggled for the recognition of their civil liberty or civil rights. But once civil rights were acquired by them, they found that they could not enjoy and secure them properly without participating in the political affairs and exercising political power. The reason is, as Laski points out, that those who are excluded from a share in political power tend to be excluded from its benefits as well. This led to a demand for political rights. The growth of political liberty shows that it exists only in democratically governed countries, and that it is closely linked with civil liberty. Political liberty is a necessary complement to civil liberty. Without political liberty, civil liberty is incomplete, and may even become meaningless and illusory. But political liberty cannot be preserved, as Laski says, without two essential conditions: viz., universal education and free press. The doors of education should be open to the children of all citizens, regardless of their income, wealth, social status, sex, religion, and other distinctions. Moreover, an educational system must not be based on different schools and education for the children of the rich and the poor.



Such discrimination produces the same kind of society that existed in the Middle Ages with its division into two classes of nobles and serfs, or in the ancient times with its division into free citizens and slaves. The children of the rich will be trained in the habits of government and political monopoly, while those of the poor in the habits of subservience and passive obedience. In short, such an educational system will not produce a free people. The second condition of political liberty is the provision of an honest, truthful and adequate supply of news and general information. It means a free press. If democracy means a government guided by public opinion, the opinion of the people must be enlightened opinion, based on truthful information and reliable news. The press disseminates information and knowledge which is honest, straightforward and unbiased. But this is often not so. It sometimes skilfully omits relevant facts and deliberately distorts other. If so, public opinion will be unrelated to truth and will be corrupted at its very source, "for to exercise one's judgement in a miasma of distortion is, ultimately, to go disastrously astray."

NATIONAL LIBERTY.

It implies the freedom and independence of a nation. It is freedom from foreign control. It means a free people in a free country. Really national liberty implies external sovereignty. Moreover, without national liberty a people cannot enjoy or possess other kinds of liberties. National liberty is, thus, the foundation of civil, economic and political liberty. For example, the people of Indo-Pakistan did not enjoy liberty when they were under the rule of the British Imperialists. Or take a recent example. Today the Kashmiri people in Occupied Jammu and Kashmir enjoy no liberty, because they are denied the right of self-determination by the Indian occupiers. National liberty consists of such rights as the right of self-determination, the right of self-government, the right to be ruled by national government.

Three Aspects of Liberty.

Liberty as such manifests itself in one or more of its three aspects: liberty of thought, liberty of speech and liberty of action. Every individual or group of individuals seeks liberty either to think, say or do something. There is no liberty if he or she is prevented from thinking or saying or doing something, as he or she likes, by the force of the State or law, or by the opinion of the majority, social customs or religious conventions, etc. of the three aspects, liberty of speech, including, liberty of reading, writing and discussion, is the most essential factor because the liberty of the thought and action would automatically follow from it. When the people are free to say anything they like, they criticise each other's opinions. From discussion and criticism arises truth, as it is sifted out by conflicting opinions and views. Thus liberty of speech becomes a free enquiry into truth. Finally, when the

Chapter 23



Classification of States or Governments

Political writers' have always tried to classify States or governments into different kinds on the basis of the forms of their governments, nature of sovereignty or the philosophy or ideology of the States. We shall begin with the classification of States by the ancient Greek philosopher, Aristotle, because he made the first systematic attempt to do so.

Classification by Aristotle.

The starting-point of all attempts to classify the States into different kinds was the famous classification given by Aristotle in his book, *Politics*. But he was not the first to do so. He really followed his teacher, Plato and other Greek writers, like Herodotus. The original thing about Aristotle's classification was that he based it on two principles, namely:

1. The number of persons who exercise supreme power in the State; and
2. The ends for which the supreme power is exercised, which may be either for the good of the ruled or of the rulers.

The First Principle.

According to the first principle, there may be in a State either one ruler, or few or many. If there is one ruler, the State is a monarchy, if few rulers, it is an aristocracy, and if many, it is a 'polity'. Hence, basically, there are three kinds of States.

The Second Principle:

Aristotle further distinguished the three basic forms of States on the principle whether the sovereign power is exercised for the good of the ruled or of the rulers. According to Aristotle, a State is an association which exists for the good of its members. If its power is exercised for the good of the people, the ruled, the State is of a normal or good form. But if it is exercised for the benefit of the rulers, it is then a bad or perverted State, for it does not fulfil its real end. So, when monarchy becomes perverted, it becomes a tyranny, and when a polity is bad, it is what Aristotle calls a "democracy", which may be translated as a 'mob-rule' or 'mobocracy'. The word 'democracy' was used by Aristotle in its original Greek sense as the

rule of the 'demos' which, means the 'mob', or rabble. In short, he classified the States into six forms or kinds.⁴⁷

Aristotle's classification of the States or governments may be summarized in tabular form as follows:

First Principle \ Second Principle	Rule of One	Rule of Few	Rule of Many
Normal or Good	Monarchy	Aristocracy	Polity
Perverted or Bad	Tyranny	Oligarchy	Democracy



Let us now define each of these six forms of States. A monarchy is a government by a king who rules for the good of the whole community. A tyranny is a perverted form of monarchy in which the one ruler uses his supreme authority for his own selfish ends or benefit. An aristocracy is the rule of the few good rulers who exercise supreme authority for the well-being of the people. When it becomes perverted, it becomes an oligarchy which is the selfish government of the few rich men in their own interests. A polity is a good form of the rule of the many for the good of all. Aristotle meant by it what we now call a constitutional democracy i.e., a government by the general body of the citizens as regulated by a constitution and laws. Its perverted form becomes what Aristotle calls "democracy" which is a lawless and selfish rule of the 'demos' or the mob. According to him, a 'democracy' is the rule of the poor who are many but lawless, just as an oligarchy is the rule of the few rich, who are selfish.

Aristotelian Cycle of Political Change.

Aristotelian classification is not merely a description of various forms of states but also an explanation of how one form changes into another. The change continues till the original form re-emerges, thus

⁴⁷ 'It is evident that every form of government must contain a supreme power over the whole state, and this supreme power must necessarily be in the hands of one person, or a few or many. When they apply their powers for the common good, such states are well-governed: but when the interest of the one a few or the many that enjoy this power is the only concern then ill-governed. We usually call a state which is governed by one person for the common good, a monarchy: one that is governed by more than one but by a few only, an aristocracy, either because the government is in the hands of the most worthy citizens or because it is the best form for the state and its inhabitants. When the citizens at large govern for the public good, it is called a polity. Now the corruptions attending each of these governments are these: a kingdom may degenerate into a tyranny, an aristocracy into an oligarchy, and a polity into a democracy. Now a tyranny is a monarchy where the good of one man only is the object of government, an oligarchy considers only the rich, and a democracy only the poor but none of them have a common good in view.' *The politics of Aristotle. Book III. Chap. VII. (Everyman's Library)* '.

completing one cycle of change, like the movement of a wheel. This is known as Aristotelian cycle or progression. It occurs in this manner. First of all, there is a monarchy or kingship, the rule of a good king.⁴⁸ In course of time, the kings become bad and oppressive tyrants. But the tyranny does not last long, for the people overthrow it under the leadership of a few good men, who establish an aristocracy. When the character and aims of the few rulers degenerate aristocracy becomes oligarchy. This time the citizens establish a constitutional rule of the many, which Aristotle called 'polity'. With the degeneration of the character of the citizens, they become a lawless mob. Thus polity degenerates into 'democracy', the rule of the mob. But this lawlessness and confusion too cannot last long. Sooner or later one strong man, e.g., a successful military leader, assumes supreme power and once again re-establishes monarchy or the rule of one. Thus the cycle of change or progression completed one full cycle and returned to its original form, but only to begin a new cycle of change.

Historical illustrations.

Aristotle's cycles of change is illustrated by the history of ancient States of his times, especially the Greek city-States. They were originally monarchies, which degenerated into tyrannies. The nobles or landlords overthrew the tyrannical kings and established aristocracies in various Greek city-States. When they degenerated into oligarchies, the citizens overthrew them and established 'polity' or constitutional rule, as illustrated by the city-State of Athens. It degenerated into mob rule which was in its turn overthrown by a warrior-statesman, as was shown by the rise of Philip and Alexander the Great of Macedon. History of Rome also illustrated this cycle. Modern history also illustrates this cycle of political changes to some extent. For example, before the French Revolution, France was ruled by kings whose government became perverted under Louis XV. The Revolution of 1789 overthrew French monarchy and established an aristocracy which lasted only two years and became a 'democratic' State under the Directory. Then came the reign of terror which ended with the rise of Napoleon Bonaparte, a successful military General and Statesman, who established an Imperial Monarchy. At last, the French monarchy was

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To quote Aristotle: "The first governments were generally monarchies: because it was difficult to find a number of persons eminently virtuous, more particularly as the world was then divided into small communities: besides, kings were appointed in return for the benefits they had conferred on mankind: But such actions are peculiar to good men. When many persons equal in virtue appeared at the time, they brooked not a superiority (of a king), but sought after an equality and established a Free State or polity. The ruling class soon deteriorated and enriched themselves out of the public treasury; riches became the path to honour and so oligarchies naturally grew up. These passed into tyrannies and tyrannies into democracies: for love of gain in the ruling classes was always tending to diminish their number and so to strengthen then the masses who in the end set upon their masters and established democracies." *Politics of Aristotle. Book II. Chap. XV.*

overthrown by the constitutional Republic. But all these examples are mere approximations to the Aristotelian cycle of change. History has nowhere followed the exact pattern of succession or progression, as laid down by Aristotle.

Merits.

Aristotle's classification of States has some merits. In the first place, it is so precise and exact that it has fascinated and attracted the attention of political writers down to the present day. Secondly, he classified the States not only on the basis of their governmental structure but also on that of their ethical or moral spirit. He clearly showed that a good or normal State is one which is governed by good rulers. The character of the rulers determines the nature of the State; good rulers make good State and bad rulers, a bad State. Thirdly, he analysed the causes of political change and revolution. His chief aim was to suggest ways and means to prevent endless revolutions which occurred so frequently in the Greek city-States. He found two causes, viz., the deterioration of the character of the rulers and the influence of wealth, i.e., of the economic conditions on political life. He was the first great political writer who showed that politics is conditioned by economics or that wealth influences the political structure of the State to a great extent. He clearly said that oligarchy is a bad government of the rich, while his 'democracy' is a bad government of the poor. Lastly, being an empirical thinker, he illustrated his theory of political change or cyclic progression by the history of his times.

Defects.

In spite of its merits, Aristotelian classification has been subjected to severe criticism. In this connection the following objections have been taken to it:

(i) *Aristotelian classification is unscientific and merely quantitative.* It is urged that Aristotle's classification is unscientific and artificial because it is based not on organic and qualitative distinctions between various forms of the State but merely on numerical and quantitative differences. He distinguished them on the basis of the number of rulers, one, few or many. But this is not a qualitative distinction. For instance, the rule of one sovereign may be as democratic as that of the many. This criticism, however, does not hold good. The distinction between monarchy, aristocracy and democracy or polity is really qualitative and organic because it indicates the spread of political consciousness among the people. Like his teacher Plato, Aristotle believed that knowledge is the basis of the State and knowledge means the consciousness of the ethical end for which the State exists. When more people become conscious of this ethical or spiritual end of the good of the State, a new form of State comes into being. Thus regarded, a monarchy is qualitatively different from an

aristocracy as well as from a polity or democracy as we understand it today. Burgess has rightly said that the distinctive character of a State depends upon the number of persons who are inspired with political consciousness and therefore participate in its organisation and government.

(ii) *Aristotle's classification confuses the state with government.* Garner is of the opinion that Aristotle did not keep in mind the difference between the State and government; and, therefore, he did not classify State, but governments. Garner further asserts that even as a classification of governments it is unsound and unscientific because it is not based on their fundamental characteristics. This objection is to some extent correct. But we must keep in mind that the Greeks did not know the difference between the State and the government which is a modern discovery in Political Science. Burgess says that even this shortcoming in Aristotle's classification can be removed if we substitute the terms 'State' and 'sovereignty' by 'government' and 'rule'.

(iii) *It does not apply to many kinds of modern governments.* Seeley and Leacock have objected that his classification does not embrace several kinds of modern States and governments. Seeley says that Aristotle knew only the city-States of his times which were quite unlike the modern 'country-States'. Hence his classification is of little value for modern States. But this objection is not very sound, for the nature of the State is fundamentally the same whether it is a small city-State or a large country-State.

Dr. Leacock raised four objections against his classification. Firstly, it does not provide any place for constitutional or limited monarchies like that of England. Modern English constitution is a 'mixed constitution' which combines the features of a monarchy and a democracy. Outwardly it is a monarchy, but really it is a democracy. Obviously, Aristotle's classification cannot properly classify it. Secondly, 'Aristotle's polity' or what we now call 'democracy' and 'monarchy' open the way to great confusion. Take the case of England and the U.S.A. Both of them are democracies, but they will be put in different categories, for England is a monarchy, while the U.S.A is a republic. Thirdly, this classification fails to take account of the difference between a federal and a unitary form of government. Fourthly, it also fails to distinguish the parliamentary from the presidential form of government. These objections are justifiable to some extent. Aristotle's classification is inadequate for modern States. That is the reason why several modern writers have endeavoured to classify them on other principles, as we shall now describe.

Other Classifications.

Among the modern writer, Montesquieu proposed a three-fold division, viz., republics, monarchies and despotism. In a republic, the people or part of them possess supreme power. In a monarchy, one man

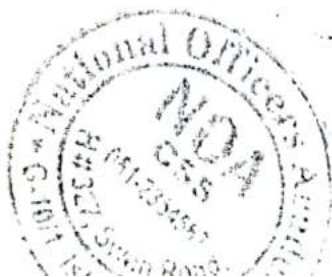
rules the State according to the laws of the country. In despotism, the rule of one man is arbitrary and unrestricted by any law. Rousseau also divided the governments into three kinds, viz., monarchies, aristocracies and democracies. He divided the aristocracies further into three forms, natural, elective and hereditary aristocracies. He regarded elective aristocracy as the best form of government. Yet he was a champion of democracy! The German writers are more pedantic in their classification. Bluntschli has classified the States into four kinds; monarchies, aristocracies, democracies and theocracies. A theocracy is a form of government in which sovereignty is attributed "to God or a god or to some superhuman being or to Idea." Another German writer, Von Mohl, gives a long list of States, which he distinguishes as patriarchal, theocratic, despotic, classic, feudal and constitutional States.

Marriot's Classification.

Sir J.A.R. Marriot has provided us with a more adequate classification. He classified States on a three fold basis. First of all he distinguished them on the basis of the distribution of supreme powers in the government. On the principle, there are two kinds of governments, unitary and federal. In a unitary government, all governmental powers are exercised by a single, central government, while in a federal State they are distributed between a federal or central government and the governments of the component units of the federation. Marriot next classifies the States on the basis of the nature of the constitution, which may be either rigid or flexible. A rigid constitution cannot be easily amended, while a flexible one can be. The third basis of classification is the relation between the legislature and the executive. When the legislature is, supreme and the executive is responsible to it, it is a parliamentary form of government. When the two have separate and co-ordinate powers and the executive is not responsible to the legislature, it is a presidential form of government.

Leacock's Classification.

Dr. S. Leacock has given us a more thorough-going and adequate classification than Marriot's. He explained it in a sketch, as given below:





Texas
MUMUKSHU

(136)



Chapter 24

Dictatorship and Totalitarianism

Dictatorships: Ancient and Modern.

Democracy today is challenged by a new form of government, called dictatorship. This form of government was known to the ancient Greeks and Romans who called it "tyranny" and "dictatorship", respectively. The Greek tyrant captured political power by force and held it by force. But the Roman dictator was appointed to this supreme office under the law and with the consent of the Roman Senate, the supreme authority in the Roman Republic, for the specific purpose of resolving the crisis confronting the State. He held power for a specified period which never exceeded seven years. At the end of this period he rendered account to the Senate and laid down his office. Thus the Roman dictatorship was a temporary legal expedient to overcome an emergency. Modern dictatorship is established by means of a *coup d'etat* or revolution and is a lifelong affair. Hence it resembles more with the ancient Greek "tyrannous" rather than with the Roman "dictatorship". As early as 1922, when modern dictatorships had not yet really arisen, Lord Bryce wrote in his *Modern Democracies* that there was a "growing disposition to trust one man, or a few led by one, rather than an elected assembly." *Direct opposite*

Dictatorship is defined as the rule of one man who exercises absolute power in the State, sometimes derived from and aided by a political party, or by a clique. It is an antithesis to democracy, because dictatorship is, firstly, government by decree rather than by law; secondly, the dictator is not accountable before any parliament or representative body, and thirdly, there is no limitation on the duration of the dictator's authority. He holds power till he dies or is overthrown. *A small group of people who do not allow others to join them*

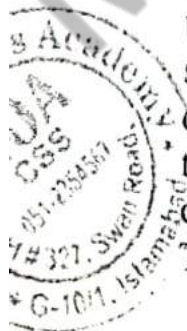
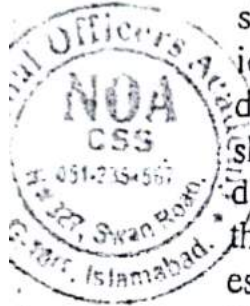
Rise of Modern Dictatorship.

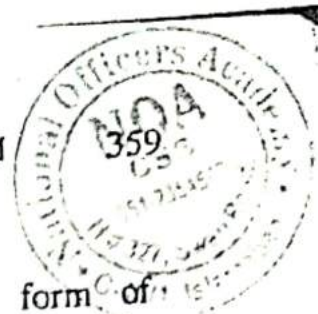
more mark Autocracy is as old as political history. Human history is replete with the stories of autocratic rulers, kings and emperors since very ancient times. Even absolutism is not a new political phenomenon. The Roman Emperors, several modern European kings and rulers like Philip II of Spain, William of Orange, Cromwell, Napoleon, and several Asian kings today, like the Shahinshah of Iran, or the Mikado of Japan, have been and are absolutist rulers. But all of them depend on old customs, laws and traditions of their countries for absolute authority, though none of them tests its exercise by reference to popular vote or plebiscite. Modern dictator captures *Full of*

supreme power against law and constitution and secures popular support by a strong government and plebiscite. Hence this new kind of autocracy is sometimes described as "popular autocracy." A modern dictator is usually a successful military man or a strong party leader.

Modern dictatorships can be classified into three distinct types:

They are communist, nationalist and fascist dictatorships. Many English and American writers and political scientists usually bracket them into a single category for reasons of the propaganda technique of simplification. But there are great differences of structure, doctrine and ideals between each of the three kinds of dictatorships. We shall, however, deal with the organisation of their government and State in this chapter and shall take up their doctrines and philosophies in subsequent chapters. This dictatorship arose during the First World War (1914-18). First of all arose the Communist Dictatorship in Russia in 1917, then in 1921 Kemal Ataturk established a nationalist dictatorship in Turkey. Soon after, in 1922, Benito Mussolini established his Fascist dictatorship in Italy. Then several monarchical, nationalistic and fascist dictatorships were set up in several European countries, like Spain, Portugal, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Rumania, Greece, etc. In 1933, arose the most ferocious of all the fascist dictatorships, the Hitlerite dictatorship of Germany, usually called Nazi Dictatorship. Soon after the Asian brand of Fascist dictatorship was established in Japan. The three Fascist Dictatorships of Italy, Germany and Japan entered into a military alliance for aggression and conquest. They feverishly prepared for a world war which they started in 1939, called the World War II, which ended in 1945 with the utter destruction of the three Fascist powers. Mussolini was hanged by angry Italians; Herr Hitler died in an air-raid shelter in Berlin, but the Japanese war-lords escaped without much thrashing, because they hurriedly and skilfully surrendered to the Americans who nurtured them into their brand of democracy. Fascist dictatorship existed in Franco's Spain, till his death and in Pinochle's Chile till recently. The nationalist dictatorship of Turkey has now become a democracy. Only Communist Dictatorship of Russia still goes strong, rather modified by the perestroika and glasnost policies of President Gorbochev in recent years but mainly because of her progress in industry, science and technology. In post-World War II years we have witnessed the rise of several communist dictatorships, as in China and several East European countries where they have overthrown the former Fascist dictatorships after the defeat and destruction of Nazi Germany. Later on several nationalist dictatorships rose to power, as in Egypt, Iraq, Indonesia, South Korea, Thailand and military dictatorships, e.g., in Burma, Pakistan, Bangladesh.





Main Features of Dictatorship:

As distinguished from democracy or constitutional form of government, dictatorship, both ancient and modern, possesses some characteristic features. They are as follows:

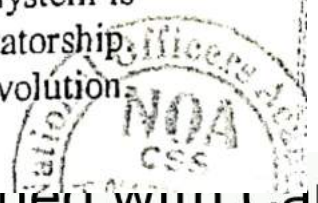
1. **It is a crisis product:** All kinds of dictatorships are products of crisis, whether it is due to constitutional, political, social, economic or religious reasons. Inability of the democracy to function properly and internal weakness are undoubtedly the main causes of the establishment of the modern dictatorial rule. In ancient Rome, one-man despotism was set up to overcome some irresolvable crisis or emergency. But most of the modern dictatorships arise during a national crisis which a strong man, a military leader, or a leader of a political party or clique or group believes he can resolve successfully. Once in power, the dictator continues to stick to power till death or when overthrown-by a new dictator or by the people revolting against him as they did against Ayyub Khan in Pakistan in 1969, or against Marcos in Philippines in 1987 or against Ne-Win in Burma in 1988 or against many communist dictatorships in Eastern Europe during 1989-90.

