GPS S1 01

Political Theory

(PART-A)

SEMESTER - 1

POLITICAL SCIENCE

BLOCK - 1

KRISHNA KANTA HANDIQUI STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY

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BACHELOR OF ARTS

POLITICAL SCIENCE

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COURSE INTRODUCTION

The first course or paper in Political Science of the BA Programme of KKHSOU is titled “Political Theory- Part A”. It is designed to help the learners to have an understanding of the basic theoretical elements with regard to the study of Political Science.

Political Scince as a discipline looks into diverse aspects of political life and has acquired different connotations at different stages of its evolution. Accordingly, the *first unit* of the course “Political Theory: Part A” looks into the meaning, nature and scope of Political Science. As a social science, political science is also closely related to other social sciences such as history, sociology, economics, anthropology, etc. The *second unit* deals with the relationship of Political Science with other social sciences. The study of political science has a very ancient tradition and could be traced back to ancient Greece. Political Science as a discipline has evolved over a long period of time continuing right upto the modern period. The *third unit* deals with the growth of Political Science as a discipline.

Traditionally, the discipline of political science fundamentally deals with an investigation of the meaning and nature of the State as a very basic organsation of political existence of the individual as a member of the community. The *fourth unit* therefore discusses the organistaion of the state, its meaning and nature. There are different theories regarding how the state actually came into being. The *fifth , sixth and seventh units* accordingly discusses the various theories regarding the evolution of the state.

In the realm of Political Science, the study of sovereignty assumes special significance. Sovereignty is the most essential element of the state as there can be no state without sovereignty. There are also two different theories of soverignty, namely, Austin’s theory of Sovereignty and the Pluralist theory of Sovereignty. The *eighth unit,* accordingly, discusses the meaning and nature of sovereignty while the *ninth unit* discusses the theories of sovereignty.

An integral subject matter of political science is that of democracy. As a form of government, there are two types of democracy– Pure or Direct Democracy and Indirect or Representative Democracy. The *tenth unit* discusses democracy and its various types. The concepts of Power, Authority and Legitimacy, are closely associated with the very notion of the state.Without legitimate authority, the state cannot exercise its power. The *eleventh unit* discusses these basic concepts of Power, Authority and Legitimacy. There are certain basic issues in the field of Political Science which determines the nature of relationship between the individual and the state. These include concepts like Rights and Liberty, Justice and Equality. Accordingly, the *twelfth unit* deals with the concepts of Rights and Liberty, while the *thirteenth unit* deals with the concepts of Justice and Equality.

An important concept in Political Science which relates to the position of the individual vis-a-vis the state is that of citizenship. The *fourteenth unit* discusses the very basic concept of citizenship. Political Science is also concerned with the spheres of activity of the state. Accordingly, the *fifteenth unit* discusses the notions of individualism and socialism.

The course “Political Theory- Part A” is divided into two blocks- Block-1 and Block-2. Block-1 contains seven units (Units 1-7) and Block-2 contains eight units (Units 8-15).

INTRODUCTION TO BLOCK-1

This is the first block of the first course or paper of Krishna Kanta Handiqui State Open University's B.A. Programme in Political science. The first course or paper of the BA Programme in Political Science is titled "Political Theory - Part A". The first block of this course contains five units- (Units 1-5).

The First Unit introduces the learners to the basic knowledge regarding the meaning, nature and scope of Political Science.

The Second Unit discusses the relationship of Political Science with other social sciences.

The Third Unit focuses on the growth of Political Science as a Discipline.

The Fourth Unit deals with one of the most imporatnt subject of Political science i.e. the state.

The Fifth Unit discusses two important theories which explain the origin of the state, namely, the Divine Origin theory and the Evolutionary theory.

The Sixth Unit discusses the Social Contract theory regarding the origin of the state.

The Seventh Unit deals with another theory regarding the origin of the state, i.e. the Marxist theory.

While going through the units of the block, you will find that unit is further divided into certain sections and sub-sections, wherever necessary, for your better understanding. The units carry certain *activities* after a particular section where needed. These "ACTIVITIES" will provide you the opportunity to practically apply your own thoughts based on the knowledge gained from reading the text in a particular section. Besides, in order to give you additional information on certain relevant topics, you will find a category called "LET US KNOW" after the sections in each unit. Another category that has been included at the end of each section of a particular unit is "CHECK YOUR PROGRESS". The purpose of this category is to help you to asses for yourself as to how thoroughly you have understood a particular section. You may then match your answers with "ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS" given at the end of each unit. The section "FURTHER READING" in each unit contains the names of a few books which you might want to consult if you are intereted in learning more elaborately about the concepts discussed in a particular unit. Furthermore, the category called "MODEL QUESTIONS" is intended to give you a hint of the type of questions you are likely to get in the examination.

UNIT 1: POLITICAL SCIENCE: MEANING , NATURE AND SCOPE

UNIT STRUCTURE

1.1 Learning Objectives

1.2 Introduction

1.3 Meaning of Political Science and Politics

1.4 Nature of Political Science

1.4.1 Political Science : Science or Art

1.4.2 Changing Dynamics of the Meaning of Political Science

1.5 Scope of Political Science

1.6 Let Us Sum Up

1.7 Further Reading

1.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

1.9 Model Questions

1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to-

- discuss the meaning of Political Science
- explain the meaning of Politics
- explain the nature of Political Science
- discuss the scope of Political Science.

1.2 INTRODUCTION

We all are acquainted with the term 'Political Science'. Ever since man started living an organised social life, Politics has come to play a very important role. As we all know, Political Science is concerned with different political activities of human beings. However, at different stages of history Political Science has carried different meanings and its scope is continuously widening. Though Political Science has been discussed by different political thinkers since ancient time, the history of Political Science as an academic discipline is not very old. In this unit, we shall discuss the

meaning of Political Science and politics. At the same time, we shall also discuss the nature and scope of Political Science.

1.3 MEANING OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND POLITICS



Aristotle :
He was an ancient Greek philosopher born in 384 B.C. in Stagira, Ancient Greece. His most important book is "Politics" The three Greek thinkers from ancient Greece, namely, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle laid the foundation for western philosophy.



City-States :
The several hundred more-or-less independent territorial units which together constituted Ancient Greece.

