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Muslim Philosophers

Al-Marwardi

- Government and administration, at all levels, were his principal concerns.
- First writer on political theory in the history of Islam.
- He received political opinions and traditions of the past and transformed them into a logical system.

Theory of state

- The institution of Caliphate represents the mission of Hazrat Muhammad (P.B.U.H) 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 practiced and obeyed.
- It promises the inheritance or possession and governance of the earth to those only who follow in the footsteps of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and practice piety and do justice.
- The appointment of a Wazir does not mean that the Imam or Caliph should give up all connections with the administration of the state, but the real significance of his appointment consists of the fact that in the province of politics it is better to have a coadjutor (associate) rather than one sole person at the helm of affairs.

Al-Mawardi says that Wazarat is of two kinds:

1. The Wazarat of Delegation:

The Wazir of Delegation is the person in whom the Imam has the fullest confidence and to whom the powers of administration of the realm are delegated. The Wazir of Delegation is not empowered to appoint anyone as his successor and the Imam, the highest authority; can dismiss the officers appointed by him.

2. The Wazarat of Execution:

The Wazir of Execution is similar to the Secretary to the Government in modern times. Al-Mawardi says that the main function of the Wazir is to get the decrees of the Imam executed and he should be the main official channel of information for him. Mawardi opines that, seven qualities are required for a person aspiring to this office and these are

1. Honesty
2. Confidence
3. Absence of greed
4. Good relationship with the people

5. Intelligence and the wisdom of grasping the truth of things
6. Absence of luxury and amorousness
7. Diplomacy and experience.

Al-Mawardi said, "It is not necessary that the holder of the office should be a follower of Islam and a non-Muslim dhimmi can also be appointed a Wazir of Execution."

- The State administration as a whole was called Diwan. Al-Mawardi enumerated four chief offices of Government are under:
 1. The Army Board
 2. The Board of Provincial Boundaries
 3. The Treasury
 4. The Board of Appointment and Dismissal of Officers
- It is in the nature of man or rather those among men who are superior to others in intellect that they should hand over their affairs to one who can keep them from being tyrannized over by others and should have the power of adjudging between them in case of mutual quarrels.

Theory of Rebellion

- Al-Mawardi quotes the following tradition from Abu Hurairah: the Prophet (P.B.U.H) said, "After me there will be appointed rulers over you, and both the good as well as bad deeds will go by them; but you must obey the orders from them that is based upon righteousness; for if they rule with fairness the good of it will occur to them and to you both, if they rule with inequity you will get the benefit of it and they, the evil consequences thereof."
- Al-Mawardi clearly advocates revolt when the Imam either falls prey to sensual passions or becomes sceptic of the basic tenets of Islam. But it is ambiguous as to how a tyrant or heretical Imam can be deposed.
- He is opposed to the claim of undisputed obedience to the Caliph.

Theory of Imamate

- 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.
- The real objective of the state is the rule of justice and truth and to bring tranquility and peace to its inhabitants.
- The real motive of the Imamate is following the straight path and strengthening the political bonds.
- 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.

The salient features of the institutions of Imamate:

- A requirement of the Shariah and not as a requirement of reason.
- Instituted by means of election.
- The electoral college shall consist of persons with the special qualifications:
 - a. Justice with all the conditions pertaining to it
 - b. Knowledge of religion and of the interests and policy of the nation
 - c. Wisdom

The candidates of Imamate should also fulfill certain conditions:

1. Justice
 2. Learning
 3. Integrity of physical senses
 4. Integrity of physical organs
 5. Wisdom
 6. Bravery
 7. Qurayshite descent
- The ruling Imam can nominate his successor, provided he does not happen to be his father or son.
 - The Imam can nominate two or more heirs-apparent to succeed him one after the other.

Ten principle duties

According to Al-Mawardi, Imam should perform following ten principle duties:

1. To safeguard and defense of the established principles of religion as understood and propounded by the consensus of ancient authorities.
2. The dispensation of justice and disposal of all litigations in accordance with the Shariah.
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 defense 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.

7. The imposition and collection of Kharaj and Zakat taxes in accordance with the laws of the Shariah and the interpretation of the jurists without resorting to extortion or pressure.
 8. The sanction of allowances and stipends from the state treasury to those who are needy, sick and poor and cannot afford to get their wards educated.
 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 directs 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 neighboring states must be cordial.
- He was not a political thinker, and hence could not evolve a philosophic conception of the state. He does not discuss the scope, jurisdiction, responsibilities and obligations of the state, gives no conception of sovereignty and seems to be completely ignorant of the idea of the constitution.
 - He is very particular about the rights and prerogatives of the Caliph but pays little attention to the rights and obligations of the people.

Al-Farabi

- Turkish philosopher
- Al-Mu'alim al Thani (the second teacher)
- Man needs the help of his fellowmen to attain the perfection proper to his nature. Man is not equipped by nature with all that is necessary for the preservation and development of his being. It is only through society that he finds a complete satisfaction of his physical, intellectual and moral needs.
- Farabi's statement in his political treatises was that humans cannot attain the perfection they are destined to outside the framework of political association. This brings them together in a community where everybody needs each other to preserve themselves and attain perfection. This political association is directed towards attainment of true happiness or towards contrary goals such as pleasure and acquisition of wealth.
- According to him society has two types:

Perfect or virtuous society

- A perfect or a virtuous city was compared by Al-Farabi to a perfect and healthy body whose organs differed in their natural functions.
- Three kinds
 - a) **The highest:** the whole inhabited earth coming under one political organization.
 - b) **The intermediate:** a nation occupying a specific place of the inhabited earth.
 - c) **The lowest:** a city which represents a fraction of the territory of a nation.