2. **Arbitrary exercise of power:** Dictatorship is characterised by arbitrary exercise of power. Every dictator acquires absolute and exclusive monopoly of power. In some cases, a dictator may share power with other leaders of the party or elite group which has put him into power. But this is often at initial stage. Once firmly in power, he usually gets rid of his collaborator or collaborators in one way or the other.

3. **Aggressive and dynamic methods of decision-making:** Decisions and policies in dictatorship are very aggressively and dynamically implemented. This is, really, one of the reasons why dictatorship is often more successful than democracy; but only for a few years.

4. **Employment of despotic methods of political and social control:** Dictators employ force, terror or intimidation and propaganda to make people obey their decisions, laws and policies. Political parties are banned; newspapers are suppressed; and civil liberties or fundamental rights are done away with.

5. **Abolition of constitutional or legal basis of political power:** By its very nature, dictatorship means a system of government which has acquired power by unconstitutional and illegal methods. The first thing a dictator does is to abolish the constitution or to restrict its application. Sometimes, he issues a new constitution of his own devising so as to legalise his rule. The abolition of the constitutional or legal system is one reason why succession is not easy or peaceful under a dictatorship. What is more, a dictatorship can be put to an end by violence or revolution.



In other words, dictatorship often comes to power through bloodshed and can be got rid of by further bloodshed.

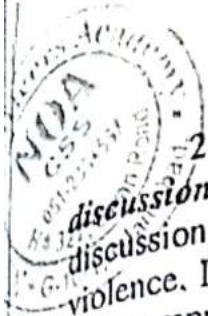
Organisation of Dictatorship or totalitarianism.

The political organisation of a dictatorship is simple, especially of the Fascist dictatorship. The State is ruled by one man usually called the Leader, or by one party which possesses supreme power. No other political party is allowed to exist. The ideal of Nazism and Fascism was "one Reich (i.e. state), one people, one leader." The State controls and regulates everything, and every activity of the citizens. The Fascists worshipped the State. As Mussolini said, "The State is to be all-embracing; outside it no human or spiritual values can exist, much less have any value. Fascism is totalitarian," The Fascist ideal of the State is expressed thus: "Everything for the State; nothing outside it and nothing against it." The individual has no rights, but has many duties. He has to render absolute and unquestioning obedience to the Leader. Mussolini put it thus: the duties of a citizen are "To believe (in the Leader), to obey, to fight." The Nazis twisted the old commandment to "render unto Caesar what is Caesar's and unto God what is God's" as thus, "Render unto Caesar what is Caesar's and render also unto Caesar what belongs to God." In simple words, the Nazi and Fascist Dictators abolished the distinction between religion and politics and brought religion and church under the control of the State. Communist dictatorship is opposed to religion and seeks to abolish it altogether. Nationalist dictatorship usually endeavours to separate religion from politics, as did Kemal Ataturk of Turkey, or later Nasser of the U.A.R. In other words Fascist dictatorship subordinates religion to the State, Communist dictatorship abolishes it altogether, while nationalist dictatorship separates politics from religion.

Defects of Dictatorship.

As a form of government, dictatorship has a number of defects, as follows:

1. Dictatorship regards the state as the end and the individual as the means. Dictatorship is totalitarian: it controls everything and regulates every activity of the individual and the society. It is authoritarian, for it provides unlimited and absolute power to the State over the citizens and society. Really, dictatorship makes no distinction between the State and the society. The individual has no life and no rights of his own apart from what the State gives him. It has been rightly remarked that in a totalitarian State there are no individual rights but only State rights. The individual is completely subordinate to the policy and purpose of the State: his right is his duty to obey the State. He lives for the glory and power of the State. In democracy the individual has his rights and freedoms; the State exists as a means to his happiness and self-development. In dictatorship, the individual is a means to the attainment of the ends of the State.



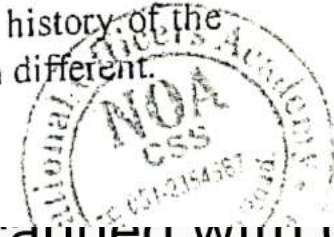
2. *Dictatorship is based on force and violence and not on discussion and argument.* In democracy decisions are reached by discussion, argument and persuasion, whereas in dictatorship by force and violence. Dictatorship demands obedience; democracy relies on persuasion and compromise. Democracy presumes differences of opinion among the people, but dictatorship forces conformity and uniformity of opinion among them. Disagreement with the government is regarded as a sin in dictatorship and suppressed without mercy. Democracy accepts opposition to the ruling party and encourages criticism of the government, but dictatorship crushes opposition and forbids criticism of the government because they are believed to destroy the unity of the State and hinder its progress.

3. *Dictatorship leads to apathy in public life.* As no opposition and criticism of the government is permitted or tolerated under the dictatorship, the people become indifferent and apathetic to the affairs of the State. In dictatorship the people are asked not to think but to obey the Leader and follow him blindly to wherever he leads them. "Such a policy spells disaster for the future, for to eliminate all differences is to eliminate all that keeps the community mentally and spiritually alive." By regimenting, life and thought the dictator crushes all initiative, intelligence and imagination of his subjects and creates a sheep-like conformity and a deadening uniformity of opinion and prejudice. He destroys the possibility of developing human personality, learning, literature and art. "At best a dictatorship is run as an elaborately organised house of correction, in which the inmate is assigned his task and vigilantly inspected as to the manner in which he discharges it."

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4. *Fascist dictatorship spreads war and aggression.* While communist and nationalist dictatorships pose to be peaceful, friendly and co-operative in their relations with foreign countries and nations, fascist dictatorship is openly revenge-seeking, aggressive, imperialistic and hostile towards other nations and countries. It is born with a sword in its hand and prepares feverishly for war and conquest, for its eyes are fixed on what the Nazis called the "lebensraum", that is, "living space", consisting of conquered lands and enslaved nations. The fascist dictator hates peace and friendship among nations of the world and ridicules and scorns the ideals of human brotherhood and love. Fascism and Nazism believe in race-superiority and racialism.

5. *Finally, dictatorship is not a permanent institution.* Dictatorship lasts so long as the dictator lives or keeps himself in power. Fascist dictatorship not only lives by the sword but perishes by the sword. It is destroyed by the fires of the war it has itself kindled. The history of the nationalist and communist dictatorships is, however, not much different.



Merits or Dictatorship.

1. *It makes government strong.* Dictatorship is claimed as the regime of a "strong man who gets things done." The reason is that it is a centralized government, in which no opposition parties are allowed and no criticism is permitted. All energies of the State are concentrated on the achievement of aims and ideals for which the dictatorship stands. The dictator gives a strong and efficient government to the country he rules. Hence dictatorship possesses vigour and energy.

2. *It makes for efficient and prompt administration.* Dictatorship is strong and more efficient and prompt than democracy in handling emergencies. Democracy works by committees, discussions, parliamentary debates, persuasion and compromise. Hence it takes democracy long to decide a question and execute decision. It seems to be particularly slow when an emergency or a crisis demands a quick decision and prompt action. A dictator, on the contrary, needs no committee, no parliament and no opponents to persuade convince or compromise. He, therefore, meets an emergency with a firm and quick decision and prompt execution. His firmness and determination stand in sharp contrast to the weak and vacillating policies of democratic rulers. "An authoritarian regime," writes Dr. Arnold Toynbee "can produce immediate effective results with a smaller staff of efficient and public-spirited men and women than a democratic regime can." The Communist Dictatorship in Soviet Russia has achieved in industry and science in 50 years what took two centuries to democratic England and U.S.A. to achieve. As regards war, Nazi Dictatorship in Germany made the country so strong and powerful in seven years that she was able to fight all other Great Powers for five years. As regards the nationalist dictatorship, Kemal Ataturk saved the Turks from annihilation at the hands of the British, French, and the Greeks, and rehabilitated Turkey as a strong and respected nation once again. The nationalist dictators of Egypt, Iraq, etc., also achieved the same results in their own countries.

In the end, however, dictatorship has more defects and drawbacks than democracy as we have explained in the next chapter.



Chapter 26

Unitary and Federal States

Now = place & state.
Modern States are too large to be administered by a ruler or a government, dwelling at the capital. They have to be divided and subdivided into a number of administrative areas, which are variously called provinces, States, cantons, departments, counties, etc., and their subdivisions, called districts, tehsils, etc. Each of these divisions and subdivisions has its own body of administrative officials and departments, called the Provincial and Local Government officers and departments, as distinguished from those of the Central Government at the capital. The relations between the Provincial and Central Governments can be organised in two different ways, which give us two kinds of States, viz., unitary and federal.

UNITARY STATE

What is a unitary State.

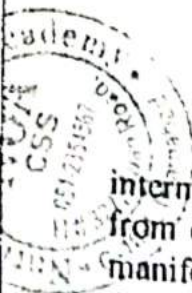
A unitary State is one in which the supreme governmental authority is vested by the constitution in a single central government which rules the whole country. For administrative convenience, the country is divided into various provinces, cantons or departments, with their own local administrative bodies. But these local governments exercise only such governmental powers as are delegated to them by the central government. In other words, the relations between the central government and the local governments in a unitary State are those of subordination and under central administrative control. All powers of the State are concentrated in the central government. The local administrative bodies exercise only delegated authority. The central government also determines when and how much of the authority shall be delegated to the local bodies, and even what shall be their territorial boundaries and departmental structures and functions. Thus, in a unitary State, the local governments have no autonomy. They are mere administrative agents of the central government. As the latter exercise supreme and final powers, the constitution, of a unitary State is not supreme and rigid. England, France, Italy, Iran, etc., are the example of unitary States.

Merits.

(1) The great merit of the unitary form of government is its strength and vigour. The central government, with its vast powers and control over local administrations, can deal effectively and vigorously with all questions,

- (1) Physical & Good health
- (2) Energy & Enthusiasm.

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- (1) State unity
- (2) Save administration
- (3) Uniformity
- (4) Simple not too technical
- (5) Less expensive

internal and foreign. It checks centrifugal forces and saves administration from disruption. The strength of the centralised unitary State is especially manifested in foreign policy and national defence. Another advantage of this form of government lies in the uniformity of laws, policy and administration throughout the country, because there are no autonomous units in it, as they are in a federal State. Finally, the unitary State is simple in organisation, as there is a single administrative system to execute laws and policy. This saves money. It is, therefore, less expensive form of government than the federal one.

Demerits.

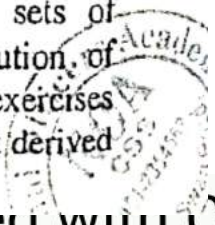
Modern experience has shown that large territorial States, with their great diversity of culture, language and tradition, cannot be effectively and efficiently governed from a single centre. These conditions demand a federal form of government. A centralised, unitary government is inclined to disregard local needs and interests. It is partly because it is situated far away in the capital, but mainly because it has neither knowledge nor contact with local conditions and affairs. Concentration of power tends to make the central government despotic. The subordinate position of the local government deprives them of initiative and time to devote to local affairs without first getting orders or powers from the superior central authority. Hence they usually neglect them. Central authority impairs the vitality of the local governments, and facilitates the development of a centralized bureaucracy. Really, a unitary State suits a small country, while for a large territorial States the federal form of State is more suitable.

FEDERAL STATE: FEDERALISM

Definition.

A federal State is one in which the supreme powers in the State are distributed by the constitution between a central government and the governments of the federating units, making each government supreme within its own sphere of powers. As distinguished from a unitary government, a federation is a dual government, with two sets of governments, each of which exercises supreme and original authority within its sphere of powers as defined by the constitution. According to Hamilton, a federation is an association of States forming a new one." In the opinion of Dicey, it is "a political contrivance intended to reconcile national unity with the maintenance of State rights."

Federal State is distinct from the unitary State. In the unitary State, the governmental powers are concentrated in a single organ of the State, while in the Federal State they are distributed between two sets of governments, federal and constituent governments. The distribution of powers is in such a way that the government of the federating unit exercises supreme and original authority within its own sphere of powers, not derived



or delegated authority from the central government, as the local government of the unitary State does. These powers are not the grant of the central government, but the gift of the constitution. The government of the federating unit is not subordinate to the central government. Both are supreme within their spheres of powers, as defined and demarcated by the constitution. Neither of them can interfere nor encroach upon the powers of the other. Hence, unlike the local government of the unitary State, the form and functions, the territory and authority of the component units of a federation cannot be increased, decreased or otherwise modified by the central government. If any change is to be made, it can be done only by amending the constitution, and with the consent of the constituent unit or units.

Nature of the Federation.

Federation is a device to harmonise the need for local autonomy with the necessity of preserving the unity of the State. This requires that there should be government for the country as a whole to administer national affairs and other governments to look after the needs and interests of local areas in such a way that both sets of governments are supreme within their own spheres. Hence the most important characteristic of a federation is the formal distribution of sovereign powers between the federal government at the centre and the governments of the federating units. "A federal constitution attempts to reconcile the apparently irreconcilable claims of national sovereignty and State sovereignty." It does not divide sovereignty between the two sets of governments, because to divide sovereignty is to destroy it. It only distributes sovereign powers between them. Sovereignty lies neither in the federal government nor in the federating units, but in the constitution-amending power, as prescribed in the constitution.

A federation is a 'union of governments'. It has the following distinctive features:

1. Federation comprises two sets of governments, federal and federating governments.

2. The supreme powers are divided on the principle that matters of common interest or of national importance are entrusted to the central government, while local matters and interests are entrusted to the unit governments.

3. Federation envisages a union rather than unity. It creates a dual government and not a unitary one. The federating units preserve their separate, autonomous and distinct entity and exercise supreme and original authority within their spheres of powers. They are not reduced to nonentity as are the administrative units of a unitary state. They are no mere agents of the central government, and do not exist on its discretion. They have their

own separate and autonomous existence, guaranteed by the constitution, on which also depends the existence of the central government.

4. The States which federate into a union lose their former sovereignty because their union creates a new State which now becomes sovereign.

5. A federation" is made: it does not grow.

6. It has a written constitution so as to prevent any doubt or dispute about the distribution of powers between the federal and federating governments. Neither the federal nor the unit government can amend the constitution with a view to redistributing the supreme powers.

7. The constitution clearly prescribes the process of amending it. The constitution is supreme. Sovereignty lies with the body or bodies which have the power to amend the constitution.

8. Federation is a permanent union. This feature distinguishes it (i) from a confederation which is a loose and limited union of State and (ii) from alliances of sovereign State, such as N.A.T.O. or the U.N.O.

Origin of Federal States. There is no uniformity in the way in which the federal States are created. It depends on the historical conditions, the purpose and aims of the federation and the geography of the federating States, to determine in what way of a federation would come into being. Broadly speaking, the federal unions are the result of two opposite forces, the centripetal and centrifugal tendencies of the federating States. In other words, a federation is either a result of integration or of decentralisation. In the case of integration, a number of sovereign States voluntarily decide to unite together into a single federal State in view of a common foreign danger of aggression and for common defence or of some economic advantage resulting from union. Such a union is a result of centripetal forces. The federations of the U.S.A., Switzerland and Australia came into existence in this way. The second method of creating a federal State is the decentralisation of the existing unitary State. Such a State is usually too large to be administered conveniently from a single governmental centre. It has also a great diversity of language, culture and local interests which could be satisfactorily looked after by the autonomous local governments. These are the centrifugal forces which require that the former unitary State should be transformed into a federal union. The federations of Bharat, Pakistan and the Soviet Union came into being in this way.

Essential Conditions of Federation.

There are conditions which would favour centripetal or centrifugal forces to create a federal State and preserve its existence, such as follows:



Geographical Contiguity.

The States which seek to form a federation should be geographically near each other. Geographical contiguity is certainly a favourable and even a necessary condition for the success of a federal State. If the component units are situated far apart, it would weaken the State in so far as its military defence and national unity are concerned. It will hinder the growth of national unity and culture. It will hinder communication and intercourse between various parts of the federation. Distance also leads to difficulties of co-operation for other purposes. This is the reason why the British Commonwealth cannot become a federation. Moreover, some of the problems with which we in Pakistan were confronted arose due to the long distance between East and West Pakistan, which led to the secession of East Pakistan as Bangladesh.

2. Desire for Union.

Usually a federation is formed by the adjacent States which seek to unite together into a single State in face of a common danger from a powerful neighbour. The need of common defence becomes a centripetal desire for union. Thus the U.S.A., came into being out of the thirteen Colonies which individually felt too weak to defend themselves against Great Britain and France. The Swiss Confederation was the result of the same desire for protection against powerful neighbours.

3. Desire for local Independence.

A mere desire for union would create a unitary State. It should be counterbalanced by an equally strong desire of the component units to preserve their local independence and autonomy. A federation comes into being only when, as Dicey puts it, the federating units seek union but not unity, that is to say, when they are willing to surrender part of their sovereignty but not the whole of it to the central government. They still want to retain supreme authority over matters of local interest and importance.

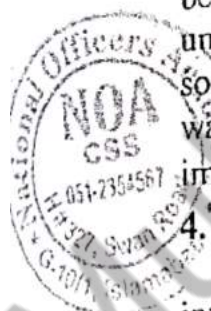
4. Common economic interests.

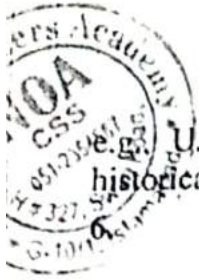
Sometimes States form a federation for common economic interests. The federation of the German States in the 19th century was preceded by an economic union.

5. Community of cultural and other interests.

Another factor which favours the formation of a federation is the community of culture, language, religion, customs, historical traditions, etc. The community of these interests make a people a nation. "The aim of federalism is to produce a unified nation, and complete unity demands that the boundaries of State and nationality coincide." For instance, the federation of Pakistan is a result of the community of culture, religion and historical traditions. The present-day growing integration of the Arab States,

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U.A.R., is also due to their national unity of language, culture, historical traditions, etc".

Equality among the component units.

A condition which is essential for preserving and maintaining a federal union is the constitutional equality of all the component units, big or small, weak or strong. If the position of a component unit depends upon its relative strength, resources and size, it will weaken the federal unity, because the strong would be inclined to dominate the weaker members of the federation and take undue advantage of their weak position. It will also excite jealousy and rivalry among them. This was best illustrated by the dominating position of Prussia "in the German Empire. Hence the need is to treat all component members of a federation as equal in matters affecting the federation. This is usually done by giving them equal representation in one of the houses of the federal legislature, called the principle of parity.

7. Political Ability and Legalism.

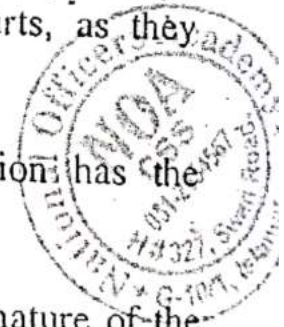
Federalism is a difficult form of government, for it is a compromise between two contrary tendencies towards unity and autonomy. If too much of unity is aimed at, it destroys the federal structure and autonomy of the component units; but if autonomy of the units is too much emphasised, federation ceases to exist and a confederation or union of several States comes into being. Hence, the continuance and preservation of a federation demand that the citizens must have greater political ability and respect for their constitution than those of a unitary State. They should be able to appreciate their double allegiance both to the central and the unit government. They should also have a developed sense of legalism, that is, a general willingness to accept the decisions of the law-courts, as they interpret the constitution.

Salient Features of a Federation.

As distinguished from a unitary State, a federation has the following characteristics:

1. Supremacy of the Constitution.

The supremacy of the constitution lies in the very nature of the federation. A federation is an agreement between two or more sovereign States to form a new State in which they exercise certain specific powers. This agreement is the constitution. It defines the powers and functions of both the central and provincial or unit governments. It must of necessity be supreme over both, so that none of them may violate its provisions and encroach upon the rights and powers of the other. The supremacy of the constitution ensures that the two sets of authorities, central and provincial, remain within their allotted sphere of powers. If any one of them does something against the laws of the constitution, its act is illegal and invalid because it is unauthorized by the constitution. If any change in the powers



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of the national or provincial government is desired, it could only be made by amending the constitution according to the method laid down in the constitution itself. Thus is the supremacy of the constitution ensured. Its supremacy implies three things: (a) it must be a written constitution; (b) it must be a rigid constitution; and (c) sovereignty should lie with the constitution-amending body.

(a) **Written Constitution.** Constitution must be an inviolable document so that neither the central nor the provincial government may be in doubt about its powers and rights granted by it. In other words, the federal constitution must be written and definite so that there may be no dispute or doubt about its provisions. Really speaking, sovereign States federate only when they know that their rights and powers are secure under a supreme, definite and written constitution.