While discussing the meaning of Political Science, it is seen that the term "politics" was first used by ***Aristotle***, the famous Greek philosopher. He called it "the master science." Aristotle, in his famous book, *Politics* has said, "Man is by nature a political animal and he, who by nature and not by mere accident is without state, is either above humanity or below it." (Agarwal,R.C.: *Political Theory- Principles of Political Science*, S. Chand & Company Ltd., New Delhi, 2007, p.1) From this definition, it becomes clear that human beings, by nature, desire to live in a society because it is only a well-organized society that could help them to meet their needs. As a corollary, for well-organized social existence, what is required is a well-governed state which can ensure security of human life and provide for human welfare and progress. At the same time, there needs to be an institutional mechanism in the form of the government for the purpose of exercising political power and governing the state. Accordingly, in its traditional sense, the subject of Political Science is but a scientific study of the State and Government. As a matter of fact, in ancient Greece, the subject dealing with the activities associated with the ***city-states*** or *polis* was described as politics.

Let us examine some important definitions regarding the meaning of Political Science as it is understood in its traditional sense.

- According to American political scientist, Dr. Garner, "Political Science begins and ends with the state" (Agarwal,R.C.: *Political Theory- Principles of Political Science*, S. Chand & Company Ltd., New Delhi, 2007, p.3)
- According to French political philosopher, Paul Janet, "Political Science is that part of social science which treats the foundations of the State and the principles of government." (Kapur, A.C. :

Principles of Political Science, S. Chand & Company Ltd., New Delhi, 2006, p.17)

- According to German thinker, Garris, "Political Science deals with the origin, development, purpose, and all political problems of the State." (Agarwal,R.C.: *Political Theory- Principles of Political Science*, S. Chand & Company Ltd., New Delhi, 2007, p.3)
- According to British historian, Sir John Seeley, "Political Science investigates the phenomena of Government as Political Economy deals with Wealth, Biology with life, Algebra with numbers and Geometry with space and magnitude." (Agarwal,R.C.: *Political Theory- Principles of Political Science*, S. Chand & Company Ltd., New Delhi, 2007, p.3)
- According to British political scientist, Stephen Leacock, "Political Science deals with the Government." (Agarwal,R.C.: *Political Theory- Principles of Political Science*, S. Chand & Company Ltd., New Delhi, 2007, p.3)

From the above definitions, it becomes amply clear that Political Science has been defined by many scholars from the point of view of the State and Government. However, modern political scientists have shifted their focus from the study of the state to the study of what they describe as the Political System. The term political system brings the study of political science closer to the larger social environment.The political system interacts with other systems such as the economic system, the cultural system, the legal system and other social systems all of which operate within the larger social environment. Accordingly, Political Science today has gone beyond the study of mere formal institutions like the state and government to studying the processes and influences acting upon the political system and vice-versa.

Significantly, one key element in the realm of Political Science today is the concept of Politics. The term "politics" has been gaining much importance in the study of present-day political science. Politics arises out of diversity. Human society is marked by the existence of a wide variety of groups and communities. Each group expresses its own opinions, wants,

needs or interests. In situations where there is complete harmony among all regarding the goals and aspirations to be achieved, there can be no politics. Politics arises only when there is disagreement among the various groups and communities with regard to their respective wants or interests. Each group seeks to achieve its varied legal and constitutional goals to promote different articulated interests at the local, national and international levels.

Politics involves the expression of differing opinions by and competition among opposing groups with regard to their wants and interests. At the same time, politics involves attempts made towards reconciling these competing interests by exploring procedures for the resolution of disagreements among the various contending parties in a way that minimizes disagreements and frictions while creating enough ground for mutual cooperation. Resolution of conflict is, thus, an important objective of politics. Finally, politics is about taking collective decisions (by the government) which are regarded as binding upon a group of people, aimed at the resolution of conflict. In this context, politics becomes an exercise of power that is legitimate in nature. Harold Lasswell, defined political science "as the study of the shaping and sharing of power". (Dahl. A. Robert and Bruce Stinebrickner : *Modern Political Analysis-sixth edition*, Pearson Education Inc., New Delhi, 2003, p.23).

In the final analysis, Political Science has assumed broad connotations or meanings covering the study of not merely institutional mechanisms like the state and government, but the actual dynamics and processes of various political phenomena involving power, influence, rule, authority, bargaining and conflict resolution that take place within the political system in relation to the larger social environment.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: The term "politics" was first used by Aristotle, the famous Greek philosopher. (True/False)

.....

Q 2: What was the subject dealing with the activities associated with the city-states or *polis* in ancient Greece described as?

.....

Q 3: According to ……..……, "Political Science begins and ends with the state." (Fill in the blank)

Q 4: Who said "Political Science deals with the Government"?

.....

Q 5: Who defined political science "as the study of the shaping and sharing of power"?

.....

Q 6: Modern political scientists have shifted their focus from the study of the state to the study of the ……(Fill in the blank)

1.4 NATURE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

We all know the fact that the nature of social science is not the same as that of other sciences. Political Science is a part of social sciences. Being a part of social sciences, nature of political science is different from that of physical sciences like physics and chemistry. In this section, we shall deal with the nature of Political Science and while discussing the nature of Political Science, we have to look into a few issues, such as whether Political Science is a Science or an Art and how the nature of the discipline has undergone changes in the 20th century.

1.4.1. Political Science : Science or Art

From the very beginning, there has been a debate among the scholars regarding the status of political science whether political science is a science or an art. French political philosopher, Jean Bodin (1530-96) first used the term 'political science'. Later, other thinkers namely, David Hume (British political thinker), Sir Frederick Pollock (British political thinker) and Sir John Seeley (British historian) also preferred its use. But there is disagreement among the scholars about the status of the discipline. Aristotle called it the master science

through which civilisation could be saved. American political thinkers like David Easton tried to establish a scientific basis of Political Science. But Earnest Barker (British political thinker), James Bryce (British political thinker), Charles A. Beard (British historian) and others were reluctant to accept Political Science as a science. To examine this debate, first let us try to define science. Science is universal and a systematic body of knowledge, based on accurate and impartial facts, through which observation, comparison and experimentation can be made. Apparently, political science does not have some of these features. Charles A. Beard in 1926 observed that it was neither possible nor desirable that there should be a science of politics. Because Political Science is concerned with society, government, law and human behaviour which vary from place to place.