Imperfect society or non-virtuous society

- Three kinds:
 - a) The village
 - b) The suburb of a city
 - c) The home
- Merely steps leading to the organization of the state.

Kinds of State as Opposed to Ideal State

- Three kinds of the state
- 1. The Ignorant State**
 - This state that has no knowledge of happiness, and very often exchanges it for health, wealth and pleasure.
 - It has for its end the acquisition of things, such as food, shelter, clothing, eating, drinking, sensual pleasures, seeking of praise, making a name.
 - Believes in false liberty, by which everyone can do as he pleases.
 - Presumes imperialism as a national policy.
- 2. The Perverted State**
 - Maintains a conduct similar to that of the ignorant state even though it knows what is true happiness and perfection.
- 3. The Mistaken State**
 - The mistaken state is that has wrong ideas about God and happiness.
- Certain traits for the Ideal State
 - Great intelligence
 - Excellent memory
 - Persuasiveness
 - Firmness without weakness
 - Firmness in the achievement of good
 - Love for justice

- Love for truth
- Aversion to falsehood
- Temperance in food
- Contempt for wealth
- Possession of considerable wealth
- Shun off playfulness and control over anger and passion

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Imam Ghazali

- Al-Ghazali was aptly considered a mujaddid and reckoned at par with the four Imams.
- In his political thought, al-Ghazali sought inspiration from both Islamic and non-Islamic sources, such as those of ancient Persia
- According to al-Ghazali, the Khilafat is a divine State which is required not by reason but by the Shariah or divine law.
- He says politics exists for “man’s welfare in this world and bliss in the next, attainable only if government is rooted in the legal science and completed by the political science
- Al-Ghazali agreed that an Islamic State should be a divine state and it should be ruled under the divine laws .
- Khilafah/caliphate is a divine state and Allah (SWT) is the Supreme Authority. Thus His divine laws should rule. He thought khilafah is necessary to protect Muslim’s religious, social and political rights and from internal conspiracies and external invasion. His definition of khalifah as khalifatullah was an innovation in a sense that the four earliest caliphs, Khulaf-e-Rashideen, never claimed to be Khalifatullah but Khalifatur-Rasool

State Systems

- The state systems are made up of thirteen institutions. They are
 - The Khaleefah (Al-khaleefah).
 - The delegated assistant (mu'aawin at-tafweed).
 - The executing assistants (mu'aawin at-tanfeeZH).
 - Governors (Wulaah).
 - Amir of jihad (Ameerul jihad).
 - Home land (Interior) security.
 - Foreign affairs.
 - Industry.
 - Judiciary (QuDaa'a).
 - The state departments (maSaaliH ad-dawlah).
 - State treasury (Bayt ul-mal).
 - Media (l'laam).
 - The council of the Ummah (Shura and accounting).

Constitution by Imam Al-Ghazali

- The constitution by Imam Al-Ghazali is appointed by Islamic law (the Shari’ah) principles contains guidelines and rules for all aspects of a Muslim's life
- Desires make slaves out of kings and patience makes kings out of slaves. Imam al-Ghazali
- The nature of the Caliphate in al-Ghazali’s theory
 - The Caliphate comprehends the necessary power to accomplish the maintenance of order
 - It represent or symbolizes the collective unity of the Muslim community and its historical continuity
 - Deriving its functional and institutional authority from the Shariah, It is the only legitimate form of government in Islam

Duties of Khalifah / caliph

- He must be able to wage jihad

- He must have knowledge for the purpose of ijthihad along with consultation of religious expert
- He must be pious to carry one his office as a political and religious entity
- He must establish justice and settle cases with fairness
- He must have knowledge of shariah and wisdom to endorse it as the rule of law
- He must be a practical Muslim and must show a reliable Muslim character
- He must be aware of the official matters and the performance of his administrators
- He must keep his morality and must avoid immoral practices.

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Ibn-i-Khuldun

- Ibn-e-Khaldoon discussed various Islamic political institutions in the light of the history of the early Islamic state.
- Khaldun's conclusion was that societal reform was integral within the Islamic world, and that it could be achieved personally or through advising a prince in power on ruling with wisdom.
- He made political enquiries into the various historical events of the early period of Islam with impartiality and analytical mind of jurist.
- He upholds the practicability of Islamic laws in the state and considers the Sharia state as definitely superior to the Power state.
- He contemplates little of the Siyast Madaniya for he considers the philosophers ideal state as the visionary product of utopian thought, having no relation with historical facts.
- The ideal for him is the Islamic state as it existed under the first four Caliphs.
- But his empiricism is manifest in his analysis of the Muslim empires of his own day.
- In his political thinking, it is Islam that emerges as the sole objective for all human endeavors.
- According to Ibn-e-Khaldoon, traditional philosophy demands the study of man and society as they really are, and supplies the frame work of directing such a study and utilizing its results.

Novel insights of Ibn-e-Khaldoon

Ibn-e-Khaldoon's importance consists in a number of novel insights of permanent value and significance:

- Distinction between rural and urban life and the necessity of the latter for the emergence of civilization and a state in the strict sense of the term.
- Postulating the asabiya as the principal driving force of political action.
- Projection of Islam into a universal human civilization, thus standing on the social and in the climate of Islam and looking out towards humanity at large.
- Realization of the casual interdependence of the several factors of social life in the power state; economic, military, cultural and religious.
- Parallel existence of the state founded by a prophetic law-giver, as distinct from the state built on power in response to the human need for political association and the desire of strong personalities for domination.
- Analysis of the Islamic country, as a composite structure whose law is a mixture of shariah and political law.
- Basic recognition of the vital part which religion should play in the life of the state, especially if it transforms the asabiya into a durable, cohesive and spiritual motive power.