(b) **Rigid Constitution.** Rigidity requires that the constitution can be amended by a definite and difficult process only, which the central government or the unit government cannot set into motion by itself. Thus it will remain supreme and binding on both.

(c) **Sovereignty of the amending authority.** Sovereignty in a federation lies neither with the federal government nor with the federating governments. It lies only with the constitution-amending body or bodies taken together, as provided by the constitution itself. It means that the legislatures of the central and provincial governments are not sovereign law-making bodies, as they are subordinate to the constitution.

2. Distribution of Powers.

The essential characteristic of the federation is the distribution of powers between the central and federating governments, just as the basic feature of the unitary State is the concentration of powers in a single centre of authority. This is the essence of federalism.

Principles of Distribution of Powers.

There is no uniformity of principle and method of distributing powers in the various federal constitutions of the world. Each of them distributes powers according to its own needs and conditions in which the federation came into existence. Nevertheless, there are certain principles which guide and determine the form of this distribution, as described below:

(a) **Basic Principle of Distribution.** The basic principle of distribution of powers in all federal constitutions is that matters of national importance and interest are allocated to the national or central government, while those of regional importance and interest to the competent units. As to what is of national importance of interest is determined by consideration of unity and security of the nation as a whole and the uniformity of treatment of certain matters on nationwide scale. Hence three kinds of powers or subjects are always allocated to the centre, viz., military and defence

matters and foreign relations, for considerations of security of the nation. Currency, coinage, banking, tariffs, patents, copyrights, communications, citizenship and naturalisation, etc., and railways, shipping, weights and measures, criminal law and procedures, marriage and divorce laws, etc., are also allocated to the centre for the sake of unity and uniformity of legislation and policy for the whole nation. The subjects which are usually regarded as of local or regional importance and interest are education, public health and sanitation, local self-government, agriculture and land tenure, prisons, etc.

(b) **Principle of Concurrent Powers.** Certain subjects are of such a nature that they need to be legislated upon by both central and provincial legislatures. They are of both national and local importance. They are called concurrent powers. Both the Centre and the Units are given concurrent powers to legislate upon them. In case of conflict of laws, however, the federal law prevails.

(c) **Three Methods of Distributing the Residuary Powers.** As regards the actual method of distributing powers, there different ways are adopted, exemplified by the constitution of America, Canada and Pakistan.

(i) The first method is to enumerate the powers of the federal government, and leave the remaining powers to the component units. These remaining powers are called the "residuary powers" or the "reserve of powers." The aim of leaving the residuary powers to the federating units is to strengthen their position viz-a-viz the federal government. As they are left unenumerated, they tend to increase when new subjects arise, thus increasing the powers and strengthening the position of the component units in the federation. This method was adopted by the American Constitution.

(ii) The second method is to define specifically the powers and subjects of the component units or provinces and leave the residuary powers to the federal government. This method aims at a strong centre. The Canadian Constitution is based on it. (iii) The third method is to enumerate the powers in three separate lists of federal, provincial and concurrent powers. The Constitution of Pakistan of 1956 had adopted this comprehensive method. Really, it was first adopted in the Government of India Act of 1935. It is also being followed by the Constitution of Bharat. In this case, the principle of residuary powers assumes a new form. Although the framers of the constitution endeavour to enumerate all possible governmental powers and functions in three different lists, yet some new matters may arise in the future. These are also called the residuary powers. In the Pakistan Constitution of 1956, the residuary powers were allocated to the Provinces, while in the Indian Constitution to the Centre.

3. **Supremacy of the Judiciary.**

In order to preserve the supremacy and inviolability of the constitution and prevent the interference and encroachment by the federal of

provincial governments on the sphere of powers of the other, the federal judiciary is entrusted with the duty of protecting and interpreting the constitution. In this respect, the federal judiciary, that is, the supreme or the federal court performs two kinds of function. Firstly, it interprets the constitution whenever there is a dispute regarding any provision of the constitution between the federal government and one or more unit governments or between two governments of the component units. Secondly, it preserves the supremacy and inviolability of the constitution by declaring any law of the central or provincial legislature as *ultra vires* and therefore null and void, if it relates to matters outside its list of powers or violates any provision of the constitution. Thus the court acts as its custodian or guardian. In modern times, however, the judges interpret the constitution in such a way as to strengthen the hands of the central government as against the unit governments. This is done by applying the doctrine of implied powers, that is, the powers not specifically allocated to the centre but implied in other powers specifically allocated to it are also presumed to be given to it. Thus the centre becomes stronger by judicial interpretation. This is particularly true of the American Supreme Court which has since long applied the doctrine of implied powers and has thereby enhanced the powers of the U.S. Federal Government.

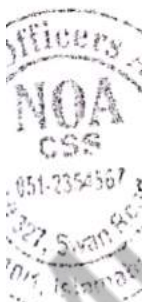
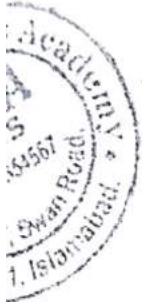
4. Bicameral Legislature.

A federal State is a complex organisation. It requires that there should be a double mode of representation; one for the country as a whole and another for the component units as such. It therefore requires two chambers. Moreover, the component units may differ in size, population and resources. Yet the principle of equality or parity requires that they should have the same voice and equal representation in the federal government. In view of these requirements, a federal legislature consists of two Houses, one of which represents the nation as a whole, while the other represents the component units on an equal basis. That is the reason why bicameralism is a necessary feature of the federation.

Problems of Federalism.

Federalism means the method and the form of dividing the powers of the central and unit governments in such a way that both remain co-ordinate and independent within their spheres of powers. It is confronted with several problems. They are variously solved in different federations. The most important of them are:

1. *A satisfactory distribution of powers.* Every federation is confronted with the problem of distributing powers between the federal union and the component units in such a way that the central government remains efficient while the diversity and autonomy of the component units are secure. In other words, the problem is that the centripetal forces for integration should not be so strong as to impair or destroy the autonomy and



diversity of the units, and at the same time the centrifugal forces for autonomy and diversity should not be given so much scope as to weaken and destroy the federal union. A via media must be found and a balance of power between the two should be maintained. It is a difficult task because it requires that the two parts of the federation, the central and the units, should have an equal, co-ordinate and independent status. The general principle of the distribution of powers is easy to state: that which concerns the whole/nation should be allotted to the national government; and that which is of local interest and importance should go to the unit government. In practice, however, it depends upon several other factors- as to how the distribution is actually made in a federation, such as the historical conditions, motives and aims of federation, etc. The crux of the problem, however, is: how to prevent the encroachment on the sphere of powers of the one by the other government of the federation. The purpose is achieved differently in different federations. The most common safeguard is the establishment of an independent court to interpret the constitution and decide conflicts of jurisdiction between the centre and the units. The Constitutions of U.S.A., Pakistan, and Bharat have each set up a Supreme or Federal Court for this purpose. In the Swiss Federation, however, the people settle such constitutional disputes by the referendum and the initiative. Another method of safeguarding the allotted spheres of powers is by making the constitution rigid, that is, it can be amended by a different process from the ordinary law-making process of the central or provincial legislatures. Lastly, it is ensured by making the principle of equality of the component units and other rights of the units a part of the constitution, which cannot be altered except with the consent of the unit or units concerned.

2. *Protection of the smaller units against dominance by the larger.* The units in a federation are not equal in size, population and resources. Hence the smaller units are in danger of being dominated by the larger ones in legislation and financial matters. In order to safeguard the position and interests, of the smaller units, certain measures are adopted. Firstly, all the component units have equal representation in the national legislature, irrespective of their size or population. For instance, in U.S.A. all the component States have two seats in the Senate. Another method is to require that an amendment of the constitution is valid only when ratified by a majority of the component units.

3. *Organisation of the relations between the Centre and the Units.* The essence of federalism is the equality of status and the co-ordinate and independent position of the Centre and the Units in respect of their relations. An ideal federation is, therefore one in which each of them work within its allotted sphere of powers without any relation-with the other. But in actual practice it is impossible. The needs of security and unity of the

State as a whole and of the uniformity of laws and policy compel the centre to enter into relations with the units in such matters as administration, finance and legislation. These relations are of several kinds. They are established by law or by usage. The American Constitution provides that the Federal Government guarantees to each Federating State republican form of government and protection against invasion. Some of these relations are established by usage. For instance, the Federal Government in the U.S.A. gives grants-in-aid to the component States for the development of agriculture, vocational education etc. It is not binding on the State to accept i.e. but if once it receives that grant-in-aid, it binds itself to federal control in respect of the activities for which it received the money. In administrative matters, the relation between the two governments arises regarding the question of enforcing the federal laws. In U.S.A. and Brazil, the Federal Government enforces its laws by means of its Federal officials. This duplicates the administrative services and increases the expenses of the State inasmuch as there are two civil services, the federal and the local. In German and Swiss Federations, the federal laws are executed by the officials of the unit governments. The federal government maintains only such services which are its exclusive functions, e.g., the foreign or military services.

4. *A satisfactory method of amendment.* The federal constitution is supreme over both the centre and the units and, therefore, it should be so framed that neither of them could amend it against the interest and consent of the other. This can be done in the following way: firstly, by making it impossible to amend the constitution by either the Centre or the Units alone: secondly, by making it rigid, that is, by providing that it could be changed only by a different and difficult process of amendment from the ordinary legislative process: thirdly, by giving a share to both the Centre and the Units in the amendment procedure so that neither the centre nor the larger units could bring a change in the constitution without the participation and consent of other units.

5. *Secession.* One of the problems of a federation, which may even become a danger to its existence, is that of secession. A federal State is an agreement between two or more sovereign States to join together into a union which creates a new sovereign State. But the question is: Has any one or more of the component units the right to break away or secede from the federal union and become once again a sovereign State? This is the problem of secession. It is not merely an academic question. It has been a cause of the Civil War in the U.S.A. during 1861-64 and of a brief civil struggle in Switzerland in 1847. Even today it is a cause of political struggles and tensions in several federations, as, for instance, in the Indian Union, the Dravidian Deccan, the Nagas, Sikhs and Kashmiris are agitating for secession and independence from India. However, none of the federal



constitutions in the world, except that of the Soviet Union, recognises the right of the component units to secede from the federal union.

Merits of Federation.

The federal form of State has been commended by writers since Montesquieu. They declare that it has so many merits and advantages that future governments will be-federal in form.

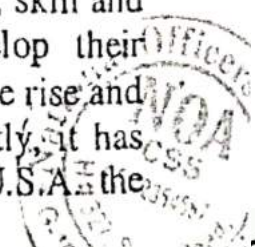
1. *Federation combines that merits of unity with diversity.*

A federation is a compact between several States to establish a united State, in which the federating States do not lose their individuality, and their diversity and autonomy. Thus they combine the advantages of strength that result from unity with the vitality and progress that result from diversity and autonomy. Thus federalism presents a happy blending of centralization and decentralization or national unity with local autonomy. It furnished, as Garner says, the means of maintaining equilibrium between the centrifugal and centripetal forces in a State of widely different tendencies. It provides uniformity in legislation, policy and administration where uniformity is desirable and diversity where diversity is desirable.

2. *Experimentation is possible.* From the above merit follows another advantage. Diversity and variety of administration, legislation and policy in various units makes it possible to experiment in new ways and methods of law and administration without affecting other units! If the experiment is successful, it is adopted by other units and even by the national government for the whole country.

3. *Federation creates new states by peaceful incorporation, and voluntary union.* Unitary States generally come into existence by war and forcible conquest. But federation usually creates States by peaceful integration and voluntary union. The U.S.A. came into being by the voluntary union of the thirteen revolted Colonies of North America in 1787, and the six States of Australia formed the Australian Federation in 1902. More recently, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was established by a Union of 15 Republics. Such a voluntary union of independent States, Gettel says, "has made possible incorporation without conquest." Federalism has thus been the means of uniting many small States which would not have otherwise given up their sovereignty.

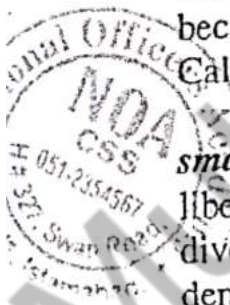
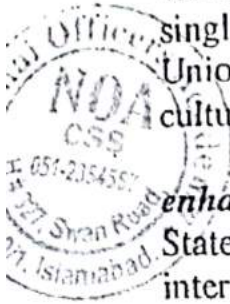
4. *Federal unification brings strength, progress and prosperity to the small States.* A small State has neither the resources of manpower nor strength to develop its industry and agriculture, commerce and trade, science and technology, arts and culture. But when several small States combine into a federal union, their resources of manpower, skill and talents are multiplied manifold which enable them to develop their economy, science, culture and society. This has been proved by the rise and development of the U.S.A., Canada, Australia, etc. More recently, it has been illustrated by the progress of the Soviet Union. Unlike U.S.A. the



Soviet Union is peopled by several races and nationalities with a great variety of religions, languages, customs and traditions. By uniting into a single federal union, these diverse races and nationalities of the Soviet Union have achieved great progress in science, industry, arts, social life and culture.

5. **Federation lessens the danger of international wars and enhances the prestige of the federal State.** The integration of several small States into a big federal State also contributes to the lessening of international intrigues, disputes and wars. Small States are weak States. They are constantly exposed to the intrigues and intervention by powerful States. This increases rivalry and tension among them and becomes a source of international aggression and war. The armed intervention by the U.S.A. in the little Lebanon in 1958 and by Great Britain in the petty kingdom of Jordan is a proof that these small States are unable to resist aggressive intentions of Great Powers and are also the cause of increasing international tension and war. The same is true of the many small States in Africa today. When the small States are united into a great federation, they become internally strong to rebuff and prevent all foreign intervention and aggression within their borders. The basis of federalism is union and union is strength. One of the strongest motives of establishing a federal State is defence against powerful neighbours. Moreover, federation enhances the international prestige of the new State because it is strong, united and powerful. This is abundantly illustrated by the two great Federations in the modern world, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. Federation provides the only means of strength and defence to them against foreign intervention and aggression. Lastly, federation is also a source of dignity for the peoples of small States. An American citizen, for example, calls himself an American, because it is more dignified than to call himself a New Yorker or a Californian, although he may be an inhabitant of New York or California.

6. **Federation suits a large State with great territory or a small State with great diversity.** Federation combines the two advantages of liberty with autonomy. Geographical distance produces differences and diversity of interests, customs and conditions in a vast State. Liberty and democracy demand that they should be given proper opportunity for development and expression. A unitary State would wipe them out, but a federal State preserves them on the basis of local autonomy and national unity. Federation makes democracy workable over large areas, as is illustrated by such countries as U.S.A., Pakistan India and the Soviet Union. Gettel has rightly remarked that, except representation, nothing has done more to make democracy workable over large areas than the system of a federal government. John Fiske has aptly remarked that a federal State can be as large as a continent. At the same time, a federation also benefits a small State which has great diversity of religion, social customs, cultural or



racial differences and historical conditions of the past. A unitary State will behave despotically as it will wipe out these differences, while a federal union will preserve them on the basis of liberty with unity. This fact is illustrated by the federations of Switzerland, Germany, etc.

7. *It prevents despotic tendencies in a government.* Great writers, like Montesquieu, Lord Bryce and others have emphasized the merit of the federation as a check on the despotic tendencies of the government. The reason is that in a federation, the Centre and the Units serve as a check on each other as neither of them possesses sovereignty and yet each of them enjoys autonomy and independence within its own sphere of powers. The supremacy of the constitution and the independent position of the federal judiciary as a guardian of the constitution, act as checks on their despotic tendencies. Hence there is less danger of the establishment of a centralized and despotic rule in a federal union which would not usurp the liberties of the people than in a unitary State.

8. *Federation means local or self-government on a large scale.* A federal State is far more democratic than a unitary State, for it is based on self-government and autonomy of all the component units. Democracy is self-government. Federation is, therefore, democracy on a large scale. A unitary State may give good government to the people. But good government is no substitute for self-government. Self-government stimulates the interest of the people in their local affairs, makes them more politically conscious and vigilant of their rights, liberty and administration, develops their civic sense, makes them more patriotic, public-spirited and duty-conscious, educates and enlightens them about the problems and difficulties of the State and society. As he has a double allegiance to both his local and national government, a citizen of the federal State has an opportunity to participate in the elections and administration of his own locality or province as well as of the national government. He has more freedom in moulding his own destiny as he has greater voice in the affairs of his own province or federal government.

9. *Federation is more suitable for modern society than the unitary State.* Modern society is becoming increasingly complex, with great diversities of economic, social, religious, cultural, intellectual and other interests and occupations. They can be properly preserved and developed when the State is federally organised. Laski and other Pluralists have, therefore, strongly advocated that modern State is and should be federally organised.

10. *Lastly, federation is the only way by which the whole world can be united into a single State, in which there shall be no international disputes and wars and mankind would enjoy the blessings of eternal peace and happiness in conditions of national liberty and progress.*

Some writers even predict that the future world-State, when it comes, will be a world federation.

Disadvantages of Federation.

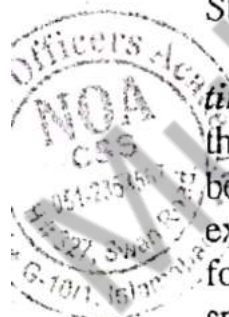
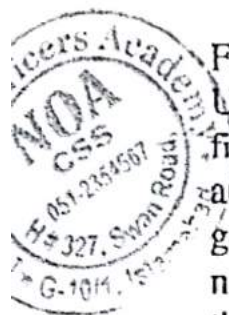
Federal State, however, is not free from several weaknesses and shortcomings. They are as follows:

1. *Federalism is a source of weakness for the State.*

Federalism means a double system of government of the Centre and the Units. This duality is a source of conflicts in administration, legislation, finance and other government activities. As the functions, powers and authority in the federal State are divided between the central and units governments, the work of the federal State can only proceed through negotiations and even protracted correspondence and compromises between the Centre and the Units, which cause delays and also wastage of time and energy of the two governments. There is also possibility of a conflict in administration, jurisdiction and financial matters between the two, especially if the constitution is hastily and badly drafted as the American Constitution was. These conflicts, delays and wastages create inefficiency and weakness in the State, which contrast sharply with the promptitude, efficiency and simplicity of the unitary State.

2. *Federalism prevents uniformity of law and policy for the whole State.* The distribution of powers, the autonomy of the federal units and the dual system of government in the Federal State produce diversity or lack of uniformity in laws and policy. This diversity of laws becomes a source of trouble for the citizens when they move from one component unit to another where there is a different set of laws. It also hinders the administration of justice, for the law-courts of one unit have no jurisdiction in the other. These defects are particularly noticeable in the U.S.A., where the constitution has granted a large "reserve of powers" to the component States in many matters, such as marriage, divorce, education, etc.

3. *The distribution of powers cannot be perfect for all times.* Federalism is essentially based on the distribution of powers between the Centre and the Units. But it cannot be a perfect distribution which may be valid for all times. The reason is simple. Howsoever exact and exhaustive the present scheme of distribution of powers may be, it cannot foresee the needs, demands, views and changes in the future. Really speaking, there is no definite principle by which a matter can be finally declared to be of national or local importance, what is today considered a matter of local importance may become tomorrow a matter of national importance. But the national government cannot acquire the new power without a constitutional amendment or judicial interpretation. Yet the constitution cannot be quickly amended, because it is rigid, while the judicial interpretation is a slow and circuitous process. That is the reason why federal constitutions are necessarily conservative. The principle of





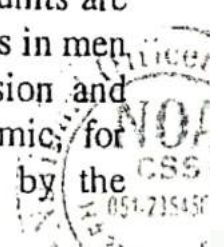
concurrent jurisdiction and powers and the doctrine of implied powers are attempts to remedy this defect of federalism, but they also do not go very far, nor very fast.

4. *The rigidity of the federal constitution is also an obstacle to the harmony and progress of the federal State.* The double government and the distribution of powers in a federation divide the governmental operations into watertight compartments. The rigidity of the constitution clogs the wheels of progress and prevents the constitution to adapt itself to the changing conditions in the social life of the country. This is particularly true of the American Constitution which is one of the most rigid constitutions in the world.

5. *Federation is an obstacle to the conduct of a vigorous foreign and home policy.* Unlike the central government of a unitary State, the central government of a federal State cannot conduct a vigorous foreign policy, because it has to secure the consent and approval of the unit governments, which may not be forthcoming so quickly or willingly as the central government would like. This is the peculiar difficulty of the American government which endeavours to remedy this defect by means of mass propaganda.

Similarly, in home affairs the central government of a federation is handicapped by the division of powers, which defines and limits the powers of both the Centre and the Units. One or more of the unit governments may refuse to accept the policy of the centre, or may not pass necessary legislation in respect of matters of the provincial list or the concurrent list. As regards the provincial matters the national government cannot do anything except hope and pray. It may, of course, prod an unwilling unit into activity by exercising its powers of concurrent jurisdiction. But even this method has not the promptitude, simplicity and efficacy of the instructions and fiat of the unitary government to its subordinate local authorities and officials. Protracted negotiation between the Centre and the Units, resulting in compromises, delays and dilly-dallying are the necessary weaknesses of the federal State. This was the main weakness of the 1956 Constitution of Pakistan.