- The following are some arguments against the notion of Political Science as a Science:-
  - Lack of precise and standard definitions of terms and concepts.
  - Complexity of political phenomena due to variation in the nature and habits of people.
  - Diversity of 'environments' in which political developments take place.
  - Problems of experimentation to arrive at valid conclusions.
- But efforts are made to systematise the study of Political Science and to acclaim the status of a science. Here are some of the arguments in favour of this claim:
  - Recently, political theory has developed based on facts and verifiable data, e.g., voting behavior and theories of election.
  - Political experiments are not completely ruled out. The government itself is a continuous experiment.
  - It is possible to make predictions on the basis of social experimentations to a certain extent.
  - Broad conclusions can be drawn in Political Science such as–an

independent and impartial judiciary and a free press are essential for democracy.

- Empirical studies are based on careful observation and classification. Political Science puts a hypothesis or an assumption to empirical verification. Theories are not built on speculation. Political Scientists today, employ survey methods, graphs, charts and other scientific tools to arrive at their research conclusions.

Political Science is thus a science, though not like the physical sciences. It is a social science. American political scientist, Robert Dahl states that Political science is both a Science and an Art. Art refers to practical application of knowledge. Political Science applies the knowledge about political events for creating a good social and political order. Hence it is an art. Whenever students of Political Science test their theories against the data of experience by observation, the political analysis can be regarded as scientific. When this political analysis is applied for the working of political institutions, it becomes an art.

1.4.2 Changing Dynamics of the Meaning of Political Science

In the contemporary time, the meaning and nature of Political Science have assumed a dynamic character. More particularly after the World War II, the meaning and nature of political science have undergone a sea change. Now political science is closely related to all aspects of social relations, rather than an activity centred on the institutions of government. Politics is viewed as a phenomenon found in and between all groups, institutions and societies. It is manifested in the activities of cooperation, negotiation and struggle over the limited resources—economic, social or political. So the aims and objectives of political science have changed due to factors such as the rise of the power theory and behaviouralism. Politics is portrayed as a process of conflict resolution, in which rival views or competing interests are reconciled for the benefit of all. The new meaning of Political Science includes the dynamics

of power and struggle at various levels — local, regional, national and international.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.7: Who used the term 'Political Science' for the first time?

.....

Q.8: State any two arguments against the notion of political science as a science.

.....

.....

.....

.....

Q.9: State any two arguments against the notion of political science as an art.

.....

.....

.....

.....

1.5 SCOPE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

There is a difference of opinion among the political scientists regarding the scope of Political Science. With the passage of time, the scope of the discipline also keeps on changing. In recent times, political science has ceased to be merely the science of state-craft. Now political science covers a comprehensive field and it has become dynamic in character. Political science deals with each and every aspect of the state and government in relation to their past and present and also focuses upon the probable developments in the future. In simple terms, we could say that the discipline of political science has profound influences on every aspect of our day-to-day life. During the second half of the 20th century, the power theorists and behaviouralists also widened the area of study of political

science. This trend started to focus upon all facets of power relations and human behaviour having political implications in the society.

In the first instance, political science makes a survey of the origin and growth of organised political life. Scholars at different stages attempt to draw inferences from the past and draw conclusions about the state, government, law and political behaviour. In this way, various currents of political thought including individualism, socialism and democracy, have emerged which help to understand the present institutions, ideas and processes.

Then, political science investigates the prevailing political concepts, political institutions and phenomena. It analyses the groups and organisations like political party, pressure groups, social movements, executive, judiciary, law and courts which seek power and influence the society. Different forms of government and their working, various international organisations and their role in politics are other aspects of political science. Election studies, opinion polls and voting behavior studies have also become important aspects of the scope of political science.

Moreover, speculation and prediction about the future course of development, and proposals for improvement in the existing political processes and structures have been important aspects of political science since the days of Aristotle. Political science studies the state as it ought to be or the 'ideal form'. Gettell says that political science is a historical investigation of what the state had been, an analytical study of what the state is and a politico-ethical discussion of what the state should be.

In recent times, some writers like Lasswell (American political scientist), Kaplan (American political scientist), Morgenthau (American political scientist), Russell (British scholar) and Foucault (French Scholar) have attempted to make political science the 'study of power'. It is the factor of power that makes the state different from other associations. This new aspect of study enlarged the scope of political science. Apart from this, political science in modern times has become 'policy science', aimed at formulating integrated and comprehensive policies in order to address and solve various problems at different levels. Since the 1990s, the developments

in the arena of human rights and human development, new social movements and upsurges in civil society have also widened the scope of political science.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.10: Mention the names of any two political scientists who had attempted to make political science the 'study of power'.

.....

Q.11: State the view of Gettell regarding the scope of political science.

.....

.....

.....



1.6 LET US SUM UP

- In the contemporary time, the meaning of Political Science has become more and more inclusive. Earlier political science had been defined by many scholars from the point of view of the State and Government. But now the term political system brings the study of political science closer to other systems such as the economic system, the cultural system, the legal system and other social systems all of which operate within the larger social environment.
- One key element in the realm of Political Science is the concept of Politics. Politics arises out of diversity. Human society is marked by the existence of a wide variety of groups and communities. Politics arises only when there is disagreement among the various groups and communities with regard to their respective wants or interests. Each group seeks to achieve its varied legal and constitutional goals to promote different articulated interests at the local, national and international levels.
- Regarding the nature of Political Science, there is a difference of opinion among scholars, whether political science is a science or

an art. Political scientists have put forward some arguments in favour of the notion that political science is a science, such as - political theory has developed based on facts and verifiable data, like, voting behavior and theories of election; in political science there is much scope for experiments, for example the government itself is a continuous process of experiment; broad conclusions can be drawn in political science; empirical studies are based on careful observation and classification. Political scientists today employ survey methods, graphs, charts and other scientific tools to arrive at their research conclusions.