Allama Muhamamd Iqbal

- Seeing the nature of advancement of modern civilization in the light of European knowledge he was convinced that in future it was only the Islamic polity capable of absorbing all the cultures and societies of the world with due regard to local traditions, ethics, needs and aspirations of humanity.
- The affairs of state and government could best be conducted to the entire satisfaction of humanity and without any sense of exploitation of poor by the rich nations if the men at the helm of state affairs exercised their authority keeping in view the conditions laid down in the Islamic *Sharia*.
- Iqbal was against the view that Islamic law was primarily stationary
- He believed, Islam stressed the progress of humanity which could not be realized without a process of change and continuity.

Philosophy of Islam.

His philosophical explanation of the Quran, *Hadith*, *Ijma* and *Qiyas* are a great contribution to the political and basic philosophy of Islam.

- Iqbal believed that the younger generation of Islam in Asia and Africa demanded a fresh orientation of their faith. With the reawakening of Islam, therefore, it is necessary to examine, in an independent spirit, what Europe has thought and how far the conclusions reached by her can help us in the revision and, if necessary, reconstruction of theological thought in Islam.
- Without a good society a good state cannot be established.
- The purpose of Islam is directed to build a highly civilized society wherein liberty of individual person is not only nourished but also maintained.
- He wanted to transform the character of modern states around one objective, i.e. obedience to God.
- By making all the states to flourish in the same political direction, Iqbal wanted them to move towards a future wherein all human beings could be controlled by one international state. This international association should help in the production of common human values through the agencies of different states. (UNO)
- Iqbal emphasized upon the Muslim scholars to learn from the Western experiences and to approach the study of the Quran, *Hadith*, *Fiqh*, and Islamic history from a fresh angle. This approach would equip them not only to pave the new way but also make them to return to the original spirit of Islam.

Khudi

- Khudi is a complex thought in Iqbal. Broadly speaking, it represents the principle of the inner self of human being. In order to cultivate Khudi, Iqbal criticized the negative factors existing in mysticism. He believed that the universe was an existence consisting of continuous lives. Human being was the highest form of life and Khudi the highest form of human being. The creative self-assertion was the basic moral for Muslims.
- Iqbal placed emphasis on individuality and suggested that the individual rely on his own ability and explore his potentialities. According to Iqbal's idea, the individuality could be strengthened only if he took part in practice. Otherwise, it would weaken the khudi and be idle, attempt nothing or avoid struggles. So, in Iqbal's thought, the value of the Self is actually the value of life.

- Iqbal's philosophical conception of Khudi refers to a brand-new signification. It is not only the source and essence of the universe and natural person but the motive of all the activities and behaviors of human being. He uplifted the value of Khudi and inspired Muslims to cultivate Khudi for rebuilding the society.
- That is to say, khudi of individual should be mixed together with khudi of group and the individual interest should submit to the collective one. Actually, only when the individual maintains close links of his destiny with the entire nation's destiny, can he exist and develop. Iqbal created these philosophical ideas in such a time when his country faced great difficulties. His philosophy is an acting philosophy.
- He held that it was by the collectivized Khudi formed up of the countless individuals' Khudi that the glorious Islamic traditions could be recovered and a unified Ummah could be established. Iqbal said in the winter of 1910. "Islam has a far deeper significance for us than merely religious, it has a peculiarly national meaning, so that our communal life is unthinkable without a firm grasp of the Islamic Principle.
- The idea of Islam is, so to speak, our eternal home or country wherein we live, move and have our being." Asrar-i-Khudi and Rumuz-i-Bekhudi extended and developed the idea of Iqbal's philosophical principles.

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Western Philosophers

Plato

Theory of Ideal State:

- An ideal state for Plato possessed the four cardinal virtues of wisdom, courage, discipline and justice. It would have wisdom because its rulers were persons of knowledge, courage because its warriors were brave, self-discipline because of the harmony that pervaded the societal matrix due to a common agreement as to who ought to rule, and finally, justice of doing one's job for which one was naturally filled without interfering with others.
- The concept of justice is the most important principle of Plato's political philosophy.
- Ideal empire will be based on justice. Justice is a man's fundamental right.
- Platonic justice has two aspects - individual and social.
- Population divided in three classes:

Laborers or Artisan:

- Economical class
- Doing minion work
- Lower class.
- Appetite and desire being their symbol
- Need to have the knowledge of skills

Soldier or auxiliaries

- Military class
- Courage or spirit being symbol.
- Protectors
- Need to have the knowledge of martial skills

Philosopher Kings

- Ruling class
- Wisdom or logical reasoning being the symbol.
- The ones with brain
- Should have aesthetic education, like, art, literature, music, philosophy.
- Cultivation of morals.
- Ideal state based on justice.
- Policy of non-interference. Only way to achieve justice.
- State is a body where all parts connected but working their own functions.
- Justice will be provided to all classes equally without any distinction.
- Absolute power of ruler. Rule of superior. This contradicts with the rule of law theory.
- **Rulers control over the system of education**, i.e. system of state-controlled education for training the guardians who would become rulers.
- **Censorship to art and literature** so that nothing of immoral things might fall into the hands of the young.
- **System of communism in ideal state**, i.e. the rulers or soldiers do not possess any property of their own, in order to enable the guardians to give off their best to the state.