6. *Federal form of State is also expensive and uneconomic.* Federation is expensive and uneconomic because of the duplication of governmental machinery of the Centre and the Units and of the central and provincial public services. There are two sets of governments and two sets of public services and departments, which entail far greater expenditure than in a unitary government. Moreover, some of the component units are not very careful in planning and utilising their own natural resources in men and material, as they would be under a single, central supervision and planning. The federal form of the State also becomes uneconomic for agriculture, industry and other natural resources are allocated by the

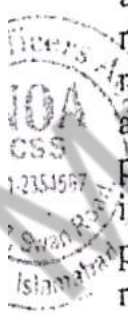
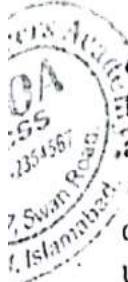


constitution to the provincial sphere. The central government is prevented from interfering in them by the principle of federalism or provincial autonomy.

7. *Federation is exposed to the danger of secession.* The components units of a federation may be inclined to secede from the federal union due to their differences or grievances over language, culture, religion, race, economic inequality and the like. As each unit has its own government and constitution, the tendency towards secession is very strong in a federation than in a unitary State. Thus a federal State is exposed to the dangers of disunity and disintegration. Such a danger once threatened the Swiss Confederation in 1847 and the U.S.A. in 1861. It led, for instance, to the secession of East Pakistan in 1971, which became Bangladesh. It is also the course of the present-day Sikh trouble in India who want to establish an independent State of Khalistan.

Future of Federation.

Many writers are of the opinion that federal structure of the State is a transitory and temporary stage in the evolution of the unitary State. They cite the fact that almost all federal States are becoming more and more centralized because the central government in them acquires ever more authority and powers. The national government is extending the scope of its powers, while the unit or provincial governments increasingly look to it for financial assistance, planning and regulatory measures. One of the federal States, the German Empire, actually became a unitary State under the Nazi policy of centralisation. There is some truth in this criticism. In modern times, the structure of the federal State is under three strong pressures for centralisation. They are economic, social and military. Economic Forces and needs have always been stronger than political formulas and rules. The framers of a federal constitution may consider that industry and agriculture, trade and tariffs are of local importance and interest. But economic needs and plans of industrialisation, trade and tariffs, the needs to regulate the relations between capital and labour, the questions of inflation and scarcity, recession and the conditions of the working classes, etc., are such problems and pressures which can temporarily be tackled locally, but can permanently be solved only on the national plane. A provincial government in a federation is too puny in resources and too narrow-minded in outlook to plan and solve them. The same is true of the demands and needs for social reforms, and cultural, intellectual and educational developments. Here also the national government can undertake these developments on national scale better than a provincial government. This also requires centralisation of governmental authority and powers. Above all the dangers and threats of war in modern times are great causes for centralisation. War is always a great centraliser. When a State is threatened by war, it meets the challenge by concentrating all its resources and powers under a single seat of





authority. That is why in respect of military organisation and war, a federal State behaves like a unitary State. In fact, "a dispersion of powers, as the federal principle implies, is incompatible with the troubled politics of a world that is scared by past wars and scared of new ones." In the face of these dangers and demands, the old patterns of decentralisation and autonomy cannot exist any longer.

But all this does not imply that the days of federalism are over, or that it is to be scraped from the organisation of the modern State system. On the contrary, we notice several tendencies and needs for federalism in the modern State and society. In fact, modern State and society are criss-crossed by contrary forces towards centralisation and decentralisation. Many economic and social forces and tendencies require them to be federally organised and governed. Even unitary States have adopted several forms of federalism. Moreover, as Laski said, 'modern society is so complex and varied in interest and functions, that it should not be centrally controlled and directed, but should be federally organised'. He said that just as "in the Middle Ages the tendency was towards feudalism, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries towards absolutism, so in the present time the movement seems to be towards federalism." Lastly, federalism is the only possible form of the future world-State, if and when it comes.

CONFEDERATION

Definition.

Although federation and confederation are derived from the same Latin root, yet they are quite different forms of organising the States. A confederation may be defined as a group or association of two or more sovereign States which have permanently given up part of their liberty for some specific aims and objects, such as defence. A confederation is stronger than an alliance between sovereign States, but weaker than a federal union. A confederation does not put an end to the sovereignty of the confederated States, as a federation does. It is a union of States and not a united State as a federation is. German words explain the distinction between a confederation and a federation very clearly. A federation is a *Bundes-staat*, a united State, while a confederation is a *Staatenbund* i.e., the union of States.

Federation and Confederation contrasted.

A federation must be clearly distinguished from a confederation. We point out here some of these distinctions as follows:

1. *A confederation is a league of sovereign States while a federation is a single sovereign State.* A confederation is much looser in organisation than a federation. In a federation the former sovereign States become integral parts or component units of a new State, while there is no such integration in a confederation. The confederated States retain their identity and separate entity. But they lose it completely when they federate

into a new State. In other words, the confederated States retain their sovereignties, while the federating States renounce their individual sovereignties when they enter into a federal union.

2. **Confederation is based on contract, and federation on constitution.** The confederate States enter into an alliance based on an agreement, but the federated States are united by a constitution. It means that any one of the confederated States can withdraw from the alliance, but none of the federated units can do so, as they have lost their sovereign entity in a new union. In other words, confederation recognises the right of secession, but a federation does not. Withdrawal from a confederation is legal, while from a federation it is revolutionary.

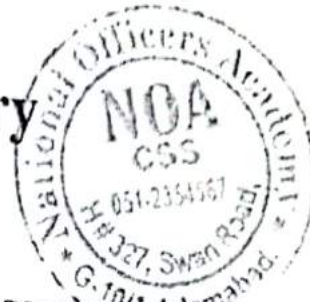
3. **A confederation has no central government.** A confederation has only a committee or congress of delegates from various confederated States, who meet to vote by States and under instructions from their governments. Their decisions are not laws but only resolutions. In a federation, there is a central government with its own powers, organisation and machinery, consisting of representatives from various component units, who make laws, and adopt a policy, which are executed by its own officials over the whole country.

4. **Citizenship.** In a confederation, the citizens of the confederate States retain their citizenship. They do not become citizens of the confederation, but in a federation, they become the citizens of the federal State. Hence in a confederation, they obey only the laws of their own State and not of the confederation, while in a federation they obey the laws of the central government also.



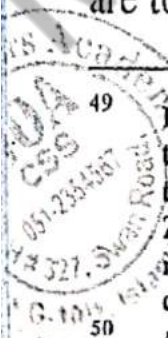
Chapter 31

Judiciary



Importance of the judiciary. ✓

Judiciary is the third organ of the government. Ordinarily it is not considered to rank equal to the other two; but it is a mistaken view. Its importance is as great, if not greater, as that of the executive and the legislature. Henry Sidgwick has rightly emphasised that "the importance of the judiciary in political construction is rather profound than prominent. On the one hand, in popular discussion of forms and changes of government, the judicial organ often drops out of sight; on the other hand, in determining a nation's rank in political civilisation, no test is more decisive than the degree in which justice, as defined by the law, is actually realised in its judicial administration, both as between one private citizen and another, and as between private citizens and members of the government." It performs certain functions which are so very necessary for the life and happiness of the citizens. It ascertains and protects rights and liberties of the citizens. It punishes crime, and protects the innocent from injury and usurpation. There is no better test for excellence of a government than the efficiency of its judicial system, for nothing more nearly touches the welfare and security of the average citizen than the feeling that he can rely on the certain and prompt administration of justice. Justice is the foundation of the States.⁴⁹ Indeed, as Laski says, the judicial processes and procedures, in spite of their forbiddingly technical character, are more closely related to liberty than the splendid sentences in which Rousseau depicts the conditions of its attainment. Lord Bryce paints a dismal picture if the judiciary fails to work properly and honestly. He says: "If the law be dishonestly administered, the salt has lost its flavour; if it be weakly or fitfully enforced, the guarantee of order fails, for it is more by the certainty than by the severity of punishment that offenders are repressed. If the lamp of justice eyes out in darkness, how great is that darkness."⁵⁰ "Obviously, therefore," adds Laski, "the men who are to make justice in the courts, the way in which they are to perform their



⁴⁹ Indeed, it was for sake of adjudication and justice and not for the sake of defence and war that the State grew up in the ancient times. As Aristotle writes. "Justice is bound up with the States for adjudication is the ordering of political society". (*Politics, Bk. 5, Chap.2*) Zimmern writes: "The real motive force that drove men into the city or State was not the need for efficiency in time of war so much as the need for efficiency in time of peace: They came together not so much for safety as for justice" Cf. *Greek Commonwealth*, p. 82.

⁵⁰ *Modern Democracies*. Vol II. p. 384.

functions, the methods by which they are to be chosen, the terms upon which they shall hold their power and other related problems, lie at the heart of political philosophy. When we know how a nation-State dispenses justice, we know with some exactness the moral character to which it can pretend."

Functions of the Judiciary.

In modern times, the judiciary performs several functions, there is no uniformity about them in various States. We shall enumerate here the most important of them.

Settlement of Disputes:

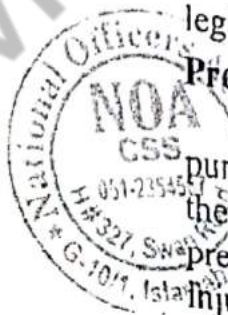
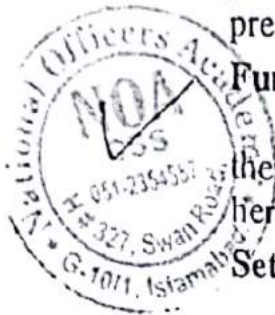
The primary function of the judiciary is to apply existing laws to the cases or legal disputes brought before the courts for settlement. The cases may be civil or criminal. When a case is brought before a court, the duty is first to find the facts, then to discover the law applicable to the case and pass a judgment according to it. Thus the judiciary applies the law, ascertains and decides rights, punishes crimes, administers justice and protects the innocent from injury and usurpation. Nevertheless, to a judge the law is as it is laid down by the legal sovereign, no matter if it is good or bad, just or unjust, moral or not moral.

Interpretation of Laws:

Sometimes the law is not clear, either because the law-makers did not foresee the circumstances of the case, or the wording of the statute is ambiguous or because two or more laws applicable to the case are in conflict. In deciding such cases, the judge has some discretion in interpreting the laws and deciding the case in the light of the principles of justice, equity and commonsense. In this way he not merely applies a law but even makes it. Such decisions become precedents for other judges who have to decide similar cases later on. These precedents become the judge-made laws or case-laws. They play an important role in the legal systems of such countries as Britain, U.S.A., Pakistan, India and other countries which follow the English Common Law. In these countries, the judges may become the creators of new laws and thus supplement the work of the legislature.

Preventive Justice:

In modern times, the judiciary performs not only the function of punishing crimes, and settling disputes, but has also the duty of preventing the violation of rights or threatened infraction of the law. This is called preventive justice. It is performed by issuing writs and restraining orders or injunctions. Failure to obey an injunction or a writ constitutes contempt of court and is punishable by imprisonment or fine.



Judicial Review:

In a federal State, the judiciary has the power to declare the acts or statutes of the central or provincial legislatures or executive orders *ultra vires* or unconstitutional if they are outside their jurisdiction or powers as defined by the constitution. The constitutions of such federal States as the U.S.A., India and Pakistan have conferred the power of judicial review on their high and supreme courts.

Advisory Opinion:

In many countries, the judiciary performs the function of giving advisory opinions on questions of law when requested by the executive or the legislature. This function is usually performed by the High Court or the Supreme Court, as in Pakistan.

Non-judicial Functions:

Almost in all countries, the judiciary is called upon to perform certain miscellaneous functions of non-judicial nature. For instance, the judges may be empowered to grant licences, or act as receivers in bankruptcy cases, guardians of minors and administrators of estates, or to naturalise the aliens, etc.

INDEPENDENCE OF JUDICIARY. ✓

Independence of the judiciary means that the judge should be independent of the other two organs, the legislature and the executive, so as to administer justice with impartiality and according to law. For this purpose it is necessary that the appointment and tenure of the judges should not depend upon the pleasure of the other organs.

Necessity of independent judiciary.

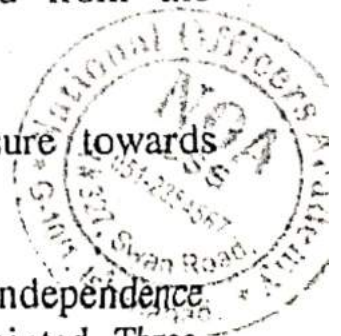
First of all, an independent judiciary is necessary for securing an impartial trial of the accused. It protects the liberty and rights of the citizens. It is the bulwark of individual liberty. Secondly, it has to try State officials for offences committed by them in the course of performing their public duties. An independent judiciary can protect individual liberty and rights from official infringements. Thirdly, the independence of the judiciary is essential for the protection of the constitution and law against encroachment by the government, or private individuals. This is particularly true of a federal constitution which has to be preserved from the encroachment by the federal or unit governments.

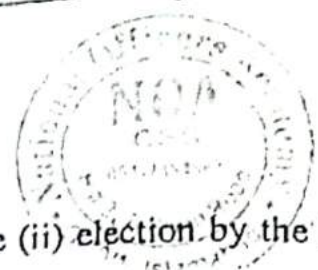
How the independence of judiciary is secured.

The following factors contribute in a large measure towards securing the independence of the judiciary:

1. Mode of Appointment of Judges.

Experience of the past centuries has shown that the independence of the judges is greatly determined by the way they are appointed. Three different methods are used in different countries for the appointment of the





judges. They are: (i) election by the people (ii) election by the legislature; and (iii) appointment by the executive.

(i) **Election by the people:** In some States, e.g., U.S.A., Switzerland, the judges are elected by the people. This method was first used in Revolutionary France owing to the strong influence of the theory of the separation of powers in that country. This method is, however, very defective. It corrupts the fountain of justice at its very source. The elected judges are necessarily under the influence of the voters and the parties which have elected them. They cannot be impartial, honest, dignified and independent. Their judgments are prejudiced. An elected judge is a partisan and partisan judge cannot defend the rights and liberties of the individuals. "The desire to court popularity is a temptation few will be able to resist when their re-election is dependent on their popularity." In short, the elected judges are more of politicians than judges.

(ii) **Election by the Legislature:** This method is no better than the method of popular election. For, says Laski, "If the choice is to be made on grounds of legal fitness, the average member of legislature has no special qualification for judging, and he is therefore likely to be swayed by political considerations irrelevant to the problem." The legislature tends to elect politicians to judicial offices rather than judges. A legislature is an arena of party politics and the judges are elected on party grounds. "Such party election encourages a type of judge who is far removed from the ideal of fairness and reasonableness which judicial decision demands."

(iii) **Appointment by the Executive:** Appointment or nomination of the judges by the executive, that is, by the minister in charge of the judicial department, is considered as the best available method and is applied in many countries. It is claimed that the executive is the most appropriate agency to judge the capacity and qualifications of the candidates to a judicial post. Experience has also shown that this method is greatly free from party bias in the choice of the judges. Yet it is not free from all defects. "Simple nomination" says Laski, "as in England by the Lord Chancellor, is not, I think, an adequate system. It leaves the door too wide open for measurement of fitness in terms of political eminence rather than judicial quality." However, the method of appointment can be improved by certain safeguards. Laski suggests that the appointment by the Minister of Justice should be made with the consent of a standing committee of the judges, which would represent all sides of their work. The judges know well the nature of their work and can judge better the qualities of the candidates, while they are not likely to be influenced by party considerations. This is the method used in the appointment of judges of the High and Supreme Courts in Pakistan. Another improvement in this method is selection by competitive examination. The minister appoints only such candidates as



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have been successful in it. The examination method is now applied in many countries, including Pakistan, for recruiting subordinate judges.

2. Long Tenure of Office.

Judges are appointed either for a short term or a long term of office. Experience has shown that a short tenure is unwise and defective. It destroys the independence of the judge, inclines him towards corrupt ways, as bribery, so as to enrich himself during his short term of office. It makes him more subservient to the executive which appointed him. Such a judge will do no justice. A long tenure frees the judge from such temptations. It makes him free and independent. In modern times, judges are, therefore, appointed for long terms or lifelong tenures. They hold office during good behaviour. "Once appointed," writes Laski, "a judge should obviously hold office during good behaviour; otherwise he cannot acquire that habit of independence inherent in his position." A long tenure is, obviously, a lifelong tenure. Hence the age of retirement of a judge is usually fixed at 60 to 65 years, as in Pakistan and even longer, as in U.K. and U.S.A.

3. Promotion and security of office.

The principle of the independence of the judiciary further requires that a judge, once appointed, should feel secure in his office as regards its tenure and promotion. In the judicial department, however, promotion cannot go by seniority alone, because inefficient judges would then be promoted to important positions. Nevertheless, an able judge should feel that his chances of promotion will not be dimmed by a clever colleague who knows how to pull political wires at the right time and place. Hence neither the promotion, nor the removal of the judges should depend upon the pleasure of the executive. They must be decided by the principle of good behaviour. Then only able and efficient judges will be promoted and corrupt and inefficient ones removed from office. Good behaviour should be judged by an impartial body, like the legislature. This method is followed in England, Pakistan, India, etc. In England, a judge is dismissed from office only when the two Houses of Parliament by a joint address request the Queen to remove him on grounds of corruption or moral turpitude.

4. Fixed and adequate salary.

Another condition which makes for freedom and independence of the judiciary is an adequate and fixed salary, which makes a judge feel secure, independent and fearless in the performance of his duties. A low-paid judge is inclined to be corrupt: he endeavours to supplement his meagre salary with bribery. Such a judge will not dispense justice. The salary should be adequate to befit the social position of the judge. Finally, the constitution of the State should provide that the salaries of the judges should not be alterable during their term of office.



5. Qualifications of Judges.

The administration of justice presupposes an adequate knowledge of law. Law is a technical subject. Only such persons who have studied it carefully can properly understand its technicalities. The judges, therefore, must be professional experts who can determine legal rights and duties in particular cases with knowledge and skill. Hence only men of legal and forensic qualifications should be appointed as judges. A judge, however, must possess not only the qualities of head but also of heart. He must be a man reputed for his impartiality and independent views. He must be honest and profoundly learned in law. In early Islam, the moral and intellectual qualities of a man were essential prerequisites for a judicial appointment. In present times, the qualified judges are sometimes chosen from among the practising lawyers and advocates.

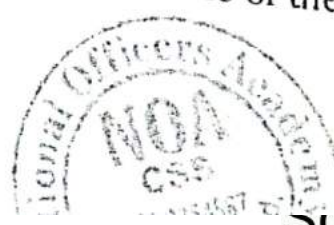
6. Separation of the Judiciary.

One of the merits of the theory of separation of powers is that it emphasises the separation of the judiciary from the other two organs of the State, especially from the executive. The same person should not be a judge as well as a prosecutor. If so, there will be a miscarriage of justice. The prosecutor being also the judge will necessarily punish the accused. This has been the experience of the British rule in Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, where the Deputy Commissioners act both as judicial and executive officers.

ORGANISATION OF THE JUDICIARY

Hierarchical Organisation of the Courts.

One feature is common in the organisation of the judicial systems all over the modern world: the courts are arranged in an ascending or hierarchical order of the lower and superior courts, determined by their sphere of powers or jurisdiction. Broadly speaking, at the bottom lie the courts of first instance with very restricted jurisdiction or power of decision. Above them are the intermediate courts of appeal with greater powers of decision and jurisdiction. At the top are the high or supreme courts of review or cassation with powers to hear appeals from all subordinate courts and also special jurisdiction in certain matters, such as the constitutional disputes in the federal States. The power of review or cassation means the power to annul the decision of a subordinate court or tribunal. The three types of courts are, however, differently designated. Here below is a sketch of the judicial organisation in some countries of the world:





Public Opinion



The basic distinction between the modern and earlier States lies in the influence and effect of public opinion and the part which propaganda plays today. In all States of the past public opinion was unknown, but the modern State is at once a master and a servant of public opinion and propaganda. A democracy is a government by public opinion.

Nature of Public Opinion:

What is an Opinion? In order to understand public opinion, we must first know what an individual opinion is, for in some way or another public opinion is a resultant of individual opinions. An individual opinion may be defined as the expressed idea or attitude of an individual on an issue confronting the group of which he or she is a member. Expression is necessary, for an unexpressed idea or attitude cannot be an opinion. But here arises the first problem about opinion formation. On certain occasions even unexpressed or silent opinions can have great affect of public opinion.

Moreover, individual opinion may be positive or negative, for or against the issue in question. Further, an individual's opinion is likely to change over time, when his or her experience, knowledge, or age environment changes.