- At the same time, another section of political scientists opine that political science is an art and they put forward some argument in favour of this notion, such as–lack of precise and standard definitions of terms and concepts; complexity of political phenomena due to variation in the nature and habits of people; diversity of 'environments' in which political developments take place; problems of experimentation to arrive at valid conclusions.
- With the passage of time, the scope of political science also keeps on changing. In recent times, political science has ceased to be merely the science of state-craft. Now political science covers a comprehensive field and it has become dynamic in character. Political science deals with each and every aspect of the state and government in relation to their past and present and also focuses upon the probable developments in the future. Nowadays, factors like the developments in the arena of human rights and human development and new social movements and upsurges in civil society have also widened the scope of political science.



1.7 FURTHER READING

1. Agarwal, R.C. (2006). *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd.

2. Asirvatham, E & Misra, K.K. (2006). *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd.
3. Kapur, A.C. (2006). *Principles of Political Science*. New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd.
4. Sharma, R.K. (2011). M*odern Political Science*. New Delhi: DPS Publications.
5. Mahajan, V.D. (2008). *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chands & Company Ltd.



1.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1: True

Ans to Q. No. 2: Politics

Ans to Q. No. 3: Dr. Garner

Ans to Q. No. 4: Stephen Leacock

Ans to Q. No. 5: Harold Lasswell

Ans to Q. No. 6: Political System

Ans to Q. No. 7: Jean Bodin

Ans to Q. No. 8: (i) Lack of precise and standard definitions of terms and concepts.

(ii) Complexity of political phenomena due to variation in the nature and habits of people.

Ans to Q. No. 9: (i) Political theory has developed based on facts and verifiable data, e.g., voting behavior and theories of election.

(ii) Political experiments are not completely ruled out. The government itself is a continuous experiment.

Ans to Q. No. 10: Kaplan, Morgenthau

Ans to Q. No. 11: Political science is a historical investigation of what the state had been, an analytical study of what the state is and a politico-ethical discussion of what the state should be.



1.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q.1: Who wrote the book “Politics” ?

Q.2: Mention the name of one political scientist who opined that Political Science is both an art and a science.

Q.3: Mention the definition of political science provided by Sir John Seeley.

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in around 150 words)

Q.1: Write briefly about the meaning of Political Science.

Q.2: Write a short note on the changing meaning of Political Science.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in around 300-500 words)

Q.1: Discuss the nature of Political Science.

Q.2: Explain the scope of Political Science.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 2: RELATIONSHIP OF POLITICAL SCIENCE WITH OTHER SOCIAL SCIENCES

UNIT STRUCTURE

2.1 Learning Objectives

2.2 Introduction

2.3 Relationship of Political Science with Sociology

2.4 Relationship of Political Science with History

2.5 Relationship of Political Science with Economics

2.6 Relationship of Political Science with Ethics

2.7 Relationship of Political Science with Anthropology

2.8 Relationship of Political Science with Geography

2.9 Relationship of Political Science with Psychology

2.10 Let Us Sum Up

2.11 Further Reading

2.12 Answers to Check Your Progress

2.13 Model Questions

2.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to-

- explain the relationship between political science and history
- examine the relationship between political science and sociology
- analyse the relationship between political science and economics
- explain the relationship between political science and ethics
- examine the relationship between political science and anthropology
- explain the relationship between political science and geography
- explain the relationship between political science and psychology.

2.2 INTRODUCTION

Man is a social animal and he lives in a society. There are many dimensions to his social life– economic, political, psychological, historical, sociological, etc. Political Science as a social science, deals with the political

aspect of man's social life. However, it is closely related to other social sciences such as History, Economics, Sociology, Psychology, Ethics, etc. In recent times, the study of social sciences has assumed an inter-disciplinary character in the sense that the researchers and students of one specialised social science works in coordination with the researchers and students of other specialised social sciences. Thus, though Political Science is an autonomous discipline, yet it has close relationship with other fields of study like economics, history, sociology, psychology, anthropology and ethics. The Behavioural thinkers gave importance towards establishing such relationships between political science and other disciplines. In this unit, we shall discuss the relationship of political science with other social sciences.

2.3 RELATIONSHIP OF POLITICAL SCIENCE WITH SOCIOLOGY

Sociology is the science of society. It deals with the origin, development and structure of all forms of human associations in the society. Political Science, on the other hand, mainly deals with one form of human association, namely, the state. As such, the scope of Political Science is much narrower than that of Sociology. Moreover, Political Science is restricted to only the political aspect of man's life, while Sociology deals with the social man in all the various aspects of his life, namely, social, ethnic, economic, political, religious, etc.

Sociology deals with all types of social structure and activities of society. Hence it also studies the state structure, which is a fundamental theme of political science. The Behavioural political scientists have taken much from sociological writings of Talcott Parsons (American Sociologist) and Robert K Merton (American Sociologist) to enrich empirical political theory. This popular trend gave birth to a new subject called political sociology. In fact, students of political science must learn the principles of sociology and students of sociology must derive from political science facts about the organisation and activities of the state. Political science studies

the state and government while sociology studies nation, tribe, clan, family and all forms of human associations, state being one of them. However, although the spheres of the two sciences have been separated, both Political Science and Sociology are complimentary to each other. For instance, the state which is the subject-matter of Political Science, is also dealt with by Sociology. It studies the evolution of the state form its very birth and tries to analyze the complex social forces which are responsible for bringing the state organization into existence. By presenting these facts, Sociology helps Political Science. Similarly, Political Science also helps Sociology by presenting the details about the state and the government.

2.4 RELATIONSHIP OF POLITICAL SCIENCE WITH HISTORY

Political Science is closely related to History. In order to fully understand the origin and development of political institutions, we have to take the help of history. For example, the nature of monarchy in Britain and the functioning of the British Parliament can be appreciated only in the light of a thorough study of the history of Britain. The history of Britain reveals that the English people continually protested and struggled against the despotic monarchy of their own rulers, resulting in the Glorious Revolution of 1688. It paved the way for the establishment of a limited monarchy and recognition of the rights of the parliament in Britain. Thus, we find that the political institutions that exist today in a particular form have their roots in the past. At the same time, it must be mentioned that History is not merely a record of past events and institutions. The study of History becomes fruitful only when the political significance of various historical events and movements is properly appreciated. Thus, both History and Political Science are complementary and contributory. Political science and its ideas are embedded in particular time and environment in history. So the two disciplines are closely related and complement each other. For the proper understanding of history, knowledge of political institutions and the principles which govern them is very vital. Again political scientists

draw conclusions from historical events and arrive at principles which govern political life. The relation between History and Political Science has been very aptly described by the British historian, Sir John Seely as follows: “History without Political Science has no fruit, Political Science without History has no root”.