- **Both men and women are treated equally in the state.** He was convinced that the greatest good of the state demanded emancipation and equal education and opportunities for public services to women.
- **The principle of functional specialization,** i.e. division of labor, specialization and interchange of services will lead to harmony and unification of the state, by averting the cause of struggle between individuals and classes.

Socrates was his teacher.

- An ideal state for Plato possessed the four cardinal virtues of wisdom, courage, discipline and justice. It would have wisdom because its rulers were persons of knowledge, courage because its warriors were brave, self-discipline because of the harmony that pervaded the societal matrix due to a common agreement as to who ought to rule, and finally, justice of doing one's job for which one was naturally fitted without interfering with others.
- Platonic justice has two aspects - individual and social. According to Plato, every individual was a functional unit, assigned a particular task with clear cut obligations and privileges, which one was expected to perform diligently and meticulously.
- Plato explained his arguments for differing individual capabilities with the help of the theory of three classes and three souls. He pointed out that every human soul had three qualities: rational, spirit and appetite with justice as the fourth virtue balancing and harmonizing the other three qualities. In each soul one of these qualities would be the predominant faculties.
- Individuals in whom the rational faculty was predominant would constitute the ruling class and the virtue of such a soul was wisdom. This soul, a lover of learning had the power to comprehend the idea of good.
- Those in whom spirit was the predominant quality were the auxiliaries or warriors and the virtue of such souls was courage, implying the ability to hold on to one's convictions and beliefs in adverse times. Together the rulers and soldiers would constitute the guardian class.
- Individuals whose souls were appetitive exhibited a fondness for material things. They were lovers of gain and money. They were the artisans, the producing class. The quality of such an appetitive soul was temperance, though Plato did not see temperance as an exclusive quality of the artisan class.
- Though Plato took into account the role of spirit and appetite in human behavior, he was convinced that reason must ultimately control and direct emotions and passions.
- Thus justice in the state meant that the three social classes (rulers, warriors and producers) performed the deliberative and governing, defense and production without interfering with the functions of others. Justice was "one class, one duty; every man, one work. Prof. Ernest Barker has defined the Platonic theory of justice when he wrote that justice means 'will to concentrate on one's own sphere of duty and not to meddle with the sphere of others'".
- According to Plato, the justice of the state is the citizen's sense of duty. This conception of justice goes against individualism because a man must not think of himself as an isolated unit with personal desire. Plato's justice does not embody a conception of rights but of duties though it is identical with true liberty. It is the true condition the individual and of the state and the ideal state is the embodiment of justice.
- Platonic justice leads to functional specialization. From the point of view of society justice means self control on the of various classes of society which makes each class mind its own function

and not interfere with the functions of others. It also makes various members of each class stick to their own allotted functions and responsibilities within the calls and not interferes with the function of other individuals in the some class.

- The Republic, the Statesman and the Laws were Plato's major works in political philosophy. The Republic was collection of Plato's ideas in the field of ethics, metaphysics, philosophy and politics.
- The Republic, concerning justice, the greatest and most well- known work of Plato, was written in the form of a dialogue, a method of great importance in clarifying questions and establishing truth. It was one of the finest examples of the dialectical method as stated and first developed by Socrates.
- The Republic in Greek means justice, and should not be used or understood in this Latin sense meaning the states or the polity' As has been rightly pointed out by William Ebenstein, after twenty three hundred years the Republic "is still match less as an introduction to the basic issues that confront human being as citizens". No other writer on politics has equaled Plato in combining penetrating and dialectical reasoning with poetic imagery and symbolism. One of the main assumptions of the Republic is that the right kind of government and politics can be the legitimate object of rigorous scientific thinking rather than the inevitable product of muddling through fear and faith, indolence and improvisation.
- The sub-title of the Republic, 'Concerning Justice' shows the extra ordinary importance which Plato attached to justice.
- According to Plato, justice does not consist in mere adherence to the laws, for it is based on the inner nature of human spirit, it is also to the triumph of the stronger over the weaker, for it protects the weaker against the stronger.
- A just state, Plato argues, is achieved with an eye to the good of the whole.
- In a just state or society, the rulers and military, the producers all do what they ought to do. In such a society the rulers are wise, the soldiers are brave, and the producers exercise selfcontrol or temperance.
- For Plato, justice is a moral concept. Justice for Plato is at once a part of human virtue and the bond which joins men together in the states. It makes man good and make him social.

Criticism

- Platonic doctrine of justice is based on self - control and self abnegation of the individual in the interest of society. It leads to functional specialization. It ignores the evils of functional specialization which does not sufficiently realize and properly provide for the whole of human personality. It stunts the growth of the individual and there - by impoverished the society.
- Platonic theory of justice divides the state into three separate classes and is not applicable to modern states with large population and numerous interests and sections of society. His division of society into separate classes would lead to a class state with class consciousness and privileges.
- Further, concentration of political power in the hands of philosophers is likely to lead to totalitarianism.
- He has made rulers superior that makes them above justice.
- The system of functional specialization tends to dwarf the personality of individuals, eliminating the possibility of full development of human personality in his ideal state.