What is more, the opinions of no two individuals are absolutely alike, because the environment, experience, and knowledge of no two individuals are the same, even if they live under the one and the same roof. Lastly, though not in the least, an individual's opinion may be at first vague and indefinite. But it may become more precise, definite and stable after some time, long or short, when he or she is pressed by the urgency of the situation or problem, and/or by the alertness of his or her mind, experience or knowledge.

Now the problem is: How do the opinions of many individuals, sometimes millions of people change or are transformed into public opinion? This question has occupied the attention, and even baffled the minds of innumerable thinkers, philosophers, sociologists, political scientists, Statesmen and researchers for more than two centuries. The question is at once important but difficult. It may be said, and rightly, that public opinion is the sum of individual opinions on an issue. But, then, it is noted that it is more than merely sum of individual opinions, because sometimes it acquires a force and vitality unconnected with any specific individual. For example, the word "Pakistan" was only an idea, an opinion,



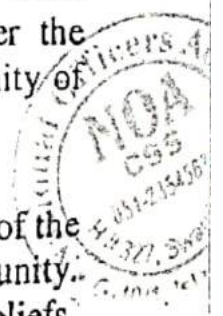
of an unknown student, Ch. Rahmat Ali, in 1937. But in a matter of ten years, it became a tremendous popular force, now called "Pakistan Movement." The well-known German sociologist, Ferdinand Tonnies, said, "Whatever may come to be considered a public opinion, it confronts the individual with an opinion which is in part an extraneous power." Another author has explained it as a crystallization process, which is, as he says, "the transformation of individual attitudes into a collectivity can exert influence". Sometimes this transformation is so dramatic and revolutionary that we may characterise it as "the genie in the bottle effect". As the children's story-book tells us, there was a genie that was kept by his master in a bottle. But when his master let him out of the bottle it loomed so large over him that he was frightened. The same thing happens in history and politics at certain times. The observation of the crowd behaviour seems to confirm the existence of some psychic entity that may seize hold of many individuals at once and lead them to behave in ways that no one of them would have behaved under other circumstances. In some situations, this kind of collective behaviour of public opinion sweep way powerful governments or dictators, as for example the overthrow of Ayyub Khan's government in 1969 or of Mr. Bhutto's government in 1977 in Pakistan, or of General No Win in 1988 after he had ruled Burma for more than a quarter of century. Public opinion also manifests itself in more peaceful but effective manner, as for example the overthrow of Winston Churchill's government in the general elections of 1946 in Great Britain, although he was the saviour of his country in the 'World War II (1939-45). Hence it is asked, why there are sudden and radical shifts in public opinion and therefore in the governments and their policies and how to avoid them, especially in a democracy? To put it differently, how to organise public opinion so as to avoid sudden shifts and changes in it. This question is particularly important for the new nations or developing countries, which are sometimes bedevilled by them.

cause continuous problem to :-

Public opinion grows out of a great variety and diversity of the views, beliefs, ideas and prejudices of the myriads of individuals or citizens of a State, when they think and want to do something in common. In their everyday life, they think, feel and act differently, and diversely, even divergently. But when required to think and act in common under the influence of a leader or an event, they may create a unity or uniformity of belief, opinion and behaviour. This is the Public Opinion.

Definition: ✓

Lord Bryce defines it thus: Public Opinion is "the aggregate of the views men hold regarding matters that affect or interest the community." Thus understood, it is a congeries of all sorts of discrepant notions, beliefs, prejudices, aspirations. It is confused, incoherent, amorphous, varying from day to day and week to week, But in the midst of this diversity and



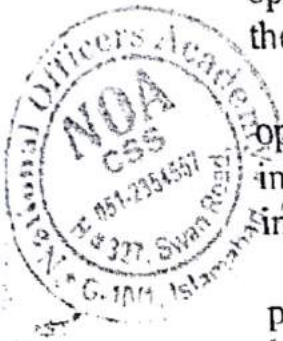
confusion every question, as it rises into importance, is subjected to a process of consolidation and clarification until there emerge and take definite shape certain views or sets of interconnected views, each held and advocated in common by bodies of citizens." V.O. Key, an American behavioural political scientist, defines public opinion as "those opinions held by private persons which governments find it prudent to heed." Unexpressed or silently-held opinions do not become public opinion. Instead, publicly expressed opinions become so, and more so if expressed with conviction and intensity. Generally more attention is given to informed opinion, and to the views of expert, interested or elite groups because of their particular abilities, influence or experience.

We may define public opinion as the collection of individual opinions on an issue of public interest, which can exercise influence over individual group and government behaviour or policy, formed under the influence of or communicated by a leader, party, or group.

In short, public opinion needs four things: individual opinions + a public issue + communication media + relationship of influence between leaders and the led. Harold Lasswell called the influencing leaders as the influential.

Public Opinion or Majority Opinion.

Generally speaking, public opinion is a majority opinion. At least, it must become so, if it is to be the effective and ruling opinion. But neither in its formation nor in its nature is it necessarily a majority opinion. "Public opinion is not the name of a something, but a classification of a number of some things." As we said above, it arises from a welter of several minority opinions struggling for acceptance by the bulk of the people but even if it is accepted by the majority, it may not be yet a public opinion. Majority opinion is public opinion only when it aims at the common good and satisfies the general interests and well-being of the whole nation and embodies the willing consent of the minority or minorities in the nation. It is aptly remarked by a political scientist that "a majority is not enough for public opinion, and unanimity is not required, but the opinion must be such that while a minority may not share it, they feel bound by the conviction and not by fear to accept it." In other words, it must be based on intelligence, educated opinion, and consent of all, and not on ignorance or this majority or fear and coercion of the minority. A true public opinion is therefore, one which is prompted with due regard to public welfare. It is based on weighing the facts of the case. It must be acceptable to the minority as well as the majority, not out of fear but willing acceptance of the common good, in which it also has a share. Unanimity is thus not necessary to public opinion; what is essential is the common good or national welfare at which it must aim. A minority opinion can become public opinion, if it aims at common good. Willoughby has rightly said, "In any community of men that which has assumed



character of public opinion is the result not of the opinion of all its members but only of those persons, few or many, who are led to think and to form judgments regarding matters of general interest."

Two kinds of Public opinion; Political and Social:

Public opinion is not merely political: it can also be social. Social opinion is concerned with matters of social importance, in which political leaders and governments have little or no influence, except in totalitarian or ideological States. Social opinion can be seen in fads and fashion, which often spread so far and so suddenly over whole or part of a society. It is, for example, expressed by public attitudes towards the film stars. It is also frequently formed or organised by commercial firms, enterprises or corporations, by advertisement or publicity campaigns, e.g. for the sale of a new brand of soap by a film star. In Political Science, however, we are not concerned with social opinion. Our field of study is political (public) opinion only.

Characteristics of Public Opinion:

We may now sum up main features of public opinion:

1. Living issues of politics:

Public opinion is always about living issues or politics in this country, which divide the people into various groups or parties with differing opinions. They deal with matters which are controversial or debatable in the society

2. Non-identifiable group:

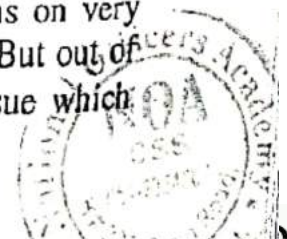
For opinions to be 'public', it is not necessary for the people to be in face-to-face contact with each other. What is necessary is that they hold the same opinion, even though they do not know each other. The "opinion" is held by a collection of people linked by common opinions or desires.

3. Widely-held opinions:

As we have said above, public opinion is not necessarily majority opinion or unanimous opinion. Minority opinion may carry more weight, if it is expressed effectively at times when the rest of the people are divided or apathetic towards the specific issue in question.

4. Pooling of differing opinions:

Arithmetic of public opinion is very strange. It is not the sum-total of all the opinions. Some people are indifferent and apathetic to political issues and have no opinion. Others hold widely different opinions, some hold opinions more firmly and continuously, while others not so. But no opinion is held the same permanently. We do not hold opinions on very issue. Indeed, there are as many "publics" as there are opinions. But out of this welter of opinions may emerge a public opinion on an issue which affect or particularly interest the people.



5. **Intensity of opinions:**

The question is: Which of the differing opinions emerge to become the public opinion? It depends upon the intensity of the opinions held by various groups or "publics". If a group of people holds opinion more intensely and strongly than another group, it will become public opinion, even though it may be a smaller group than the other. Public opinion is the opinion of the dominant group in the society, whether it is due to wealth, education, official position, prestige or influence. Generally, more weight is given to express opinions than to *unexpressed ones*.

6. **Informed opinion:**

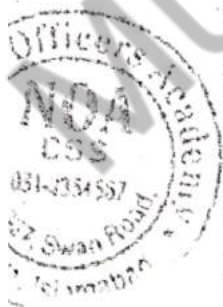
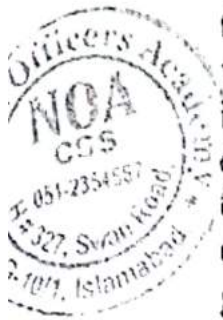
Generally more attention is given to informed rather than uninformed opinion. This is the reason why the views of the elite group or groups influence and form public opinion more effectively than those of the common people. It is due to their particular abilities, education, organisation and experience.

7. **Continuity and Change in Public Opinion:**

Public opinion may change from time to time, or may remain the same. More often than not, public opinion tends to persist over time. But conditions may arise in which it may change. The elements of persistence, continuity and stability of public opinion or of its change and transformation are religion, ideology, nationalism, racialism, as well as modernity, rationality, secularism, science and technology, education, industrial development, national interests, and individual's character and personality. On the whole, religion, ideology, nationalism, and racialism tend to make public opinion more stable and persistent, while modernity, rationality, secularism, science and technology, industrial development, urbanization and education tend to change it. If the change factors are more influential or dominant in the society, public opinion/will tend to change rapidly and continuously. But if the stability and continuity factors are more dominant, it will remain the same.

Dynamics of Public Opinion.

Public Opinion is not a grand total of the opinions, views and beliefs etc., of all the individuals. This is impossible, "It is", as Professor Soltau writes, "usually the adoption by the greater part of the population of a point of view, of a policy, ideal or prejudice, put forward by some interested persons or groups, using the various methods of dissemination or propaganda at their disposal—press, books, public meeting, radio, advertising and especially communication from person to person. Usually, Public Opinion begins as the opinion of a minority or a small group of persons. It issues vaguely, hesitatingly, imperceptibly it is opposed by the rival opinions of several other minority group opinions. At first, the majority of the population are indifferent to the conflicting opinions of the



minority groups, for few people are really interested in politics and in matters of common concern. So there is at first not one public opinion but several public opinions, each struggling to win the majority of the nation to its own way of thinking. When most people accept one of the several competing minority opinions, it becomes the public opinion or majority opinion, unanimity not being of this world. "Some currents of opinions or sentiments", writes Lord Bryce, "develop more strength than others, because they have behind them larger numbers or more intensity of conviction; and when one is evidently the strongest, it begins to be called public Opinion *par excellence* being taken to embody the views supposed to be held by the bulk of the people." Thus arises Public Opinion not as a simple arithmetical addition of myriads of individual opinions in a nation but as a result of many social and political forces of propaganda and pressure, which seek to win the majority, of the people and influence the policies of the government. This is the way how popular government is possible, that is, government by public discussion and consent. It is only then that the general will arises.

How is Public Opinion formed?

According to Lord Bryce, three classes of persons have to do with the making of public opinion. They may be described as the thinkers, propagators and the mass of people.

(1) **Public Leaders and Thinkers.**

They are the men who seriously occupy themselves with public affairs and devote their lives mostly, if not wholly, to the study and solution of public affairs and national problems. They are either professional politicians, legislators, journalists or are otherwise actively engaged in politics, or are private citizens who care enough for their duty as citizens to give constant attention to what passes in the political world. Their number is small which, is indeed, an exceedingly small percentage of the voting citizens. But their importance is great. It is they who make public opinion, as its thinkers and originators. They are public leaders. They know the facts. They think out, marshal and set forth, by word of mouth or pen, the arguments meant to influence the public. They use the press, platform and other agencies of public opinion to communicate their views and opinions to others. In modern democracies, in general, and in countries like the U.S.A., in particular, these makers of public opinion are the powerful organised interests, institutions, and corporations who manufacture public opinion like any other commodity. As there are various kinds of leaders and thinkers, there is a variety of different and opposite opinions.

(2) **Propagators and Moulders of Public Opinion.**

The second class consists of those who also take interest in politics. They read the daily newspapers and political literature; listen to

public speeches and to the radio broadcasts and TV telecast, and give close and unremitting attention to public questions from day to day. They form judgment upon the facts and arguments presented to them. Their judgment corrects and modifies the views of the first class. Thus they become, though not the originators, but certainly the moulders and propagators of public opinion. Most of the persons of this class belong to a party, but they are generally not partisans. They are ready to listen to the views and opinions of other parties and consider fairly both sides of the question. Owing to their impartiality and non-partisan spirit, they become the real makers of public opinion. The worth and value of public opinion really depends upon the honesty, public spirit, impartiality, political intelligence and sound judgment of this class of persons. The number and quality of this class decides the quality and effectiveness of public opinion. What they think and feel is the opinion of the nation as a whole. It is Public Opinion at its best. To this class belong the members and workers of the various parties, the pressure groups, and the lesser interests and institutions in the nation, and all those who are interested in politics.

(3) Masses of People.

The third class includes all the remaining masses of people who are generally indifferent to public affairs, reading little and thinking less about them. So far as they have any opinion, they simply borrow or adopt it from the first two classes or from the place or social class to which they belong. Men of this type will now and then be attracted by the personality of a leader or fascinated by a movement. They will follow him or it, not because they understand his or its politics but because they like some of his or its qualities or because they are sentimentally attached to his personality or movement. This large group neither makes opinion as thinkers, nor helps to mould it as critics, but it swells its volume by its numbers. The actual size of this group varies from country to country, but it is everywhere very large. By far the largest majority of the people of a State belongs to this class. In a democracy, it is at least as large as the electorate.

Importance of Public Opinion in Modern States.

In modern States in general and in the democracies in particular, all power springs from the people. But the question is: How are the people to exercise its power? In the popular and representative governments, it is possible in two ways only, viz., by voting and by the expression of public opinion. Elections are no doubt indispensable for the working of a democratic popular government. But they must be preceded and prepared by the action of the public opinion. Moreover, in the intervals between two elections, it keeps the party-in-power in check, guides the government in the making of its policies, and restrains the party government from abusing its power and from becoming oppressive or tyrannical. When a ministry or legislature knows that the public opinion is opposed to their policy or plan

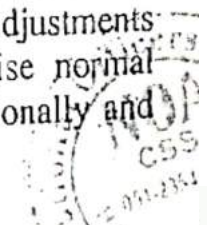


they will pause before adopting or enforcing it. They will give up unpopular plans or purposes. *Vox populi, vox Dei.* Public opinion is the pulse of the people and a wise government must always keep its fingers on the pulse, if it is to remain popular and responsible to the people. Good and sound public opinion will support a government when it is on the right path and restrain and criticise it when it is in the wrong. It is rightly said that alert and intelligent public opinion is the first essential condition for the success of democracy. It is a watchdog of the government and administration. It has been aptly said that the true function of public opinion is to bring about a proper relation between the legal and the political sovereign. It thus makes ideal democracy a reality.

Public opinion may suffer from various drawbacks. In the nineteenth century liberal democrats usually believed that man was rational, interested in politics and capable of making logical decisions based on his needs. Moreover, it is believed that freedom to express ideas in open competition with others is the best means of correcting errors in bias. Though each party may plead its own cause, it is expected that the truth or the most practical answer will eventually emerge. In actual fact, however, people do not act rationally. Possibly, they fall an easy prey to the "hidden persuaders" of political-propaganda agencies, public relation firms, and of the advertisers. Opinions are often formed by family environment, cultural influences and experiences. Opinions of the individual are, as often as not, highly irrational. This is the reason why public opinion has been accused of being erratic, inconsistent and conservative. In backward countries and nations, public opinion is influenced, sometimes openly and at times not so openly, by foreign sources. This is done through propaganda, which is one of the most potent sources of influencing public opinion.

Dangers of Public Opinion.

If public opinion is ill-informed, unintelligent, prejudiced and misguided, it becomes a great threat to the strength, stability and unity of the democratic State. Then the watchdog of democracy becomes the mad dog of tyranny. Under a dictatorship, it becomes an instrument of violence and intimidation. The dictator bans all parties except his own; he controls all the agencies of public opinion and propaganda, while the people are denied the rights and freedoms of speech, press, association and public meeting. He indoctrinates the public mind and thus manufactures public opinion in his own favour. When public opinion is made and influenced by ignorance, prejudice, parochialism, and petty hatreds, class antagonism, and vested interests, it ceases to be public. Then the voice of the people is no longer the voice of God, but becomes the voice Satan. Another source of polluting the spring of public opinion are the frustrations, maladjustments and such other mental and moral aberrations of the otherwise normal individuals. They prevent them from thinking and reacting rationally and



properly to the public problems and issues, especially in times of storms and strains of modern life and in the national emergencies and crises.

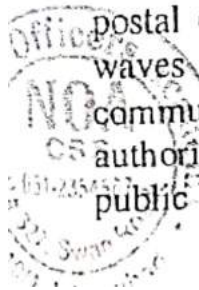
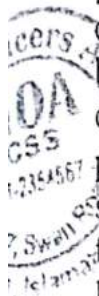
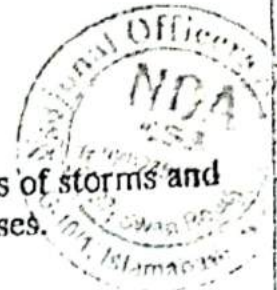
Conditions of Sound Public Opinion.

Both the importance and dangers of public opinion in the modern State make it necessary for us to consider the conditions which are essential for the creation of a sound, wise and intelligent public opinion. They are as follows:

1. **Education.** In the making of a sound and intelligent public opinion, education of the citizens comes first. "The education of the citizens" writes Laski, "is the heart of the modern State" The citizens must be properly educated if they are to play their part well in the life of the community. An educated person is constructive, critical and interested in public affairs. An illiterate person is mostly guided by his blind passions or sentiments or is duped by demagogues and the like. But education should be free from such vices as prejudice, fanaticism, intolerance, obscurantism, etc. It must not be dominated by Church or religion and such other vested interests.

2. **Free Press.** Education takes a long time to influence public opinion, that is, when the boys, girls and the youth have passed through the schools and colleges. But the public opinion is directly and immediately made and influenced by the press. Yet it is only free press that forms it on a sound and proper basis. Negatively speaking, a free press is one which is not controlled or subsidised by men of wealth, vested interests, or communal bodies, or by the government. Positively speaking, it means one which gives the public honest, impartial, free and untarnished news, views and reviews or information and is also free to criticise the news, views and reviews or information supplied by any other agency, private or governmental. When all arguments are voiced and criticised before the people, they will know how to choose the sound and reject the unsound ones. Thus the free press will help in the formation and expression of a sound public opinion.

3. **Free Discussion.** Public opinion is the opinion of the public. But before the public can form an opinion, it must have the freedom of discussing the pros and cons of problem. Public discussion requires freedom of thought, opinion, speech, association, assembly and of other means of communication by press, and post, wire and wireless. Discussion and expression of opinion may be face-to-face or through the press and postal correspondence or through the medium of electric wires or radio-waves or of television. By free discussion and expression the people communicate their wishes and opinions to the seat of governmental authority and also expose errors, correct mistakes and guide the policy of public bodies and administration.





4. **Social Harmony.** The citizens of a State must not be divided by irreconcilable differences of religion, culture or of commercial and ethnic loyalties. Where barriers of caste, creed, colour or class divide a people into different strata or compartments, there can be no "public" in the proper sense of the word. In order to be a public, a population must possess community of interests and unity of tradition and outlook and must also agree on certain fundamental political doctrines. There should be a common way of life. There should be unity in diversity in their national life.

5. **Economic Security.** All the people in a State should enjoy a decent standard of life. They should have economic security by having a decent source of income. A nation divided into too rich and too poor classes cannot form a sound public opinion, for the poor classes will be exploited and controlled by the richer ones. They will have no means of expressing their opinion. A starving man has no opinion of his own.

Hindrances in the way of Sound Public Opinion.

We may now briefly describe those factors which hinder the growth of sound public opinion. They are, firstly, illiteracy or lack of education. An illiterate person does not possess sufficient information and knowledge to understand the problems of his State or take interest in public affairs. He is ignorant and apathetic, while his mind is filled with prejudices, narrow sympathies and sentiments. Hence he lacks a sound opinion of his own. Secondly, economic inequality is another great hindrance to the formation of sound public opinion; a poor man has no time or leisure to devote his thoughts to public matters. Thirdly, deep-seated religious and sectarian differences are great obstacles to the formation of a proper and sound public opinion. Fourthly, dishonest press which provides false and mischievous information pollutes the spring of public opinion at its very source. The press should not be used to deceive the public or to further the interests of any selfish group. Fifthly, the unwillingness of minorities to acquiesce in the majority rule will obstruct the proper expression of public opinion. Sixthly, presence of selfish leaders and unscrupulous pressure groups, devoted to the vested interests of the wealthier classes, will mislead the people and prevent the formation of sound public opinion.