2.5 RELATIONSHIP OF POLITICAL SCIENCE WITH ECONOMICS

The relation between Political Science and Economics is very intimate. As a matter of fact, Economics started its career as political economy. The Greeks regarded political economy as the art of providing revenue for the state. The name of the book by the British political economist Adam Smith, the father of modern economics, was *Wealth of Nations*. He pointed out that economics is a science to enrich people and the state. Writers like Machiavelli (Italian thinker), John Locke (British philosopher), Bentham (British political philosopher), James Mill (British political thinker) and J.S. Mill (British political thinker) discussed political and economic affairs together. According to Karl Marx (German thinker), it is the economic factor alone which determines the politics of a nation. The forms and functions of a government are considerably influenced by economic forces. The concepts of Individualism, Socialism and Communism are primarily based on economic principles. Conversely, the economic activities of a country are largely determined by the existing form of government and its policies. The taxation policy of the government, its Export and Import policy, its exchange rates and the banking system related policies, etc., influence the economy of the country to a great extent. Economic stability accounts for political stability and vice-versa. Modern states are confronted with numerous economic problems, which cannot be solved except through the political action of the state. The modern state is regarded as a welfare state whose main functions are economic in nature.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Who is the author of the book '*Wealth of Nations'.*

.....

Q.2: Sociology is the science of the society. (True/False)

.....

Q.3: Mention the names of two writers who discussed political and economic affairs together.

.....

Q.4: Who said, "History without Political Science has no fruit, Political Science without History has no root"?

.....

Q.5: According to Marx, what is the determining factor of a nation's politics?

.....

Q.6: The Greeks regarded ……as the art of providing revenue for the state. (Fill in the blank)

Q.7: Describe the relationship between Political Science and Sociology. (within 60 words).

.....

.....

.....

.....

2.6 RELATIONSHIP OF POLITICAL SCIENCE WITH ETHICS

The relationship between Political Science and Ethics is very close. Both of them aim at doing good to man and promoting the common welfare. The state was organized for maintaining law, order and morality. Infact, laws should be enacted in such a way as to strengthen the moral beliefs of

the people. The actions of the state that violate the principles of morality are condemned. The ancient philosophers duly emphasised the moral end of the state. According to Greek political philosopher Aristotle, the state came into existence for the sake of good life. Modern writes also speak of the close relationship between Ethics and Political Science. Mahatma Gandhi tried to combine political principles with moral values and laid stress on the fact that both ends and means should always be good.

Ethics is concerned with morality, values and norms of human behaviour. Man is a rational being and can differentiate between right and wrong, just and unjust. Since long, social and political philosophers have tried to integrate their ideas about state, government and law with certain ethical standards. For example, in the ancient period the Greek political philosopher Plato put forward the theory of ideal state. Aristotle also said that State exists for good life. During the medieval period, theology governed the ethical standards in politics. Modern political thinkers like Rousseau (French philosopher), Kant (German philosopher), Hegel (German philosopher), Green (British philosopher) and Mahatma Gandhi also attached great importance to ethics and morality in political science. Mahatma Gandhi even said that politics without morality is a death trap. In the 20th century, the behavioural revolution and the emphasis upon the concept of power lessened the importance of norms and values in political studies. But recently, there has been a resurgence of ethical orientation. Concern for human beings and human values is a fundamental aspect of modern day political science.

2.7 RELATIONSHIP OF POLITICAL SCIENCE WITH ANTHROPOLOGY

Political Science is closely related to Anthropology. Anthropology has a wealth of material regarding diverse types of social systems in terms of their customs, attitudes, values, patterns of behaviour, leadership, etc. Political Science takes the help of such data for making comparative analysis. Writers like Jenks (American anthropologist) and Morgan

(American anthropologist) have collected immense facts form Anthropology on the basis of which they have explained the origin of the state. Racial unity is still regarded as a strong bond of nationality. The modern system of law has been considerably influenced by ancient usages, customs and religious institutions recorded by Anthropology.

2.8 RELATIONSHIP OF POLITICAL SCIENCE WITH GEOGRAPHY

Political Science has also some relation with Geography. The character and national life of peoples are influenced by physical conditions of a state such as topography, climatic conditions, insularity, presence or absence of rivers or mountains, proximity to or distance from the sea. The difference in geographical factors largely explains the difference in the trend of political thought, economy and administrative systems of different countries. Various writers have attempted to prove the relationship between geographical environment and political organizations of the people. French political philosopher, Jean Jacques Rousseau, argued that climatic conditions could determine the nature of polity of a nation. French political philosopher Montesquieu emphasised the influence of physical environments on the forms of government and liberty of the people.



LET US KNOW

In modern times, a lot of attention has been given by a number of writers to the influence of geographical factors on political institutions. This has resulted in the emergence of a new stream of thought called “Geo-politic”.

2.9 RELATIONSHIP OF POLITICAL SCIENCE WITH PSYCHOLOGY

Political science has an intimate relationship with Psychology, the science of the human mind. Social psychology in particular is of great help

in understanding the mind and behaviour of the human groups. The ideas and laws propounded by the state are likely to fail if they ignore the psychological factors of people. Political leaders and government machinery must have an insight into the working of human mind to be able to solve the problems. Knowledge of psychology is important for realistic and objective public policy in the state. James Bryce (American political scientist) has even said that politics has its roots in psychology.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.8: Mahatma Gandhi tried to combine ……. principles with moral values. (Fill in the blank)

Q.9: Jenks and Morgan have borrowed immensely from Anthropology to explain the origin of the state. (True/False)

.....

Q.10: Psychology is the science of the ……. (Fill in the blank).

Q.11: Mention the names of any two political scientists who emphasised on the relationship between political science and geography.

.....

Q.12: Describe the relationship between Political Science and Ethics. (within 60 words).

.....

.....



2.10 LET US SUM UP

- Political Science is integrally related to other social sciences such as Sociology, History, Economics, Ethics and Anthropology. Political Science helps us to understand other social sciences better and vice-versa.