Aristotle

- In the history of political philosophy no one has surpassed Aristotle in encyclopedic interest and accomplishment. He is regarded as the father of political science as he was the first to analyse, critically and systematically the then existing constitutions and classify them.
- The difference between Plato and Aristotle is the difference between philosophy and science. Plato was the father of political philosophy, Aristotle, the father of political science, the former is a philosopher the later is a scientist, former follows deductive methodology, the latter, an inductive one.
- Aristotle is said to have written about 150 philosophic treaties. His works can be classified under three heading:
 1. Dialogues and other works of a popular character;
 2. Collection of facts and materials from scientific treatment,
 3. Systematic works.
- Aristotle believes that man is, by nature and necessity, a social animal and he who is unable to live in society must be either a god or beast.
- He finds the origin of the state in the innate desire of an individual to satisfy his economic needs and racial instincts. For the realisation of this desire the male and female on the one hand and the master and slave on the other, come together, live together and form a family, i.e., a household which has its moral and social use. It is in the household that the three elements originate and develop which are essential to the building of a state, namely fellowship, political organisation and justice.
- To him, the scope of political science should not be confined to the creation of an ideal state. It should be widened to include the study of the actual states also. The science of politics should teach the art of governing and organizing all types of good as well as bad states.
- Separated politics and ethical concepts, and thus made possible an independent science of politics.
- Gave the idea of separation of powers.
- Gave a moderate treatment to the concept of the property.
- Believed in the supremacy of law.

Politics in view of Aristotle

- Aristotle opens the politics with two important ideas:
 - **The state is a community:** state is a natural community, an organism with all the attributes of a living being.
 - **It is the highest of all communities:** The family is the first form of association, lowest in the chain of social evolution and lowest on the rung of values, because it is established by nature for the supply of men's every day wants. The village is the second form of association, genetically more complex than the family, and aiming at something more than, the supply of daily needs. The third and highest in terms of value and purpose: whereas family and village exist essentially for the preservation of life and comforts of companionship, the state exists for the sake of a good life, and not for the sake of life only, and political society exists for the sake of noble actions, and not of mere companionship. It is clear from the above observations that the state is the highest form of association, not only in terms of the social and institutional value, but interns of man's own nature.

- Aristotle believed that man was essentially good and the function of the state was to develop his good faculties into a habit of good action. Aristotle saw a good deal of identity between the individual and the state. Like the individual, the state must show the virtues of courage, self-control and justice. The function of the state was the promotion of good life among its citizens and, therefore, the state was the spiritual association into a moral life.
- Justice is the very essence of the state and that no polity can endure for a long time unless it is founded on a right scheme of justice. According to him, justice is virtue, complete virtue, and the embodiment of all goodness.
- He was one of the strong defenders of slavery. He wrote in the Politics thus: “For that some should rule and others be ruled is a thing not only necessary, but expedient; from the hour of their birth, some are marked out for subjection other for rule”.
- Assigns the following functions to the state:
 - To ensure a perfect and self-sufficing life of its members.
 - To develop man’s good faculties into a habit of good action.
 - To satisfy the natural needs of its members.
 - To provide means and proper media to the individuals for the attainment of intellectual, moral and physical excellence. It aims at the highest good.
- Aristotle defined a state as a collective body of citizens. Citizenship was not to be determined by residence since the resident aliens and slaves also shared a common residence with citizens but were not citizens. He defines citizen as a person who has the power to take part in the deliberative or judicial administration of any state.
- Representative government was unknown to Aristotle because the Greek city- state was governed directly by its citizens. A citizen also enjoyed constitutional rights under the system of public law.
- For Aristotle a citizen was one who shared power in polis, and unlike Plato, did not distinguish between “an active ruling group and a politically passive community”.

Two types of justice:

1. **General:** A complete goodness in not only ones self but also towards the neighbours.
2. **Particular:** has two further types:
 - **Corrective:** concerned with voluntary commercial transactions like sale, hire, furnishing of security, etc: and other things like aggression on property and life, honor and freedom.
 - **Distributive:** consists in proper allocation to each person according to his worth. This type of justice relates primarily but not exclusively to political privileges.

Introduced scientific method. Impericism.

- Classified types of state or government: on the base of two principles.
 1. Number of rulers, i.e. rule of one, rule of few, or rule of many
 2. Good or bad
- Made six classes of govt.

	Pure Form	Corrupt Form
Rule of one	Monarchy (with supreme virtue as its guiding principle)	Tyrony (representing force, selfishness)

Rule of few	Aristocracy (representing a mixture of virtue and wealth)	Oligarchy (representing the greed of wealth)
Rule of many	Polity (representing martial and medium virtues, power resting with the middle class people)	Democracy (representing the principle of equality with power in the hands of poor)

According to Aristotle, **monarchy** is the pure form of government when the monarch rules for the benefits of the people without any discrimination. Of the three true forms Aristotle holds monarchy to be the most ideal kind of govt. Aristotle's deep sympathy for monarchy is to be understood in the light of his relations with the rising Macedonian monarchy.

Aristocracy is nowhere described in the Politics systematically, perhaps because the problem of aristocracy and democracy was not of such practical importance as that of monarchy. Aristotle defines **democracy** as a government formed of the best men absolutely, and not merely of men who are relatively, that is in relation to changing circumstances and constitutions. The perverted form of aristocracy is **oligarchy** in which government by wealthy is carried on for their own benefit rather than for that of the whole state. Whereas merit and virtue the distinctive qualities to be considered in selecting the rulers in an **aristocracy**, wealth is the basis of selection in an oligarchy.

The third true form of state is **polity** or constitutional government. Aristotle defines polity as the state that the citizens at large administer for the common interest. Constitutional government is a compromise between the two principles of freedom and wealth the attempt to unite the freedom of the poor and the wealth of the rich, without giving either principle exclusive predominance. The degenerate form of constitutional government is democracy and defined it as a system in which the poor rule. It is government by the poor, and for the poor only just as tyranny is government by one for his own benefit and oligarchy government by the wealthy few for their class benefit.