How to ascertain Public Opinion.

One can ascertain public opinion by: (1) reading newspapers, (2) hearing public speeches, (3) scrutinising election results, (4) studying the programmes and plans of political parties, (5) conversing with friends, neighbours and other people about public affairs, (6) and by mixing with the people in general to hear their views and reactions to political events and problems. As Lord Bryce says, public opinion can be ascertained "by moving freely about among all sorts and conditions of men and noting how

Pressure Groups



Pressure groups have existed in all States and in all ages. But only in modern times they have become numerous and important in both democracies and dictatorships. In democracies, they work openly, while in dictatorships not so openly. "Groups are devices by which the individual fulfils personal value and felt needs." We shall first enumerate different types of pressure groups and then discuss their methods of working and exercising influence, and lastly their effects on the politics of their countries.

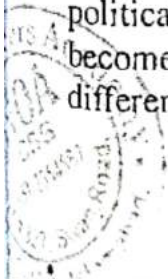
Pressure Group:

A pressure group may be defined as a group of individuals organised for promoting their special economic or some other interest by influencing the government or a public officer. The means used by pressure groups to apply pressure or influence on the government, legislators, administrators, political parties are agitation, persuasion, 'political sniping' public opinion-mongering or even bribery.

Pressure groups of various kinds. Most of them are organised for the protection or promotion of economic interests e.g. of trade unions or trade and industry chambers; some are for educational, social and religious purposes or reform. They are all interest groups. A few of them are set up for promoting some humanitarian or philanthropic purposes, e.g. the CND (the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament) or the Greenpeace. Some pressure groups may consist of one or two individual while others are of large in size and numbers.

Interest Group:

A pressure group may also be called an interest group. An interest may be defined as "any conscious desire to have government policy, or the authoritative allocation of values, move in a particular general or specific direction." We may, therefore, define an interest group as one which is organised to promote interest by concerning itself with government policy. Mere sharing of common interest by a group does not make it an interest group: it must try to turn government policy in its direction and share in the political process. When an interest group uses pressure of any kind, it becomes a pressure group. The two terms are, indeed, interchangeable. The difference between the interest and pressure groups is of degree, not of



kind: the former lays emphasis on an interest or cause, while the latter on pressure or influence.

Lobby:

A lobby is a pressure group which works in a legislature to influence the legislators to make laws in the interest of the group. Thus a lobby consisting of men who, knowing all about the inner workings of the legislature, use means, fair or foul, to induce the legislators to use public treasury in the interest of its members. In the U.S.A., every important sector of the national economy has its lobby in the Congress. Thus there are farmers' lobby, the labour lobby, the railroad lobby, school lobbies, etc., etc. There are even one-man lobbies for some humanitarian activity, such as a lobby- against sale of narcotics, etc. In fact, there are hundreds of lobbies in the U.S. Congress of various types.

Cause Group:

A cause group is a pressure or interest group which seeks to promote some cause not of direct benefit to its members but of general benefit for all, e.g. the CND or the Greenpeace or the American Civil Liberties Union.

A faction is a pressure group which works in a political party. They are all sons of pressure groups. They may be one-man group or they may consist of several or many members. They may be loosely organised or are well-knit organisations. They work for private or group, interests. "Pressure in itself, obviously, is neither good nor bad. One can influence the government to his own financial benefit; but one can also influence the government to relieve famine in India". These groups originate in the felt needs and or share sympathies of some individuals which are of such interest to them as to become organised to influence government or any public body. Examples of pressure groups are too many to be enumerated: Trade unions, chambers of commerce, manufacturers, and bankers associations, farm organisations, business and professional societies, religious reform and racial group organisations of women, of war veterans, of the aged, etc.

How do the pressure groups work?

The pressure groups put pressure at the following institutions in order to further their interests or causes: (a) the legislature, (b) political parties, (c) the executive or administrative organs of the government, (d) the public at election times, and (e) the public at other times. Methods used by pressure groups vary according to the institutional structure of the State (unitary or federal, etc.), the nature of the party system (centralised or decentralised) and the political culture.

Pressure groups may be exclusive or partial groups. A pressure group is exclusive if it is only concerned to act in the political field, to

intervene with public authorities, e.g. the lobbies. A pressure group is a partial group if political pressure is only a part of its activities, while it has also other objects and means of action, e.g. a trade union, which is mainly concerned with the welfare of its members, and only acts politically in times of strikes, or the like.

Organization and working of the Pressure Groups.

The organization of each pressure group varies according to its interest, purpose and sphere of operation. Some consist of few members, while others of many. Some are well organised, while others are loosely so. But every pressure group tries to be well organised so as to influence the government and the public. It operates both openly as well as secretly and clandestinely. It endeavours to include in its public list of supporters and subscribers the names of as many public figures and prominent people as possible, both as members and as officers. Many of them are paid handsomely for associating with the group. The real work of the group is, however, done by a small number of paid officials and research workers, propagandists or lobby men and paid agents. They bring pressure or influence on the law-makers and government officials and bodies. The pressure may take the form of a friendly talk, a reasoned discussion, or threats of party action or failure in re-election or rewards and bribery, such as securing employment in the business concern of the group. The group also conducts campaigns of propaganda or education in order to manufacture public opinion. For this purpose, it collects as much of knowledge and information as possible by social survey, research work, etc. Letters, telegrams, and such other methods are used to impress upon the government that the public opinion is eager for something, which is of course the particular interest which the group seeks to promote. The pressure groups use the newspapers, radio, and television. They present petitions and pass resolutions at mass meetings. They send letters and telegrams to public officials, visit their offices and use every known method to publicise their programmes. They provide them with sufficient funds. Thus many governmental policies and laws in America are adopted by the Federal and State and local governments under the influence and pressure of these interest and pressure groups.

Nature of Pressure Politics.

Pressure in politics means an influence directed towards the attainment of certain ends which are limited and specific is not public or general. Pressure politics, therefore, is a skilful method of influencing the government by organised groups for the attainment of their special and limited interests and programmes. Methods employed may be open or secret, through public action or friendly and private contacts by the lobbyists. The aims, objectives and programmes of a pressure group are, however, not adopted by the votes of its members or of the public, but are

decided upon by its officials and promoters. Everything is decided behind the screen, in great secrecy. Having adopted its programme, the group presents its proposals to the government in such a way as if they are for the good of all the people or the whole country. It always rationalizes its own interests to make them appear advantageous to the entire nation. It thus disguises its special interest under the garb of national interests. For example, in U.S.A., a protective tariff is pictured as a measure for developing infant industries and maintaining the American standard of life against the competition of the underpaid foreign labour. At the same time, it manufactures 'public opinion' and then insists that the officers of the government or law-makers must always obey the 'public opinion', which is, of course, largely created by the pressure group itself

Functions of the Pressure Groups:

Although political thinkers like Rousseau, Hegel, Green, and others are critical of the role of pressure groups in the State as divisive and particularistic, they perform important functions in the modern democracies.

Firstly, they provide information of a specialised and technical nature to the government, and administrators, which enable them to make laws and enforce them, or make policies and implement them. For this purpose, the representatives of the pressure groups appear before the legislative committees or administrators and their professional staff provide vital information to the legislature, or to the administrators.

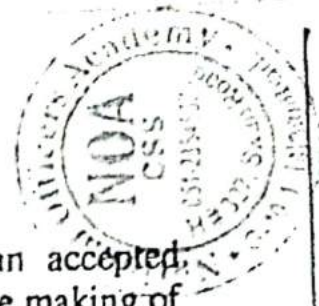
Secondly, they act as intermediaries between the people and the government. They transmit and communicate ideas from the people to the government. They enable the people to participate in the activities of the government. They enable the government to ascertain the reactions of the people to the government policies. In between two elections they act as watchdogs over public policy and administration, at the time when the people can exercise little or no influence on the government. In this respect, pressure groups are more effective than the political parties.

Thirdly, they act as a check on political extremism. One group may demand one type of policy from the government, while another may oppose it.

Fourthly, the minority parties and communities, and such other small groups can influence government through their pressure or interest groups.

Pressure groups and government:

In the modern advanced countries, the pressure groups play an important role in the working of the government. As a matter of fact, some of the government activities are delegated to them. We shall give here below two examples of doing so.



(i) **Consultation:** In many States, it is now an accepted principle that recognised interests should be consulted both in the making of the laws and implementation of the laws. For instance, in Great Britain, the Agricultural Acts of 1947 and 1957 have made consultation a statutory duty. The pressure groups also participate in economic planning and policy making. In Britain, the views of the Cotton Board, an interest group, have been accepted by the Government as being the views of the textile industry. The government thus avoids the awkward task of arbitrating between conflicting interests of the textile industry.

(ii) **Joint co-operation:** The pressure groups also co-operate with the government in implementing various policies. In Britain, for instance, the Trade Union Congress, a labour organisation, work together with the representatives of the management in the National Economic Development Council and on the Economic Development Committee established in various industries in 1964. There are also various joint advisory committees. In France also, the Commissariat du plan is staffed by experts, but representatives of the business firms and trade unions work with the government officials on various modernisation commissions.

Forms of Pressure:

It will be interesting to mention the various ways the pressure groups bring pressure on the government. Some of them are as under:

- (a) **Refusal of Co-operation with the government:** Business groups may refuse to co-operate or to continue rendering assistance and advice to a government department. This technique was applied by the iron and steel industry in Great Britain against the nationalisation policy of the British Labour Party just after the World War II.
- (b) **Strike:** Strikes are often resorted to by labour and professional associations consisting of members of the same trade, profession or enterprise for purposes of wage increase, etc.
- (c) **Electioneering:** Pressure groups participate in elections by supporting candidates favourable to their interests.
- (d) **National publicity campaigns:** Pressure groups often undertake nation-wide publicity campaigns in order to cultivate a favourable climate of opinion among the people for their aims and thereby bring pressure on the government. These campaigns may be organised by public relations firms, which specialise in public relationing. Moreover, public meetings are held to oppose a governmental policy.
- (e) **Formation of a political party:** In multiple party countries, the pressure groups may form political parties of their own in order to put pressure on the government. This technique cannot be easily employed in the countries which have only two-party system.





Effectiveness of the pressure groups:

The success or failure of the pressure groups in influencing the legislative and other policies and activities of the government depend upon the following factors:

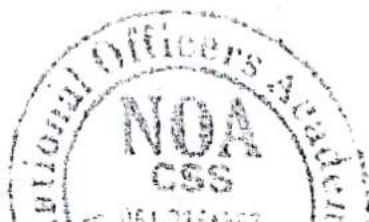
(i) **Size:** First of all, large pressure groups are usually more successful in their purposes, for they possess greater financial resources. But too large groups fail in their programmes, for they may lack cohesiveness and be unable to utilise their potential of larger resources.

(ii) **Unity:** Another guarantee of success is the unity among the members of a pressure group: The greater the unity, the more a pressure group will be successful in its programmes. It means that its members should devote themselves loyally and wholeheartedly to its programmes. But as they are members of other groups also, they may not have time and energy to do so. This is particularly the case with very large groups: hence their large size becomes a source of weakness.

(iii) **Leadership:** Leadership is an essential factor in the success or failure of a pressure group. It provides energy and enterprise which will make the group successful or destroy it.

(iv) **Strength of the party system:** The success of the pressure groups very much depends upon the weakness of the party system. In Great Britain, where the two parties are highly well-knit and powerful, the pressure groups are not as effective as in the United States, where the parties are not so strongly organised. Moreover, in the multiple party system, as in France, these groups are also very influential.

(v) **Importance to the economy:** The effectiveness of the pressure groups depends on the extent to which they can convince the people that they can play important role in the national economy. Pressure groups are either ineffective or non-existent in the developing countries, because they cannot contribute much to national economy.



Chapter 36

Propaganda



Nothing will enable a citizen to understand politics, influence policies and participate in the formulation and expression of public opinion more than a proper understanding of the meanings and significance of propaganda in the modern State. A distinguishing feature of the modern State is the use, misuse and even abuse of propaganda. Propaganda is a technique of influencing public opinion. Public opinion influences the policy of the modern State, while propaganda influences the public opinion.

History of Propaganda:

Propaganda has always existed in human history. In the ages, it was conducted on person-to-person basis, by means of face-to-face talks or conversations and speeches. In modern times, however, it is conducted through the devices of high technology and the media of mass communications, such as press, radio, cinema, television and now even by the earth-girdling satellites. It is, indeed, stock-in-trade of the political parties, pressure groups and other opinion-makers and leaders as well as of the commercial publicity-men and advertisers.

The term "propaganda" was first used by the Roman Catholic Church in its war of words against the revolting Protestants. It established an organisation, called Congregatio de Propaganda Fide (Congregation for Propaganda of the Faith), which was a committee of the cardinals to carry on Christian missionary work. The term acquired a derogatory sense when the British, French and American Allies in their war against Imperial Germany during the First World War, used propaganda among German troops so skilfully as to bring about the defeat of Germany. The Germans during the inter-war years, led by the Nazi Party, asserted that Germany was not defeated on the fields of battle but by the "swindle" of the Allies propaganda. To counter such attempts, Nazi Germany set up a ministry of propaganda which was controlled by the notorious Nazi propagandist, Dr. Goebbels, the Propaganda Minister of the Nazi dictator, Hitler, who perfected a propaganda device, which he called 'big lie'. He claimed that the bigger the lie, the more readily the people believed it to be true.

Before modern political propaganda began, commercial propaganda in the form of publicity and advertisement had come into use after the industrial Revolution of the early nineteenth century. Modern large-scale industry produce such an abundant quantities of goods that they

can be sold only by means of large scale commercial publicity and advertisement, on which billions of dollars are spent every year in the industrialised countries of the world, e.g. USA, Japan and Western Europe. But here we are concerned only with the political propaganda, carried on by governments, political parties, leaders and others. The immense influence of propaganda was realised, for instance, by the Soviet leaders. They use it in two senses as "propaganda" and "agitator". By propaganda they mean the "reasoned use of historical and scientific arguments to indoctrinate the educated and the intelligent", while "agitation" means the use of emotional slogans, parables and half truths to influence the uneducated and the unreasonable. Accordingly, a standard Soviet manual is issued for teachers of sciences, entitled "For the Propagandist of Political Economy"-and a pocket-sized booklet called Bloknot Agitora (The Agitator's Notebook) is issued weekly to be used in speeches and conversation among the masses.

In present times, the technological revolution and the information explosion have made propaganda the most powerful political weapon of almost all the States and government, political parties, pressure groups, commercial enterprises and corporations, used both internally within the country and externally against other countries, governments, parties and groups. For this reason a ministry or department is established in many countries which is variously called ministry of propaganda, information, public relations or of public enlightenment.

Definition:

Propaganda may be defined as a deliberate attempt to influence or manipulate other people's beliefs, attitudes or actions by means of words, gestures, flags, images, music, monuments, and such other signs and symbols. It is also understood in a negative sense. It refers to the management of mass communications, the manipulation of facts, the one-sided presentation or communication of information and the use of non-rational appeals. The propagandist has a specified goal or set of goals. To achieve these he deliberately presents a selection of facts, arguments, and explanation in such ways which he thinks will have the most effects. To maximise effects, he may omit relevant facts and withhold necessary information and thus mislead the people whose attention he wants to divert from everything but towards his own propaganda. Whether taken to be good or bad, propaganda appeals to emotions rather than to reason. It distorts facts in order to deceive people. It always aims at inciting the people who are the target of the propaganda are technically called audiences.

In modern times propaganda has become the chief factor in the process of manufacturing public opinion. It is defined as "the spreading of ideas which we want people to believe, whether such ideas are true or not." It is an effort to make a 'public opinion' favourable to a particular party or interest. It is an instrument of social control by forming opinion or ideas. It



is the utilisation of words, objects or persons in an attempt to influence or control the opinion and actions of the individuals and groups. Propaganda is the psychological weapon in the hands of the political power (and if it is commercial publicity the commercial interest or organisation).

Propaganda and Education.

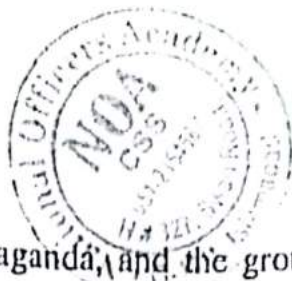
Propaganda and education should be clearly distinguished, for they are likely to be confused. The aim of the educator is to convey facts and opinions of all sides in order to enlighten the learners. He seeks to enable them to think and perceive critically and then to make up their own minds on the particular issue. He presents all sides on an issue and leaves the learners to arrive freely at their own conclusions and opinions. The propagandist, on the contrary, conveys facts and opinions in such a way as to help the audience make up its mind. His aim is to teach the audience not how to think but what to think. Nevertheless, as both propaganda and education are forms of communication, it may not be easy to distinguish what is controversial and what is self-evident and true. Indeed, it is sometimes said that one man's "propaganda" may be another man's "education", and vice versa. For instance, Pakistani people regard "Muslim Period" of Indian History as a fact, but the Bharati people are taught to regard it as controversial; and they have distorted it altogether. In other words, what is history to the Bharatis appears as propaganda to the Pakistanis, and what is history to the Pakistanis appears as propaganda to the Bharatis. Even a scientific theory can be regarded as propaganda by some people. For example, Einstein's theory of relativity, the basis of modern physics and space research, was declared by the Nazi Germans as Jewish propaganda.

The Process, Methods and Techniques of Propaganda Forms of Propaganda.

A person who change its opinion according to situation.

Propaganda is chameleon-like in its forms and shapes. It is carried on in innumerable ways, such as spoken words, printed words, slogans, symbols, personal contact, mass action, etc. Its means are also as numerous as its forms. They are: person-to-person conversation, meetings, parties, press, platform, radio, cinema, television, educational institutions, and the like.

In its simplest form, the propaganda process consists of three factors: the propagandist and his message, the strategy and techniques used, and the audience or the people or the groups of people who are exposed to the propaganda. The propagandist may be an individual or a group of individuals, an agency or institution with a message, interested in influencing the opinions, attitudes and behaviour of the people exposed to the propaganda. The strategy and techniques are the methods and means to achieve the aims and goals of propaganda. The people or groups exposed to propaganda may be the people in general or the electorate in the country in



the case of internal propaganda, and the groups and peoples who are the targets of a foreign propaganda. In this chapter, we shall be mainly, though not exclusively, concerned with the internal forms and process of propaganda.

How is propaganda undertaken?

A successful propaganda campaign, like a military campaign, has its strategy or goals and its tactics and techniques.

Strategy:

Strategy is concerned with the overall campaign and its objectives or goals. In politics, it means two things. Firstly, it refers to the aims and policies of a political party, which are generally embodied in the party manifesto or party platform. Secondly, it refers to particular groups of people in the society to which the party appeals to gain support or the people in a foreign country to which the propagandist targets his propaganda. In the internal propaganda, the target group are the uncommitted voters, called "floating voters", whose votes would decide the election in the favour of the party which wins their votes by its propaganda campaign. In the external propaganda the aim is to so influence the other people as to incite them against their own government or leaders.

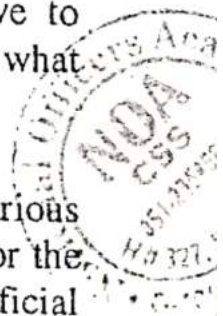
Tactics:

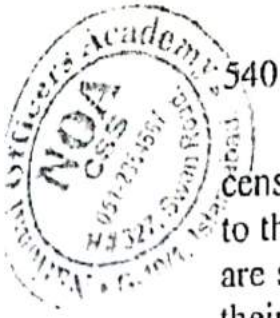
Tactics consist of the various methods and procedures which the party or the propagandist uses to accomplish the aims of the propaganda. It is the art of utilising all available forces to the best maximum advantage within the limits set by strategy. For this reason the political campaigner, or the propaganda, has to so devise his propaganda techniques as to win support for his party or to influence the target-people according to his purpose. As a tactician he has to decide which of a number of courses will best help him succeed in his task. In more concrete terms, it means that he has to decide beforehand upon the timing of the campaign, the extent of polemics in the campaign, the choice of the medium of communication and the method of presenting information.

The political campaigner and the foreign propagandist have to decide in advance which forms of propaganda they would employ and what techniques they would adopt in their propaganda campaign.

Its Techniques.