- Political Science and Sociology are complimentary to each other. For instance, the state which is the subject-matter of Political Science, is also dealt with by Sociology. It studies the evolution of the state form its very birth and tries to analyse the complex social forces which are responsible for bringing the state organization into existence. By presenting these facts, Sociology helps Political Science. Similarly, Political Science also helps Sociology by presenting the details about the state and the government.
- Political Science is closely related to History. In order to fully understand the origin and development of political institutions, we have to take the help of history. The study of History is becomes fruitful only when the political significance of various historical events and movements is properly appreciated. Thus, both History and Political Science are complementary and contributory.
- The relation between Political Science and Economics is very intimate. As a matter of fact, Economics started its career as Political economy. The Greeks regarded Political economy as the art of providing revenue for the state. The forms and functions of a government are considerably influenced by economic forces. The concepts of Individualism, Socialism and Communism are primarily based on economic principles. The modern state is regarded as a welfare state whose main functions are economic in nature.
- The relationship between Political Science and Ethics is very close. Both of them aim at doing good to man and promoting the common welfare. The state was organized for maintaining law, order and morality. Infact, laws should be enacted in such a way as to strengthen the moral beliefs of the people. Ethics is concerned with morality, values and norms of human behaviour. Concern for human beings and human values is a fundamental aspect of modern day political science.
- Political Science is closely related to Anthropology. Anthropology has a wealth of material regarding diverse types of social systems in terms of their customs, attitudes, values, patterns of behaviour,

leadership, etc. Political Science takes the help of such data for making comparative analysis. The modern system of law has been considerably influenced by ancient usages, customs and religious institutions recorded by Anthropology.

- Political Science has also some relation with Geography. The character and national life of peoples are influenced by physical conditions of a state such as topography, climatic conditions, insularity, presence or absence of rivers or mountains, proximity to or distance from the sea.
- The difference in geographical factors largely explains the difference in the trend of political thought, economy and administrative systems of different countries. Various writers have attempted to prove the relationship between geographical environment and political organisations of the people.
- In modern times, a lot of attention has been given by a number of writers to the influence of geographical factors on political institutions. This has resulted in the emergence of a new stream of thought called “Geo-politics.”
- Political science has an intimate relationship with Psychology, the science of the human mind. Social psychology in particular is of great help in understanding the mind and behaviour of the human groups. The ideas and laws propounded by the state are likely to fail if they ignore the psychological factors of people. Knowledge of psychology is important for realistic and objective public policy in the state.



2.11 FURTHER READING

1. Agarwal, R.C. (2006). *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd.

2. Asirvatham, E & Misra, K.K. (2006). *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd.

3. Kapur, A.C. (2006). *Principles of Political Science*. New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd.

4. Mahajan, V.D. (2008). *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chands & Company Ltd.



2.12 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1: Adam Smith

Ans to Q. No. 2: True

Ans to Q. No. 3: Machiavelli and John Locke

Ans to Q. No. 4: Sir John Seely

Ans to Q. No. 5: Economy

Ans to Q. No. 6: Political economy

Ans to Q. No. 7: Sociology deals with the origin, development and structure of all forms of human associations in the society. Political Science, on the other hand, mainly deals with one form of human association, namely, the state. As such, the scope of Political Science is much narrower than that of Sociology. Political Science studies the state and government while sociology studies nation, tribe, clan, family and all forms of human associations, state being one of them. However, although the spheres of the two sciences have been separated, both Political Science and Sociology are complimentary to each other. For instance, the state which is the subject-matter of Political Science, is also dealt with by Sociology. It studies the evolution of the state form its very birth and tries to analyze the complex social forces which are responsible for bringing the state organization into existence. By presenting these facts, Sociology helps Political Science. Similarly, Political Science also helps Sociology by presenting the details about the state and the government.

Ans to Q. No. 8: political

Ans to Q. No. 9: True

Ans to Q. No. 10: human mind

Ans to Q. No. 11: Jean Jacques Rousseau and Montesquieu

Ans to Q. No. 12: The relationship between Political Science and Ethics is very close. Both of them aim at doing good to man and promoting the common welfare. The state was organized for maintaining law, order and morality. Infact, laws should be enacted in such a way as to strengthen the moral beliefs of the people. The actions of the state that violate the principles of morality are condemned. The ancient philosophers duly emphasised the moral end of the state. According to Greek political philosopher Aristotle, the state came into existence for the sake of good life. Modern writers also speak of the close relationship between Ethics and Political Science. Mahatma Gandhi tried to combine political principles with moral values and laid stress on the fact that both ends and means should always be good.

In the 20th century, the behavioural revolution and the emphasis upon the concept of power lessened the importance of norms and values in political studies. But recently, there has been a resurgence of ethical orientation. Concern for human beings and human values is a fundamental aspect of modern day political science.



2.13 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Mention the names of the two writers from whose sociological writings the Behavioural political scientists have borrowed ideas.

Q. 2: Who remarked “history without political science has no fruit and political science without history has no roots”?

Q.3: Mention the names of any two writers who have discussed political and economic affairs together.

Q.4: Who emphasised the influence of physical environments on the forms of government and liberty of the people?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q.1: Write a short note on the relationship between Political Science and Economics.

Q. 2: Write a short note on the relationship between Political Science and History.

Q. 3: Explain the relationship between Political Science and Sociology.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q. 1: Discuss the relationship between Political Science and Ethics; Political Science and Geography.

Q. 2: Discuss the relationship between Political Science and Economics; Political Science and Psychology.

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UNIT 3: GROWTH OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AS A DISCIPLINE

UNIT STRUCTURE

3.1 Learning Objectives

3.2 Introduction

3.3 Growth of Political Science as a Discipline

- 3.3.1 Growth of Political Science in the Early Period
- 3.3.2 Growth of Political Science in the Medieval Period
- 3.3.3 Growth of Political Science in the Modern Period
- 3.3.4 Present Status of the Discipline of Political Science

3.4 Let Us Sum Up

3.5 Further Reading

3.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

3.7 Model Questions

3.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to-

- explain the growth of political science as a discipline in the early period
- examine the growth of political science in the medieval period
- discuss the growth of political science in the modern period
- examine the present status of political science as a discipline.