Machiavelli

- Book: The prince
- Supports monarchical form of govt. One person rule.
- Known as the father of modern political science.
- Gave principles what makes a good prince:

Use force ruthlessly.

Brutal force usage but intelligently, rather senseless use of force. Impose your will on people.

Better to be feared than love

Every ruler wants to be loved by his people but love and fear together are difficult, so it's better to be feared than loved. Devotion and love are not continued, can change anytime. Fear keeps people in boundary.

Act as fox or lion

Two ways to settle disputes, by law (fox) or by force (lion). Law corrects men but force corrects beasts. Be brave like lion but also cunning as fox.

Use persuasion artfully

Use propaganda and religion to persuade or luring or attracting people. Play upon religious feelings of people.

Act decisively

Don't hesitate while taking decision. Be strong while taking decision. Hesitation will ruin you because people want strong and assertive leader.

Be popular among people

Don't let people hate you. Gain reputation among majority.

Abstain from property and women of subjects

Do not under any circumstances molest the property and women of ur subjects. Do not break this rule.

Act as a father

People should be obedient their ruler as a father. Be kind but rule like hard pusher. Hold your subjects together.

Avoid excessive expenditure

Think long-term. Don't be lavish. Be efficient with your money. Don't show extra generosity.

Act as a great pretender

In front of people appear as most merciful, upright, faithful and religious.

Pose as courageous

You must appear like very courageous and daring.

Play balance of power game

One should play this game by supporting the weaker against the stronger. There is neutrality in game of power.

Avoid flatterers

Most intoxicating thing are flatterers. Avoid 'yes mans'.

Be an opportunist

There are no permanent friends or enemies.

Be extreme towards a friend or enemy

Do everything to help a friend, on the contrary destroy the enemy before the game starts*

Observe utmost secrecy

Your plans should be secret or your scheme will fail.

Possess virtue

Virtue mean here skill and intelligence. Ethics should be followed.

- These principles are not moral or immoral, they are just to be followed.

THE CSS BOOKS

Montesquieu

- 18th January 1689
- Believes that the basic principles of law and justice exist in nature but should not be found in deduction from assumptions based on reasons, but in the facts of history of actual working of political life.
- Any relation between one thing and another thing is a law.

Positive laws

- **Positive laws** are established by man himself. Are the particular and precise institutions of a legislature. Are not universal. The laws accepted in one community cannot necessarily be applied to another community.
- Divides positive laws into three classes:
 - **International law:** out of the relation of one state with the other. Emphasizes on the law of peace.
 - **Political laws:** that regulates the relation between individuals and the state or government.
 - **Civil laws:** regulates the relations between the citizens of the same state.
- The most important part of the Spirit of Laws is that which deals with liberty and with the value of the separation of powers as an essential safeguard of liberty.
- Distinguishes civil liberty from political liberty.
- **Civil liberty:** grows out of relation of man to man. It is the opposite of slavery and more closely associated with the law of nature.
- **Political liberty:** implies a relation between the state and subject. The political liberty of a person is a tranquility of mind arising from the opinion each person has of his safety. In order to have this liberty, it is requisite that one man need not to be afraid of another. It means doing all that law permits.
- According to him liberty is possible only when the powers of government are subject to limitation. Also that the best safeguard against tyranny and the surest guarantee of liberty is the separation of powers among different organs of the government.
- Although he did not mention the phrase 'separation of powers', he asserted that liberty is lost if the three powers are not separated.

Tripartite division of government

- Montesquieu formulated tripartite division of government functions
 - a. Legislative (Parliament) – make law
 - b. Executive (PM or President) – put into effect
 - c. Judiciary – interprets law
- He maintained that each function should be exercised by the appropriate agency of government, and the personnel of the three branches should not coincide.
- Legislature should not be able to assign the person entrusted with the executive power, or this would turn the legislature into a body with arbitrary power.
- Different functions of government should be entrusted to different agencies of government that would be largely independent of each other.
- The agencies of government should not come under the control of a single person or group of people.

- When the legislative and executive powers are united in the same person, or in the same body of magistrates, there can be no liberty.
- He placed the King outside the legislature
- He used the concept of 'executive', in modern sense
- The doctrine of separation of powers has become a universal criterion of a constitutional government.

System of Checks and Balances

- **System of Checks and Balances or theory of checks and balances** between the three branches of government
 - The judiciary is not given power over the other branches. Also it is independent of control of other branches, except that the legislature can be a supreme court of appeal in order to mitigate the sentence of law.
 - The executive office ought to have a share in the legislative power by a veto over legislation but he ought not to have power to enter positively into the making of legislation. This is to ensure that the legislature will not become despotic.
 - The legislature should have the power to examine the manner in which the executive executes the law, but should not have the right to stay executive.
 - The legislature should not be able to judge the person, or the conduct of the person who executes law. However, the councillor upon whose advise unwise policies are adopted may be punished, and for that power of impeachment must lie in the legislature with the Lower House accusing, and the Upper House judging.

Criticism

- In case of separation of powers, each branch will try to safeguard their own powers rather supporting other branches, leading to administrative inefficiency.
- This will also cause clash between the three organs of government.