Like its forms and means, propaganda is conducted by various methods and techniques. The most common of them are: (i) publicity or the publication of a point of view by an official body or person, or by official Statements, (ii) Censorship. It is the opposite of publicity, because it seeks to withhold news or information from the public. If publicity is an act of communication, censorship is that of omission. But one supplements the other. It is, indeed, impossible to make propaganda successful without





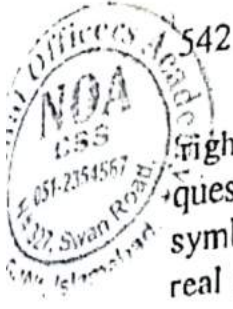
ensorship. In every propaganda campaign, therefore, not only much is told to the people but much is also not communicated or revealed to them. They are shown only one side of the picture—the bright side, if the aim is to elicit their support for a cause or interest, or the dark side, if the aim is to make them dislike and oppose something. Propaganda is always one-sided presentation of facts, news or information, (iii) Indoctrination. It means to present facts or impart knowledge about something, whether policy, or philosophy or belief, in a persistent and systematic manner before such persons who are incapable of critical resistance due to immature age, inexperience or lack of education. Indoctrination is most successful in the case of children and youth, for they are incapable of critical resistance or rejection due to their mental immaturity and inexperience. But they are at the same time very receptive of it because of their impressionable age, their credulity, imitation and suggestibility. Much can be poured into an empty head as it is an empty pot. (iv) Education is also a method of propaganda. Only it is more rational, unbiased, and less one-sided.

Principles of propaganda.

The techniques and methods of propaganda are based on these principles: viz., simplicity, repetition and credibility. Firstly, all propaganda must be simple, for the level of understanding of the people is very low and their time and interest in the subject-matter may be very limited. Secondly, it must be repeated over and over again. Effective propaganda must be limited to a very few points which should be repeated again and again in various forms and means, such as those of the printed and spoken words, symbols and slogans, the public meetings and private conversations, the radio and the cinema or the television and the press. 'Knowledge is the fruit of repetition', said an Arab thinker in the middle Ages. It is still more true of propaganda. Public mind is proverbially short, but by constantly harping on an issue the people can be made to feel intensely and act as required. Lastly, propaganda must rely upon the credulity of human mind. All individuals are impressionable, imitative, suggestible and credulous. Every individual is not only born as a child but remains childlike throughout his or her life. Propaganda relies for its success on men's ignorance of the future, inability to grasp the present or to remember what happened in the past. A man readily and easily understands a thing if it is told or shown in a dramatic and impressive manner and on a magnified scale. That is why atrocity stories have great influence and effect on the masses of the people. "The bigger, the better" is an essential principle of propaganda, for anything told in exaggerated terms is easily believed by the people. An advertisement in big and bold letters or an atrocity story told in blood-curdling words and horrifying adjectives is very effective.

Propaganda device.

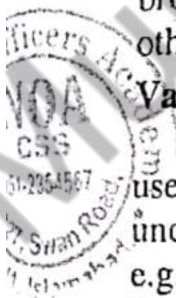
Many devices used by the propagandist are based on the principles mentioned above. We enumerate here the most important of them: (i) The name-calling device. The propagandist first arouses the hatred and fears of the people by describing the supposed or real evils and unfavourable qualities in those groups, States, races, individuals or issues which he wants to condemn and thus appeals to the people's fears, hatreds and prejudices by this name-calling or mud-slinging method, (ii) The glittering generalities. On the other hand, the propagandist aims at winning love, respect and loyalty to his own cause, State, group or race by describing us qualities and advantages in such glittering and glowing words and adjectives as to arouse the people's emotions of love, generosity and brotherhood. For instance, he will often use such words and terms for his own party, cause or virtues, Christian civilisation or the superiority of the white race, "white man's burden" or civilising mission, (iii) The card-stacking device. The propagandist knows that some persons are critical of what he says in praise of his party or State and in condemnation of his opponents or their cause. He seeks to confuse such critical people by the device of stacking such facts as would evade the issue, while he would resort to falsehood, censorship, omitting and distorting facts, raising side-issues or new issues, and by under-emphasis or over-emphasis. Thus he confuses those who try to find out facts and know the real situation, (iv) The bandwagon device. Here the propagandist tries to tell the people that "everybody is doing it" and thus suggests to every individual that he should also do what others are doing. Imitative instincts of man are usually strong enough to make him conform to the common practice and example of other, (v) The plain-folk device. Here the propagandist endeavours to impress upon the people that those whom he is publicizing or praising are not uncommon or strange person but are just as plain as the common run of humanity. Thus he seeks to create confidence and we-feeling for the "great man" in the hearts of the common people (vi) The transfer device. Here the propagandist wins the confidence of the people by referring to some prominent, popular or respected person, fashion or movement. He endeavours to transfer the prestige or sanction of the person or thing to in his own programme or party or issue For instance, if he wants to sell a kind of soap, he will say that such and such film-star also uses it; if he wants the people to accept the policy of a political leader, he will say that it was also the policy of a political leader, he will say that it was also the policy of the founder of the State who, of course, is much honoured by the people, (vii) The testimonial device is frequently used by the commercial propagandists who quote a widely-known person as saying that he uses a specific product, e.g., cigarettes or cosmetics. For example, film-stars are usually shown using a particular brand of soap or shoes etc. (viii) Righteousness. The trick of showing things in such a way that all



'right-thinking' people should support their cause without further questioning (ix) Transfer. The trick of identifying causes with respectable symbols or institutions (culture, communal harmony and peace) to mask his real motives of war. (x) Selection. The trick of using selected facts which though true may together create a totally false impression, (xi) The big lie. To resort to mass propaganda with the belief that the receptiveness of the masses is limited and their understanding negligible, so that they readily fall a victim to the big lie.

Types of agents:

In certain conditions the propagandist cannot operate himself and has to rely on agents. For the success of his propaganda, he has to employ innocent-looking agents or "front" organisations, while he himself remains behind the scene of his operations. For this purpose, he should choose such agents who are acceptable or credible to the audience than he would be. The use of agents is very effective in such areas where the propagandist is not familiar with the language and customs of the target people or where cultural, religious and other attitudes would deny him a favourable hearing. For instance, the Hindu teachers, merchants and others became the agents of Indian propaganda in eastern wing of Pakistan at the behest of India in 1971. The same role was played by the Hindu Tamils in Sri Lanka, and thus they enabled India to enslave that island State. The same role is played by "front men" and "contact agents" or by "hidden persuaders" in modern propaganda. It is important for the propagandists to remain behind the scenes of their operations and to select intermediaries, front men, Trojan horses, and "dummy leaders", whom the target groups or people are more likely to listen or appreciate. Similarly, paying a native news commentator or lecturer in a foreign radio or television station or furnishing propaganda music to the foreign radio or television station may be more effective than one's own broadcasts or telecasts. In this respect, the propaganda by a broadcasting station, like the BBC, is very effective, because the listeners in other countries usually believe that it is "truthful".



Various propaganda devices:

The use of familiar symbols and signs by the propagandist is very useful, especially those associated with parents, or parent substitutes such as uncles, aunts, schoolteachers, priests, political heroes, gods and goddesses, e.g. "the fatherland", "the mother country", "the Mother Church", "Bharat Mata" (Mother India), "Uncle Sam" for the Americans, etc. In India, an actor, who used to play the roles of Hindu gods in the films, became so popular with the people that he was elected as the chief minister of a province in India. The leader and founder of Communist Vietnam was "Uncle Ho Chi Minh" to his people. Modern propagandists use various devices for their propaganda purposes, such as the use of music broadcasts, audio and video cassettes, films books, posters, handbills, etc. In



Khomeini's revolution against the government of Raza Shah in 1979, the use of the cassettes, with the speeches of Khomeini and other revolutionary leaders recorded in them, played an important role. Indeed, the list of such devices is so long that it would fill many pages. They include newspapers, magazines, radio and television films, posters, speechmaking, whispering and rumour-mongering campaigns, flags, street names, monuments, commemorative coins and postage stamps, various kinds of scholarships, awards and prizes given by foreign countries, such as Fulbright or Soviet Friendship scholarship, various "peace" awards, and prizes, the composition of novels, plays, comic strips, poetry and music as well as such propaganda agencies as political parties, pressure groups, public relations firms, churches, temples, mosques, various propaganda organisations operating overtly or covertly, etc., etc. In this respect, the "reference groups" with which the individuals are familiar, or the "social relay points" which convey or amplify a propaganda message are highly useful.

Effects and importance of propaganda.

Whether one likes it or not, propaganda has become a great force in the modern world. Good or bad, every modern State, whether a dictatorship or a democracy, is actively carrying on propaganda campaigns both within its territories and outside against other States, especially against those which it regards as its present or prospective enemies. Propaganda has indeed, become a very powerful political weapon. It has great effect on public mind. It works slowly, but if persisted in and repeated enough, it invariably succeeds in attaining the objects that it sets to itself, the causes of its success are several. Firstly, every individual is intellectually deficient in one way or another: he cannot think rationally about all things. The propagandist offers him ready-made answers or solutions to many about which he knows nothing or understands little: either he has no knowledge and experience or interest in it or it is very complicated. Secondly, every person has bodily limitations that he cannot be everywhere and thus have first-hand information about every event or fact. He has, therefore, necessarily to depend upon others to supply information about it. But others may not be interested in providing him with true facts of the case due to their own party, class or political interests and considerations. Yet, in spite of him mental, intellectual or physical limitations, every individual is eager to know something about everything, especially about an event or occurrence. The propagandist has, in such circumstances, a great scope for plying his trade. So great is the effect and influence of propaganda that it has now become a great force in maintaining the unity, strength and stability of the modern State. Hence propaganda ministries and publicity or public relations departments have become essential parts of the present-day governmental structure. It must, however, be said that propaganda is not necessarily or always an evil. We may use it to disperse many false notions.

It is a very good method of educating the 'people. In any case, the fact is that it is ultimately the good and the truthful that ultimately wins. You can befool all the people' for some time, or befool some people all the time, but you cannot befool all the people all the time. In the long run, victory lies with truth, i.e., truthful propaganda only.

Causes of the success of propaganda:

The factors, which lead to the success of propaganda, are as follows:

1. **Crisis and war situation:** In times of crisis or war people are so much perturbed that they become victims to propaganda easily. Rumours become very effective in such situations. During such emergencies propagandists preaching extreme political opinions tend to command more public support than under more settled conditions. In a peaceful society where the people are economically satisfied, views cannot be so quickly changed by propaganda appeals.

2. **Winning side:** If a party has known large majority in an area, its appeals at the election time may be more effective than those of other parties. The same is true of an army reputed to be victorious. Nothing succeeds like success. It is true in war as also in election campaigns.

3. **Existence of censorship:** An autocratic government or dictatorship imposes various kinds of restrictions on freedom of expression of opinion by such methods as censorship on the newspapers, press and publication. It thus enjoys monopoly of propaganda. The same is true of a strong political party. Then the campaigns of such a party are likely to be more effective than if its messages were liable to be challenged by rival parties.

4. **Marginal issues:** The issues, which are of marginal than of critical importance to the people, are readily successful, for they will have little or no effect on the opinions of the people one way or the other. Similarly, if the views or programmes of rival leaders or parties are more or less similar, effective propaganda by one leader or party will tip the scales against the other.

5. **High degree of accuracy:** When messages have a high degree of accuracy, they will be more acceptable to the people than those which are based on a complete falsification of the existing State of affairs.

6. **The appeal of specific groups:** Some sections of the people are highly suggestible to high or extreme political views than other sections, because of their age, sex, social status, class, religion or race. These include the young, the poor, the minority groups and those of low status.

Measurement of propaganda effects:

Modern world is seething with rival propaganda and counterpropaganda campaigns. It is, therefore, sometimes difficult to find



out what is true and what is not. Nevertheless, various methods can be applied to find out the effects of a particular propaganda campaign. They are briefly as under:

1. **Content analysis:** Content analysis means to study the contents of a propaganda campaign. For instance, the number of column inches of printed space or seconds and minutes of radio or television time that propaganda occupied can be tabulated, thus the trend or purpose of propaganda assessed. The symbol and themes it contained can be categorised in terms of expressed or implied demands for action of various types. *consist of column*
2. **Intensive interviews:** Selected individuals among the audience or the target people can be intensively interviewed by specially trained interviewers. If this is not possible, as it is often the case with people under a dictator or an autocratic ruler, informed persons can be interviewed who have either personal experience of such governments or have special interest in them, such as refugees, expellees, exiles, or scholars who have specially studied conditions in such a State. *give someone to leave a space*
3. **Extensive observations:** A propaganda campaign can be extensively observed by specially trained people. Such persons are called participant observers, that is, those who directly participate in the activities of party or movement and thereby can personally observe the effects of its propaganda. Moreover, audience's size and composition of audiences on such campaigns can be indirectly observed. Where printed or telecommunication, media are used, their readership or listenership figures can also be obtained. If public meeting or demonstrations are involved, there may be observers' reports, such as those of the newspaper reporters, etc.
4. **Experiments and panel interviews:** Lastly, experiments on the reputed behaviour of the audiences can be conducted by comparing with similar or matched groups, which may be exposed to the same kind of propaganda and their reactions noted. However, such experiments may suffer from some drawbacks. The matched group may not be representative of the audiences. Moreover, exact conditions confronting the audience may not be reproducible. But if these drawbacks are kept in mind, experiments can give some accurate results. Anyway, these defects can be overcome by panel interviews. The panel interviews are conducted with small matched groups who are closely and intensively or repeatedly interviewed. Even then it should be remembered that the effects of a propaganda campaign cannot be accurately measured but only estimated. But even fairly accurate estimation can go far in understanding the effects of a propaganda campaign.



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Chapter 37

Political Parties and Leaders

Modern government is a representative government. It is, therefore, a party-based system of government. The number of parties in a State may be one, two or many. We shall now consider what a political party is, what are the historical origins of political parties, what are their features, factors, and their functions and the three types of political party systems.

Definition:

Wherever a group of persons seeks to acquire political power by collective action, there a political party comes into being. But something more is also needed. There should also be a political structure of the State which provides opportunities to various groups to pursue interests and advantage by capturing political power. We may define a political party as a group of persons, more or less organised, who hold the same or nearly the same opinion on issues confronting the State and who seek to obtain control of government by winning elections in order to realise their aims and interests. Briefly, a party is primarily an electoral machine for gaining power with or without a philosophy or ideology of its own.

Maclver defines a political party as "an association organised in support of some principle of policy which by constitutional means it endeavours to make the determinant of government." Lord Bryce defines political parties "as organised bodies with voluntary membership, their concerted energy being employed in the pursuit of political power." Max Weber defines the political party as "a voluntary organisation of propaganda and agitation, seeking to acquire power in order to procure chances for its active militant adherents to realise objective aims, or personal advantages, or both."

A political party is made of five elements: members, principles, programme, leadership and governmental power. But in the actual evolution of a party all these elements may not be present.

Historical evolution of parties:

For ages past, there were no political parties at all, for the monarchies and autocracies of the past did not provide opportunities for their growth. Yet there were cliques and factions which tried to influence the king or ruler so as to win favours for themselves or for their groups or classes. Political parties first came into being in England, when parliaments

began to challenge the autocratic powers of their kings. There were then two parties, one in favour of the royal powers, which was called the Tory party: now called Conservative party, and the other which favoured parliamentary powers, called the Whig party, later called the Liberal party. In Great Britain, the party system has always remained two party system. But the evolution of the parties in other countries has been different, for it depends on their historical conditions, culture and political and constitutional structure. The first type of parties was of the brokerage type in the nineteenth century. They aimed at protecting the class interests of the landowning or industrial classes. The next stage in the evolution of parties was that of the cadre parties. A cadre party consisted of a small number of members who seek to protect national interests by capturing governmental powers. The last stage, which began during the twentieth century, was that of mass parties. A mass party is open to public membership regardless of class differences. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, political parties came into being only in Europe and North America. But since the beginning of the twentieth century, political parties of various types have also come into existence in Asia and Africa, especially in those countries where democratic and electoral systems were introduced, or where struggles for national independence against the imperialist powers began. Although there are mass parties in some Asian and African countries, but they are not truly so, for they are dominated by tribal chiefs, as in Africa, or by caste groups, as for instance in India. In Pakistan, the Muslim League was a mass party under Quaid-e-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan's leadership. Afterwards it degenerated into various factions. Later, the Pakistan People's Party became a mass party. There are, however, several parties in Pakistan, but none of them has become a mass party. The Jammat-e-Islami is a cadre party, with membership restricted to chosen few, while other parties are only factions or coteries of leaders and a handful of their supporters and activists. Many of them are of local, provincial or regional membership and interests, such as the POP, ANP, PNP, etc., etc. If general elections are held regularly, most of them will cease to exist. In short, the existence of political parties and of party systems depend upon the political structure, culture and constitutional system, which may or may not ensure opportunities to the people to organise political parties and to capture governmental power by means of elections for national or limited interests.

Characteristics of the political party:

From the definitions given above, and the conditions under which parties grow up, we can derive such essential features which every political party possesses. They are as under:

1. **Agreement on fundamental views and ideas.** A political party is a voluntary association of like-minded people. Men differ in their opinions. This is partly due to the differences of personal experience,

emotions, temperament, character and knowledge and partly due to the love of combat and the desire for victory. Family traditions and social status of an individual very much affect his thoughts and opinions. "Every boy or girl", said a political writer, "that is born into this world alive, is either a little Liberal or a little Conservative or else a little Socialist." Parties exist because men disagree. Laski says: "Parties are born of the natural contrast between those who cling to the old and those who embrace the new. Temperamental differences or imitative tendencies of men might give rise to parties" Men are also gregarious by nature, — birds of the same feather flock together. If they are to live in a political society, they adjust their differences with each other and agree on certain opinions. When like-minded persons agree on certain fundamental aims and ideals regarding political, economic and other matters, they associate or come together and thus form a party. Without this agreement on fundamental aims, purposes and principles, no political part is possible.

2. **Organisation and leadership.** Persons holding similar opinions and principles must be organised into a political unit, if they are to achieve their aims and ideals. In politics, no tangible achievement is possible without a proper organisation. Due to this reason, Dr. Leacock said that a political party is like a joint stock company. Organisation gives coherence, unity and strength to the party. "In union there is strength." It alone makes concerted action and achievement possible. This fact distinguishes a political party from a crowd or a mob. A political party is like a team on a large scale. It has a team spirit of cooperation and organisation. Men learn that they must line up with others in order to be effective in action. But parties differ in their organisation. Some are rigidly organised, while others are not so. In present times, however, the general tendency is towards rigid organisation, discipline and control. The organisation and discipline of a modern party make it a vast and complex apparatus. "Parties possess", writes Finer, "buildings and newspapers, printing presses and advertising-experts, and slogans, heroes and martyrs, money and speakers, officials and prophets, feast days and fast days; like all religions, they disrupt families and produce heretics, and among their agencies of discipline and subordination are the novitiate and penance." In short, a political party is like an army, a fighting organisation out to conquer and capture political power. "Victory," says Dr. Finer "is the first law of politics". Hence the need for organisation and leadership without which success in political struggle is not possible.

3. **Constitutional Methods:** Political party is said to be a building block of democracy. Although a fighting organisation, a political party, however, does not fight like an army with bombs and bullets. On the other hand, it fights in a peaceful manner and with constitutional methods. Ballots have taken the place of bullets in modern politics and heads are



counted and not broken. Compromise rather than unconditional surrender is the method of political decision. Public speeches, meetings and demonstrations, persuasion and propaganda and other means of influencing public opinion are employed by political parties to win votes in order to come to power. They appeal to the voters to vote one or the other of the parties into power. The principle of majority decides as to which of them will form the government. The ballot-box decides the fate of a political party and its claim to form the government. Revolutionary or violent methods are used by some parties. But such a situation arises only when a people are denied opportunities for self-government and the State system allows its party system to be misused or corrupted.

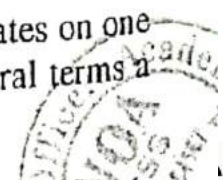
4. *Promotion of national interests:* A political party must aim at the promotion of national, not at sectarian, communal or class interests. This is its essential feature and its basic test. Burke has rightly defined a political party as "a body of men united for the purpose of promoting by their joint endeavours the national interests upon some particular principle on which they are all agreed." This is the essential feature distinguishing a political party from a faction, a coterie, a clique or a pressure group. While the party aims at the common good of the whole nation, these groups aim at the special interests or selfish ends of a group or a class or a section of the nation. As Dr. Herman Finer says, "Hardly a party anywhere exists only for a single narrow purpose. Parties are varieties of multi-purpose associations, rising to some that have as their concern the totality of human existence." This ideal or common good is the real unifying force of a political party. "The special cohesive element", adds Dr. Finer, "of a political party which differentiates it from other groups and causes political parties to differ among themselves, is their dogma of the Good State, and their struggle for the power to realise its implications concretely in the institutions and behaviour of all." It is for this or ideal of common good that there exists, in a democracy, the whole paraphernalia of party organisation and apparatus, party discipline and control, and the struggle for political power. Yet some parties fall far below this supreme ideal.

Party distinguish from faction.

A faction is a loose united group of men who unite to achieve private or sectional interests as opposed to national interests. It may be a fraction of a party or a splinter group. A coterie or a clique is a still smaller group of persons, united together for their selfish end or private gain.