3.2 INTRODUCTION

The study of political science or rather we can say the study of politics started in ancient Greece for the first time. From that ancient period till modern day, by passing through various stages, the discipline of Political Science has assumed the present form. Since this discipline is dynamic in character, it keeps on changing from time to time. In the previous units, we discussed the meaning, nature, scope of political science. We have also examined the relationship of political science with other social sciences. In

this unit we shall discuss the evolution or growth of political science as a discipline.

3.3 GROWTH OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AS A DISCIPLINE

Now we shall discuss how political science has assumed the present form of discipline of study with special reference to early period, medieval period and modern period.

3.3.1 Growth of Political Science in the Early Period

The study of politics has had a long tradition. As a matter of fact, the study of Political Science has its roots in Ancient Greece. The Greeks used the term “politika” to describe the numerous activities of the “Polis” or city-states in which they lived. Thus, it was the Greek thinkers who laid the foundation for the development of a systematic science of politics. They were mainly concerned with questions of morality and ethics and tried to define an ideal state. In Ancient Greece, the roots of the study of politics was found in the works of prominent ancient Greek poets like Homer and Hesiod, and Thucydides, the ancient greek historian. However, the first efforts to systematically study politics can be traced to the works of the two famous political thinkers from ancient Greece, namely, Plato and Aristotle. In ‘The Republic’ , Plato discussed the very important concepts associated with politics like the concept of justice, scheme of education, communism of family and property, philosopher king, ideal state, etc. After Plato, Aristotle made significant contribution in the development of the discipline of political science. In his famous book ‘The Politics’ , Aristotle discussed some very important concepts like justice, ideal state, citizenship, revolution, slavery, classification of constitution, democracy, etc., in a very systematic manner. Ancient Roman thinkers like Polybius and Cicero also contributed in the development of political thought.

In India also we can find the traces of politics in the Vedas, Samhitas, Brahmanas and Buddhist Pali Cannon (Sharma, R.K. *Modern Political Science*, DPS Publications, New Delhi : p. 36). Kautilya the great ancient Indian thinker, through his work, "Arthashastra", made valuable contribution to the development of politics. He had discussed very important concepts like administration of the state, financial policies of the state, principles of foreign relation etc.



LET US KNOW

In India Kautilya is credited to have started the systematic study of politics for the first time. He was a teacher of political science at the Takshashila University and later Prime Minister of the Mauryan emperor Chandragupta Maurya. In Arthashastra he discussed the administration of the state in a very detailed manner. He also discussed the desirable qualities of the King.

3.3.2 Growth of Political Science in the Medieval Period

In the early medieval period, early Christian thinkers and philosophers like St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas, also dwelt upon the idea of an ideal state and sought to derive moral and ethical principles regarding the same. Basically, they focused on the relationship between the state and the Church. Accordingly, in the classical Christian formulation, Political Science was more in the realm of political philosophy focusing on the study of state.

In the fifteenth century, Niccolo Machiavelli, the Italian political thinker, started the tradition of studying existing and historical political institutions. Machiavelli, through his famous book 'The Prince', made significant contribution in the development of modern notion of state. He marked a departure from the classical and Christian traditions of political philosophy. He made efforts to identify institutional arrangements that would maintain social order and political stability.

In simple words, we can say that Machiavelli was a realist thinker who argued that interest and stability of the state must be protected even by adopting evil means. In the medieval period political thinkers subsequently tried to deal with the historical origins of different political institutions and their structural frameworks.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: The Greeks were mainly concerned with the questions of morality and ethics and tried to define an *ideal* state. (True/False)

.....

Q.2: Who wrote the book 'The Prince'?

.....

Q.3: Medieval political thinkers basically emphasised the relationship between the ……..…… and ……..…….. (fill in the blank)

Q.4: Write a short note on the development of political science as a discipline in the medieval period.

.....

.....

.....

3.3.3 Growth of Political Science in the Modern Period

However, it must be mentioned here that the origin of Political Science as an academic discipline is not very old. Many thinkers have contributed towards the growth of Political Science as a discipline. In this context, the name of Francis Lieber, who was a professor of History and Political Science at Columbia University, needs special mention. His work 'Civil Liberty and Self Government' has made significant contribution towards the growth of Political Science as an academic discipline.

Another landmark in the growth of Political Science was the establishment of a school of Political Science at Columbia University at the initiative of John. W. Burgess (American Political Scientist) in 1880. It was called the Faculty of Political Science. In 1886, this school inaugurated *the Political Science Quarterly* which was the first scholarly journal of Political Science as a discipline. It heralded a new era in the growth of the discipline as it gave scholars a new platform to express their views in writing.

The establishment of *Johns Hopkins University* in 1876 was another milestone in the growth of Political Science. In this context, the establishment of *Johns Hopkins Historical and Political Science Association* in 1877 and *The Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science* are worth mentioning.

Accordingly, the above two universities- *Columbia and Johns Hopkins,* contributed significantly towards the growth of Political Science as an academic discipline. The studies and research carried out in these universities also widened the scope of Political Science which was earlier confined to the study of political institutions and historical origin. The subject subsequently began to embrace various concepts like rights, justice, law, sovereignty while analyzing the functioning of governments. The political thinkers also started discussing the merits and demerits of various forms of governments, political institutions etc.

The establishment of the *American Political Science Association* in 1903 provided a boost towards the strengthening of Political Science as a discipline. It soon became a leading organization for the study of political science and provided a platform for different scholars, departments and institutions from the discipline of Political Science. It also widened the scope of Political Science beyond the study of political philosophy and institutions.



Empirical : based on observation or experience.

During the 1920s, Political Science made a paradigm shift in the form of the positivist movement. It sought to make the study of Political Science scientific by applying ***empirical*** and statistical

methods. The Social Science Research Council was chartered in 1923 to encourage scientific research in Economics, Sociology and Political Science. The positivist movement culminated in the behavioural revolution of the 1950s. The growth of behaviouralism can be regarded as the major landmark in the growth of Political Science as a discipline. The behaviouralists put emphasis on making the study of Political Science scientific. They were influenced by the developments and research in different disciplines and they tried to make the study of Political Science inter-disciplinary. In order to draw scientific conclusions, behaviouralism advocated the use of statistical methods and tools in the study of Political Science. Thus, with the emergence of behaviouralism, the character of Political Science had changed to a large extent. Behaviouralism shifted the focus of Political Science from the study of political institutions to the study of day to day behaviour of the individuals in a political society. American Political thinkers like David Easton, Charles E. Merriam, Arthur Bentley contributed significantly through their writings and research towards the growth of behavioural revolution in Political Science.