Similarities to Aristotle

- Montesquieu follows the inductive and historical tradition of Aristotle and like him, is interested in practical activities.
- Pays attention on the influence of physical environment on the life of man and social institutions.
- Recognizes several basic types of government, like republican, monarchial and despotic.
- Believes that the fundamental types of political constitutions are fixed once and for all, but they vary to some extent under the impact of local conditions.
- Montesquieu's observation that the law of a society gives to it its peculiar and particular character, has its parallel in Aristotle's statement that the constitution of a state determines the vary life and character of its people, if there occurs a change in the constitution, the state itself becomes altogether a different state.

Hobbes

- Born in London in 1588.
- He wrote the book Leviathan, published in 1651.

People cannot be trusted to govern

- Argued that people are naturally wicked and cannot be trusted to govern.
- He described human beings as 'All the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short', and regarded 'every man is enemy to every man'.

Selfish creatures

- Believed that humans were basically selfish creatures who would do anything to better their position. Hence if left to them, people will act on their evil impulses.

Absolute monarchy

- He suggested 'absolute monarchy'. All power should be vested in either king or queen.
- Hobbes felt that nations, like people, were selfishly motivated, each country was in a constant battle for power and wealth.
- Hobbes wrote, "If men are naturally in a state of war, who do they always carry arms and why do they have keys to lock their doors?"
- Hobbes argued that 'Governments were created to protect people from their own selfishness and evil.'

Views about Democracy

- Hobbes believed that democracy, giving power to people to vote, would never work.
- An authority figure is necessary to provide direction and leadership.
- The best government being the one that had the great power of a leviathan.
- Was strongly against democracy, however, believed that a diverse group of representatives presenting the problems of the common person would prevent a king from being cruel and unfair.

Locke

- English philosopher- **Father of Liberalism.**
- Introduced modern liberalism.
- He postulated that mind is a blank slate- we are born without innate ideas
- Knowledge is instead determined only by experience derived from sense perception
- 'Liberalism' is the belief in the importance of liberty and equal rights, supports ideas as constitutions, liberal democracy, free and fair elections, human rights, capitalism, free trade, and the freedom of religion.
- It opposes absolutism in government, and support fundamental right to life, liberty and property.
- Rejected absolute monarchy, military dictatorship and hereditary system.
- Proposed rule of law – everyone is equal before law.
- Supports system of checks and balances
- Natural equality
- Basic human rights: right to life, liberty and property.
- US's founding fathers used these principles.
- French revolution used liberal philosophy to justify the armed overthrow of tyrannical rule.
- Theory of liberal democracy.

Basic Principles of Liberal Democracy

- Greater respect for human reasons and acceptance of beliefs with evidence and rational discussions, rather than traditional dogma. Tolerance of different religious, philosophical and political beliefs.
- Personal liberty
- Natural equality
- Check and balance on the powers of government – separation of power
- Basic human rights: legal, religious, educational and rights to marry and found a family.

Rousseau

- Rousseau equated virtue with innocence, which once lost cannot be regained.

The Social Contract Theory

- **The Social Contract Theory:** the doctrine of the society is founded on a contract between the people and the government.
 - When individuals contract to enter society, each makes that contract simultaneously with the others and with himself.
 - Each is a part of the sovereign which he is contracted to obey.
 - Freedom is changed by the act of contract. After contract obey the general will
 - Based on consent.
- Rousseau believes in inalienable supreme power (king/queen)
- Rousseau draw a sharp distinction between the supreme power and the government

Theory of General Will

- **Theory of General Will:** the general will is not the will of the majority, rather it is the will of the political organism.
 - Rousseau believed that General Will actually exist and that it demands the unqualified obedience of every individual
 - The general will exists to protect people against mass, not to require them to be sacrificed to it.
 - Law is the expression of general will. All citizens have the right to participate in it personally or through their chosen representatives.
 - Universal Dependency: everyone is totally dependent on everybody
 - Authority of legislator: a body that works out carefully worded alternatives
 - Bureaucracy: the government governs by decree
 - People who refuse to comply with the general will can be forced to comply
 - Not self-contradictory
 - Unlimited
 - Inalienable
 - Source of law
 - Unrepresentable

Man possesses two kinds of wills:

1. **Actual will:** irrational will of the individual. Self-confined and self-centered.
2. **Real will:** rational will of the individuals. Aims at the general welfare of society.

Theory of Education

- **Theory of Education:** the state must control all the schooling, because the purpose of schooling is to develop citizens who want only what the community wants.
- **Social order** is a sacred right which is the basis of all other rights.

Criticism

- Incomplete and vague
- In actual practice it is difficult to distinguish general will from the will of all.
- General will neglects the force of moral law.
- Arises a sort of conflict between the common interest and the interest of the individual.

- Not applicable to bigger state in population.

THE CSS BOOKS

Marx

- German thinker – founder of modern Socialism
- *Communist Manifesto*
- Advocacy of Socialism- opponent of Capitalism
- Developed the theory of surplus-value to explain the exploitation of workers under capitalism.
- He predicted that working class would grow in numbers and power and would eventually overthrow capitalism and establish socialism.

Basic concepts of communism

- Basic concepts of his communism were:
 - Productive behavior is the fundamental attributes of human nature.
 - Structure of any society is determined by its economic means of production.
 - Societies evolve by a series of crisis caused by interval contradiction, analyzable by dialectical materialism.
- Industrial capitalism has arisen from feudalism, by class struggle between the aristocracy and the rising bourgeois capitalist class. Dialectical materialism predicted conflict between these capitalists/ bourgeois and the working class/ proletariat.

Labour theory of value

- Labour theory of value: the value is created by labour and profit is surplus value creamed off by the capitalist.