Political Party and Pressure Group Distinguished:

Pressure groups stand for the interest or well-being of a special group or class, while the parties stand for the general welfare or common good of the whole nation. Secondly, the pressure group concentrates on one or on a small group of issues, while the party advocates in general terms a



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large number of policies. Thirdly, the pressure group is interested in policies, the party in candidates. Fourthly, the party organises public opinion; it is a conglomerate of opinion, while the pressure group endeavours to make or manufacture a 'public opinion'. In this respect the pressure groups are serious rivals of political parties. Fifthly, the basic distinction between the two is that the political parties aim at the control of the government in order to achieve their programme and ideals, but the pressure groups do not seek to obtain control of the government. Unlike the parties, they are not willing to assume the responsibility for solving the problems of government. Pressure groups often operate within the framework of political parties. Sometimes a party may become so small and limited that it may be no more important than a faction or a pressure group. Finally, political parties are public organisations, operating among and before the people, but pressure groups often work behind the scenes and try to avoid public scrutiny. Secrecy is essential to pressure groups but not to the political parties. This fact makes the parties responsible to public opinion, but the pressure groups can operate irresponsibly.

Kinds of Political Parties.

In general, there may be at least four types or kinds of political parties, for there can be at most four kinds of opinions, viz., the reactionary, the conservative, the moderate or liberal and the radical or revolutionary.

(1) The Reactionary party consists of such people who wish to revert to the old order, whether it actually existed in the past or is only imaginary. Jan Sangh and Hindu mahasabha in India, the Nazi Party in Germany, or the Fascist parties in Italy and Japan before the World War II are the examples of reactionary parties.

(2) Conservative Party is like the reactionary one, but with one difference. While the reactionary party seeks to revert to an old order, the conservative party seeks to preserve the old order unchanged. The reactionary party seeks to revive old order which is long dead and gone, but the conservative party seeks to preserve the *status quo*. Reactionary parties usually exist in countries whose achievements and glories lie in the past, which they try to revive once again, while conservative parties usually exist in countries which are still great and prosperous and do not want further change in society or politics lest they lose their prosperity and greatness. The examples of conservative parties are innumerable, such as the British Conservative Party, both the Republican and Democratic parties in U.S.A., the Congress Party of India, etc.

(3) Liberal or Moderate or Progressive parties are those which advocate social change, progress and freedom.

(4) Radical or Revolutionary parties stand for radical changes and outright progress in social and political life and organisation. In present times, the number of such parties is fairly large, such as the socialist, communist and other extremist parties. It must, however, be noted that in practice it is not a clear-cut distinction between some parties. They

sometimes shade into each other. A conservative party may not be much different from a reactionary, while a liberal party may be really conservative: and a radical party may be so only in name, as for example. The Radical Socialist Party in France is neither radical nor socialist but is really a moderate party of the Centre.

Since the great French Revolution (1789-99). It is also customary to describe political parties as the parties of the Right, the Centre of the Left. The reason was that the conservative and radical parties were accidentally so seated on the right and the left in the French National Assembly in 1789 during the great French Revolution. Those parties which are reactionary or conservative are now said to be the parties of the Right; while the radical or revolutionary parties are called the parties of the Left; and those which stand between these two extremes are called the parties of the Centre. Parties of the Left are sometimes called the Extremists for they advocate an extreme or revolutionary transformation of society and State, such as the revolutionary, socialist, or the communist party. Usually every political party includes several points of views; for unanimity or homogeneity of opinion never exists in a party. In such a case it may consist of two wings, the left and the right wing. For instance, the British Labour Party has two wings; its left wing is more socialistic than its right wing.

Basis of Political Parties.

Parties are formed for different purposes in different countries and ages. They may be formed on the basis of religion, economics, form of government, nationality, class interests or other general questions of vital interest to the State or people. Religious basis creates communal or religious parties which are usually reactionary, conservative and revivalist or fundamentalist. They are for example, the Hindu Mahasbha, the Akali Dul Party, etc., in India, the Jamaat-e-Islami, the Ahrar, and the JUI or JUP in Pakistan or the various Catholic and other Christian parties in several European countries. But religious basis is not a sound principle for political parties. It arouses hatred, divides the nation, obscures political issues and prevents a rational solution of political, social and economic problems of a nation. It is opposed to progress and development of human life and society. Racial and national differences also create various parties, especially where racial and national minority groups exist. In the 19th century, parties existed to advocate different forms of government, such as the monarchist and the republican parties, one favouring a monarchical and the other a republican form of government. Class parties also sometimes exist, such as the party of the landlords or of the industrialists or of the workers. In present times, however, parties are usually organised on the basis of political and economic programmes and policies.

Three Theories of the Origin of Parties.

Political writers do not agree among themselves regarding the causes and forces which create political parties. Broadly speaking, three theories are offered to explain their origin. They are the theory of human nature, the theory of ideological motivation and the theory of economic or class conflicts.

(i) *The Theory of Human Nature.* According to this theory, parties arise because human nature is fundamentally split into two tendencies, conservatism and progressivism. Some people are instinctively conservative and want to leave things as they are. They dislike change and oppose progress. On the other hand, some persons are instinctively progressive and want to make changes, as they are dissatisfied with the status quo or the existing order of things. "These two tendencies of human nature produce two kinds of parties, the parties of the Right and those of the Left, the conservative and radical or progressive parties. This is psychological explanation of the rise of different political parties.

According to Lord Bryce, four factors maintain political parties. "Whatever its origin," he writes, 'every party lives and thrives by the concurrent action of four tendencies or forces, which may be described as those of Sympathy. Imitation, Competition and Pugnacity. Even if intellectual conviction had much to do with its creation, emotion has more to do with its vitality and combative power.' These forces of human nature preserve the unity and continuity of a party.

As regards the changes in political parties, it is said human habits and temperament change with age and circumstance. Young people are always radical, emotional and idealistic. They love change and dislike the old order. But grown-up people with advancing years become conservative and dislike change. They look back to the old order with which they are habituated and are critical of progress and change, innovations and reforms. Thus most individuals begin as radicals and revolutionaries in their youthful days but become conservative as they become old and settled in life with an established social status, wealth and property. Thus age and circumstance change political views and party affiliations of the individuals.

(ii) *Theory of Ideological Motivation.* This theory briefly means that ideas move men that political parties arise and become organised because men differ in their beliefs, ideas, convictions and outlook on life or in their philosophy of life. In the past, religious beliefs and dogmas divided people into different parties, whereas in present days, political philosophies or 'isms' and social ideologies divide them. In backward and under-developed countries, religion still plays a great part in the growth and differences of political parties, while in industrially advanced and progressive countries, social and political ideologies create different parties. Thus a political party is an association of those persons who have similar



ideals, beliefs and purposes which they seek to achieve by collective action and control of the government.

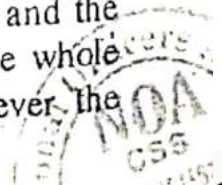
(iii) *Theory of Economic or Class Conflicts.* This theory emphasizes the economic factors and motives in the growth and differentiation of political parties. It explains that parties grow up and become divided as a result of the conflict of economic interests of various classes, sections and groups in the nation and society. Differences in wealth and possessions, in economic outlook of the people and economic conditions, are the vital forces behind the formation of political parties. The 'haves' form one party and the 'have-nots' another. Men of property and wealth do not like social or economic changes and, therefore, organise conservative political parties. The poorer and propertyless classes are eager for social and economic changes, for they have nothing to lose by change. They form radical parties. Karl Marx was the first great writer to show the determining influence of economic or material conditions on the political life of a people. People think as they live. Politics is, no doubt, not all economics, but it remains a mystery without it.

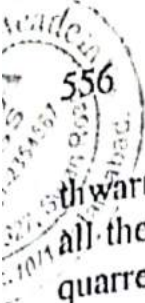
Conclusion.

Each of these theories contains a element of truth. Political parties are complex phenomena. One factor alone does not produce them. Human nature, ideas and economic conditions all determine the growth of parties and their divisions into various forms and kinds.

Importance of Political Parties.

Political parties have always existed in all forms of governments and States. But some forms of government favour their growth and development more than the others. In absolutist and unconstitutional monarchies, for instance the parties were no more than cliques and coteries. In the direct democracies of antiquity they were really transient and unorganised collection of persons around a prominent leader or orator. It is only in modern representative democracy that they have fully developed into mass-organisations of leaders and followers, based on definite principles and programmes of public welfare and national interests. They are, indeed, indispensable for the working of a democratic government. It is rightly said that they are the building blocks of democracy. Without political parties, writes Macver, "there can be no unified Statement of principle, no orderly evolution of policy, no regular resort to be constitutional device of parliamentary elections, nor, of course, any of the recognised institutions by means of which a party seeks to gain or maintain power." The rise of political parties was much criticised by old writers and Statesmen as undemocratic, for they came in between the people and the rulers. But, as Lowell says, "The conception of government by the whole people in any large nation is, of course, a chimera; for whenever the





thwarting the action of the former. The party-out-of power views with alarm all the acts of its opponents. The legislature becomes a battle-field of party quarrels. In these quarrels, however, the interests of the nation are disregarded and even forgotten. It is, indeed, remarkable, says Dr. Finer, that a part of the parliamentary government, the opposition, should spend weeks and years to overthrow the government, in order to cater upon the government. It needs lot of self-restraint on the part of the people. In backward countries, not accustomed to such a political self-control, the party quarrels usually degenerate into a civil war, as the experience of several countries since the end of the World War II has demonstrated. This is the reason why the parliamentary form of government in such countries has been snuffed out and replaced by a sort of dictatorship

2. *It leads to moral corruption.* Party contests are waged not on principles but for capturing political offices. As Belloc said, party divisions are artificial and are only the fights for office. They are 'arranged' for capturing political power by befooling the people. Victory is the first law of party politics, no matter whether it is won by fair or by foul means. It engenders bitterness and strife, rancour and hatred, especially at the time of elections, when fighting and head-breaking may also occur. While the party leaders incite bitter feelings by their spiteful and undignified speeches, their followers frequently start brawls and quarrels among themselves.

Moreover, party system breeds favouritism, nepotism and other evil practices, such as the ill-famed "spoils system" in the U. S. A., by which posts and offices in the government were distributed among the supporters of the victorious party. Gilchrist says, parties suppress truth and spread falsehood in order to impress upon the electorate that the one is right and the other wrong. Perverted party propaganda chokes reason and strangulates thought. It arouses popular emotions and generates mass hysteria on artificially created issues. But the rise of mass hysteria or herd psychology is the death of democracy.

3. *It is opposed to the spirit of democracy.* Party system is based on party loyalty and party discipline which does not permit members of a party to express their opinion freely and independently. They have to toe the party line and abide by party decisions, made not by all but by a handful of leaders at the top of the party hierarchy. The unanimity of opinion in a party is artificial and injurious. It suppresses freedom of thought and speech without which democracy cannot exist. It encourages loyalty to the party at the expense of the loyalty to the State. It reduces politics to a tug-of-war between two parties, in which, as Dr. Leacock says, "each side remains in a State of wilful invincibility, with individual judgment frozen tight in the shape of the party mould." An independent citizen is regarded as a 'crank' and is excluded from politics and a share in the government while party members and voters are reduced to slavish

obedience to party beliefs. Anyone who does not obey is driven out of the party and even out of politics. This is contrary to the spirit of true democracy. On the contrary, it creates such tendencies as flattery, sycophancy, servility and the 'gift of the gab', while truth, justice and reason are thrown into the background.

4. *It encourages bossism, factionalism and political adventurism.* Party system gives an opportunity to self-seeking adventurers to exploit the masses for their evil designs and personal ends. If they find no political party, they set up one for their own purposes. This leads to the growth of many parties which divide the nation into factions and groups, as it has happened in Pakistan, India, etc. Party system fosters rule by the boss, the caucus or private cliques, "which arrange matters to suit themselves." One of the worst features of the party government is that the parties are in the hands of the richer and privileged classes who use them for their selfish ends and class interests. They are financed by the rich and they work for their interests. Hence they are not, as Burke defined them, "a body of men united for promoting by the joint endeavours the national interests upon some principle on which they are all agreed," but (are in practice, as Pope defined them, "the madness of the many for the gain of the few." That is why Rousseau; believed that where parties existed, there would be no expression of the General Will.

Merits of the Party System.

History is no doubt full of mischief and evil caused by the Party System. Yet there is another side to the matter. Parties have also done much good and averted many evils, as explained here:

1. *It is essential for democracy.* Modern representative democracy, with its large size and great population, is unworkable without parties. They enable people, scattered all over the country, to agree upon some common principles and work together in support of them. Thus they help the people to express their will. The success of the representative government has mainly depended upon the energy, efficiency and enterprise of the party system. "The party system," writes Maclver, "was in particular the mechanism by which the Class-State of the past was transformed into the nation-State of today."

2. *It gives political education to the people.* Left to themselves, the people are an unorganised mass of conflicting opinions, with no interest in politics. Political parties arouse the people's interest in politics. They define and clarify national issues to the people, especially at the time of elections. Each party offers them its own explanation and solution of national problems. Thus the people are presented with alternative solutions, views and programmes. When the people vote for or against the candidates of the various parties, they really vote for or against their views, policies and programmes. In this way the parties keep a nation's

mind alive to national affairs and educate them. As Maclver says, they make articulate the inarticulate desires of the masses." Thus they are as Lowell puts it, "the brokers of ideas." "Without political parties," as Finer remarks, "an electorate would be either impotent or destructive by embarking on impossible policies that would only wreck the political machine."

3. *It makes representative government stable and responsible.* As we said above, before the rise of the party system, democracy was impossible and unworkable. Political parties not only offer alternative programmes but also alternative governments to the people. Without political parties, the only method of securing a change of government would be by revolution or coup d'etat, as it was in pre-democratic States. Under the party system, there is always an alternative or "shadow" government of the opposition party or parties. If the policy of the party-in-power is not approved by the people, they can change it constitutionally by voting it out of power and replacing it by the opposition party. As Maclver says, Party-rule "implies the alternation of power, as system of succession which gives each its opportunity." It regards "persuasion more desirable than compulsion, and the conflict of ideas more creative than the clash of arms."

The party government is responsible government. The government of the ruling party is subject to constant criticism by the opposition party which acts as a check on any tendency towards despotism and tyranny." Thus the party system checks the growth of executive despotism and makes the government responsible to the public opinion. It acts as a check on hasty and ill-considered acts and laws of the party in power, which knows that the opposition will expose its weaknesses and mistakes to the people and bring about its defeat at the polls. The opposition thus keeps the government on the right path.

4. *Under the party system, government becomes stable:* It produces harmony between various organs of the State. In the parliamentary government, the cabinet consists of the leading members of the majority party in the parliament and thus the legislative and the executive organs are linked by the party membership and discipline. In the presidential form of government, the party is the only link which brings harmony between the president and the legislature, which are otherwise quite separate and distinct. If they belong to the same party, the danger of deadlock is minimised.

5. *Party discipline brings harmony between the government and the people.* Although some critics deplore the fact that party discipline and adherence to party policy restricts the independence of the members to think and act as they like, yet it has some advantage also. It brings harmony between the laws and acts of the government and the

wishes of the people. The ministers get the laws passed by the legislature with the support of the majority they command in the legislature, elected by the people.

THE PARTY SYSTEMS

Broadly speaking three types of party system exist in the modern States. They are the two-party, the multiple-party and the one-party systems.

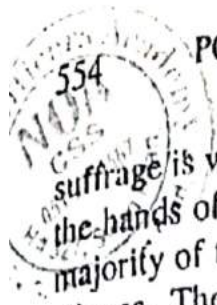
The Two-Party or the Bi-party System.

Normally the two party system consists of two major parties, which are nearly equal in membership, e.g., the Conservative and Labour parties in Britain. A few minor parties may also exist, but they have little or no influence on the politics of the country. Sometimes a third party may arise which may gradually oust one of the two earlier parties from the country's politics. Thus temporarily there may be three parties, but ultimately the two party system is restored. This happened in England, where during the nineteenth century, the two parties, the Liberal and Conservative, existed. Then the third party, the Labour, came into being. It gradually supplanted the Liberal party and finally in the general elections of 1945, the Liberal party vanished from Parliamentary scene, which is now dominated by the two parties, nearly Labour and Conservative parties. In the two party system, one of the two parties is in minority in the legislature. It assumes the function of criticism and opposition to the party in power, hence called the Opposition. However, in spite of the opposition, the differences between them are often very minor. Both are reluctant to take up new and untried issues, which are really espoused at first by the unimportant minor parties. Only when an issue or a programme becomes popular, then one of the two major parties adopts it as its own programme or platform. Organisation of both parties is rigid and close-knit.

Arguments for the Bi-party System.

As compared to the multiple party system, the Bi-party system has the following advantages:

1. *Offers a clear-cut alternative to the voters.* First of all, the Two-Party System is convenient to the voters. They are asked to choose between two parties with their clear-cut programmes. Therefore, the choice before the electors is very simple and clear. They can vote for one of the two parties. Thus they decide beforehand that it by giving more votes to one party should rule over them. In the Multiple Party system, they are confronted with several parties, and are lost in the welter of several parties and their confusing programmes. Their votes do not decide which of the parties would ultimately rule then, because this depends upon the coalition of the parties in the legislature. So the government formed under the dual

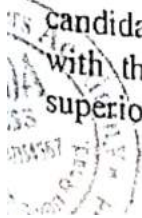


suffrage is wide, parties are certain to exist and the control must really be in the hands of party that comprises a majority or a rough approximation to a majority of the people." Without political parties, there will be factions and cliques. The people will have no means of influencing the government except by appeals and petitions to the government to redress their personal or sectional grievances, as was the case under the kings and other absolute rulers. In fact, wherever there is government by discussion and public opinion, there must be political parties, for there can be no unanimity in public affairs. In dictatorship, however, political parties cannot exist in the same way as in a democracy. Dictatorship does not tolerate difference of opinion. Hence there is only one party in a dictatorship, the government party, which has the monopoly of political power and decision making.

Functions of Political Parties.

1. *They organise public opinion and formulate the general will.* The problems facing the modern State are many and complex. People have ordinarily all sorts of opinions and views about one and the same issue. The first function of political parties is to organise these myriads of opinions by educating the people. Every party selects those issues which are of fundamental importance or are likely to appeal to the voters. It then formulates its own views, policy and programme about it and popularises it among the voters by means of the press, platform and other means of propaganda. Thus it explains these problems to the people. At the same time other parties put before them their own views and policies and thus enable them to judge these issues by themselves. In this way they act, as Lowell puts it, as brokers of ideas. As Bryce says, they bring order out of chaos of opinions and views. If there were no political parties in the modern State, politics would be a sheer babble of tongues. A disorganised mass of people can neither formulate principles nor agree on policy. Thus political parties organise public opinion and express the will of the people or the General Will. By serving, as Gettel says, as the motive force in crystallising public opinion, they make democracy workable over large areas of the modern nation States.

2. *They select candidates for public offices.* The second function of political parties is to select candidates for election, to plan, organise and run election campaigns and to win them by winning majority of votes for their own candidates. This is their essential and very useful function in the modern democratic government. As elections are expensive affairs, and some candidates are too poor to bear them, the party defrays the election expenses of such candidates from the party funds, contributed by its members and supporters. Moreover, the voters cannot know the candidates or choose them. The parties select them and acquaint the voters with their qualifications and merits and thus convince the votes of the superiority of their own candidates over those of the rival parties. They are



the launching pad or spring-boards for new leaders to capture governmental power. They provide opportunities for leaders to come to power.

3. *They endeavour to capture government by constitutional methods.* The primary aim of a political party is to obtain control of government. Hence political parties endeavour to capture governmental power by peaceful and constitutional methods of winning elections. In modern politics ballot has replaced bullets, and heads are counted, not broken. The party which wins majority in elections becomes the ruling party. For this purpose the parties announce their party programmes on the eve of the general elections, select their candidates and launch election campaigns and undertake nation-wide election campaigns. They spend huge sums to win elections. They dramatize politics and keep the nation politically awake. The majority party becomes the party-in-power and puts its party programme and policy into practice. For this purpose, it makes new laws and amends or repeals the old ones which are not in harmony with its programme or policy.

4. *They also criticise the Government.* The party or parties which are returned in minority to the legislature, form the Opposition. It performs no less important and useful function than that of running the administration. The opposition parties keep the ruling party in check, point out its weaknesses, and prevent it from becoming despotic or negligent of national interests. They expose corruption and favouritism and scandals of the ruling party. The Opposition is, therefore, aptly described as the watchdog of the democracy.

5. *They control their members in the legislature.* Lastly, the political parties perform an important function of holding together their members in the legislature. This is particularly so in the parliamentary system, in which the majority party in the legislature also forms the cabinet. If it is to remain the ruling party and preserve its power, it must remain a majority party in the legislature. Hence the party organisation is strict and party discipline and solidarity rigid. The party is, therefore a unifying agency between the executive and legislative departments of government. In the presidential form of government, the parties bring about harmony between the executive and legislative organs of the State and make them a working whole.

Defects of the Party System.

1. *It encourages disunity and disruption in the State.* The main allegation against the political parties is that they disrupt national unity by dividing the people into two or more hostile camps. They create an atmosphere of bitterness in the country. "Even the best political party", says Lord Halifax, "is a conspiracy against the nation." Politics becomes an endless strife between the party-in-power and the party-in-opposition, a struggle between the 'Ins' and 'Outs', the latter misrepresenting and