Theory of alienation

- Theory of alienation: workers are alienated
- See Marxism for the rest of this portion

Hegel

Hegel's encyclopedia

- Hegel's encyclopedia is divided into three areas
 - Science of logic
 - Philosophy of nature
 - Philosophy of spirit
- At the core of Hegel's social and political thought are the concepts freedom, reason, self-consciousness, and recognition.
- The best statement of Hegel's political ideas is to be found in his Philosophy of Law. It expresses his conception of freedom, natural and social, which provides the key to an understanding of his political thought.

Keynote of the Hegelian system

- The Keynote of the Hegelian system is evolution, the evolution of Idea by a dialectical process.
- According to the idealist school, of which Hegel is a major exponent, true knowledge of every thing in the world - material and non material is deduced from the idea of the thing. In other word, according to idealist thinkers the idea of the thing is more important than the thing itself. Therefore, what is real and permanent is the idea of the thing not the thing as such. This is because that physical world is constantly in a state of flux and change but the idea is permanent. The knowledge of actually existing thing is relative and hence imperfect.
- Hegel starts with the assumption that the universe is a coherent whole. In this organic unity what he variously calls the Idea or Spirit or Reason or the Divine Mind, is the only reality. Everything, including matter and the external world, is the creations of the Idea or Spirit or Reason. Hence it is true to say that Reason is the sovereign of the world.
- The distinctive feature of Hegel's philosophical system is his dialectical method which he described as the logic of passion. Hegel borrowed this method from Socrates who is the first exponent of this method. The word 'dialectic' is derived from the Greek word *dialogos* which means to discuss or debate. Dialectic simply means to discuss or conversation. Socrates believed that one can arrive at the truth only by constant questioning. So dialectics was the process of exposing contradictions by discussion so as ultimately to arrive at truth. Dialectics is the only true method' for comprehending pure thought.
- The most important contribution of Hegel to political philosophy is his theory of state. Hegel regarded the state as the embodiment of the Geist or the Universal Mind. The state was the representative of the Divine Idea. His theory of state is rooted in the axiom: what is rational is real and what is real is rational. For Hegel, all states are rational in so far as they represent the various states of unfolding of Reason. He considered the state as march of God on earth or the ultimate embodiment of reason.

State, for Hegel

- State, for Hegel, is the highest manifestation of reason because it emerges as a synthesis of family (thesis) and civil society or bourgeois society (antithesis). The family is too small for the adequate satisfaction of man's wants, and as children grow up they leave it for a wider world. That world is what Hegel calls the world of bourgeois society and it is the antithesis which is called into being by the original thesis, the family. Unlike the family, which is a unity regarded by its very members as being more real than themselves, bourgeois society is a host of independent

men and women held together only by ties of contract and self-interest. Whereas the characteristic of the family is mutual love, the characteristic of bourgeois society is universal competition. The thesis, the family, a unity held together by love, knowing no differences, is thus confronted by the antithesis, bourgeois society, an aggregate of individuals held apart by competition knowing no vanity, even though it is manifestly struggling towards a greater unity which it has nevertheless not yet attained. The synthesis, which preserves what is best in thesis and antithesis, which swallows up neither family nor bourgeois society, but which gives unity and harmony to them is the state.

The essence of modern state

- The essence of modern state, according to Hegel, “is that universal is bound up with the full freedom of particularity and the welfare of individuals, that to interest of the family and of bourgeois society must connect itself with the state, but also universality of the state’s purpose cannot advance without the specific knowledge and will of the particular, which must maintain its rights.

Characteristics of state

- Divine
- The state also is an end in itself It is not only the highest expression to which the spirit has yet attained, it is the final embodiment of spirit on earth’
- The state, too, is a whole which is far greater than the parts which compose it and which have significance only in it.
- According to Hegel, rights are derived from the state and therefore no man can have any right against the state.
- The fundamental law of the state is the constitution. He opposes the democratic idea of the constitution as an instrument of government a charter and compact consciously framed for desired ends.

Bentham

- Founder of utilitarian school
- Utilitarianism: a philosophy in which everything, like institutions, ideas, acts, are tested by their usefulness to the people who are affected by them. Usefulness means the happiness of the people and happiness itself is judged by the pleasure it brings to individual. To each individual, what gives him pleasure is good and what gives him pain is bad.
- Bentham's campaign for social and political reforms in all areas, most notably the criminal law, had its theoretical basis in his utilitarianism. He formulated the principle of utility, which approves of an action in so far as an action has an overall tendency to promote the greatest amount of happiness. Happiness is identified with pleasure and the absence of pain.
- Seven things that we should take into account while assessing the pain and pleasure in relation to everything individual:
 1. Intensity
 2. Duration
 3. Certainty
 4. Proximity
 5. Productiveness
 6. Purity
 7. Extent
- A legislature should take into account these seven things, and the end of the legislature should be happiness of the people.

Character of punishment and reward

- Regarding pains and pleasures in the character of punishment and reward attached to certain rules of conduct:
 - The physical or natural sanction
 - The moral sanction
 - The political sanction
 - The religious sanction
- Did not believe in natural rights.
- Denied the existence of natural law, holding that law is the expression of the sovereign will in the shape of a command.

Theory of punishment

- Justification for the inflictions of legal punishment
 1. The sources of motivation equated to the sources of punishment
 2. The distribution of pain
 3. Proportionality of punishment
 4. Calculation and the surfeit of pleasure over pain
- Bentham's favored forms of punishment (Imprisonment)