LET US KNOW

The emergence of Political Science as a university discipline was marked by the creation of university departments and chairs. The term Political Science gained currency in the late 19th century. The American Political Science Association was founded in 1903. It brought out its publication titled the *American Political Science Review* in 1906, in an effort to distinguish the study of politics from economics and other social science disciplines.

After the Second World War and in the early fifties of the twentieth century, Political Science was highly influenced by sociologists like Tocqueville (French sociologist), G. Mosca (Italian

Political sociologist), Max Weber (German sociologist), Talcott Parsons (American sociologist), etc. Such an interaction between political scientists and sociologists helped to bring the study of Political Science closer to society. For instance, the concept of the state, which had been central to Political Science, gave way to the new concept of the "political system," developed by David Easton. The new concept highlighted the interaction between the society and the political process. During this period, the behavioural revolution in Political Science became popular and various methods of research and techniques of data collection were identified by the political thinkers. The Social Science Research Council of United States set up in the early twenties of twentieth century continued to play an important role in popularising behavioural ideas in the post Second World War era.

3.3.4 Present Status of the Discipline of Political Science

Political Science entered a new phase towards the late 1960s in the form of the Post-Behavioural revolution. The rise of behaviouralism clearly introduced a scientific vigour in the study of political phenomena. However, it soon came to be realized that too much emphasis was being laid on adoption of scientific techniques in the field of Political Science. In the process, Political Science was losing touch with the real social and political issues. Therefore, post-behaviouralists made an effort to make Political Science relevant to the society. However, it must be remembered that post-behaviouralism cannot be separated from behaviouralism as it has emerged out of behaviouralism. Through using different techniques and methods, the post-behaviouralists have tried to overcome the drawbacks of behaviouralism and make the study of Political Science more relevant to the society.

Thus, we can see that the Political Science which emerged as a study of the state and government has undergone tremendous

changes in the later period. Because of the contribution of different scholars, its scope is widening and its nature is changing. In the present time, the focus of Political Science shifts from the study of the state and government to the political system as a whole.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: Which two universities contributed significantly towards the growth of Political Science as an academic discipline?

.....

Q.6: Mention the names of two political thinkers who contributed significantly through their writings and research towards the growth of behavioural revolution in Political Science.

.....

Q.7: After the Second World War and in the early fifties of twentieth century,Political Science was highly influenced by the…….(Fill in the blank).

Q.8: Which organization was chartered in 1923 to encourage scientific research in Economics, Sociology and Political Science?

.....

Q.9: Name any two sociologists who greatly influenced Political Science after the Second World War and in the early fifties of the twentieth century.

.....

Q.10: Political Science entered a new phase towards the late 1960s in the form of the …….. revolution. (Fill in the blank)



3.4 LET US SUM UP

- The study of politics has had a long tradition and has its roots in ancient Greece. The Greeks used the term “politika” to

describe the numerous activities of the "Polis" or city-states in which they lived.

- In Ancient Greece, the roots of the study of politics was found in the works of prominent ancient thinkers like Homer, Hesiod, Thucydides. However, the first efforts to systematically study politics can be traced in the works of the two famous political thinkers from Ancient Greece, namely, Plato and Aristotle. Ancient Roman thinkers like Polybius and Cicero had also contributed in the development of political thought.
- In India also, we can find the traces of politics in the Vedas, Samhitas, Brahmanas and Buddhist Pali Cannon. Kautilya through "Arthashastra" made valuable contribution in the development of politics.
- In the early medieval period, Christian religious thinkers like St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas made significant contribution in the development of the study of politics. Basically, they focused on the relationship between the state and the Church.
- In the fifteenth century, Niccolo Machiavelli, the Italian political thinker, started the tradition of studying existing and historical political institutions. Machiavelli through his famous book 'The Prince' made significant contribution in the development of modern notion of state.
- However, the origin of Political Science as an academic discipline in a very systematic manner took place in the 19th century. Some of the important landmarks in the growth of Political Science during this period were the establishment of a school of Political Science at Columbia University at the initiative of John. W. Burgess in 1880, the establishment of *Johns Hopkins University* in 1876, the establishment of *Johns Hopkins Historical and Political Science Association* in 1877 and *The Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science,* the establishment of the *American Political Science Association* in 1903, etc.

- The *Columbia* and *Johns Hopkins* Universities made significant contribution towards the growth of Political Science as an academic discipline. The studies and research carried out in these universities also widened the scope of Political Science.
- With the emergence of the positivist movement during the 1920s the scientific study of Political Science began by applying empirical and statistical methods.
- The growth of behaviouralism in 1950s can be regarded as the major landmark in the growth of Political Science as a discipline. The behaviouralists put emphasis on making the study of Political Science scientific. They were influenced by the developments and research in different disciplines and they tried to make the study of Political Science inter-disciplinary.
- With the emergence of the Post-behavioural revolution in 1960s, the discipline of Political Science entered a new phase. Post-behaviouralists made an effort to make Political Science relevant to the society.



3.5 FURTHER READING

1. Agarwal, R.C. (2006). *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd.

2. Gogoi, P. (2007). *Degree Political Theory*. Guwahati: Banalata Publications.

3. Kapur, A.C. (2006). *Principles of Political Science*. New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd.

4. Sharma, R.K. (2011). M*odern Political Science*. New Delhi: DPS Publications.



3.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No. 1: True

Ans to Q. No. 2: Niccolo Machiavelli

Ans to Q. No. 3: The state and the Church

Ans to Q. No. 4: In the early medieval period, Christian religious thinkers like St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas, also dwelt upon the idea of an ideal state and sought to derive moral and ethical principles regarding the same. Basically, they focused on the relationship between the state and the Church. In the fifteenth century, Niccolo Machiavelli, the Italian political thinker, started the tradition of studying existing and historical political institutions. Machiavelli through his famous book 'The Prince' made significant contribution in the development of modern notion of state. He marked a departure from the classical and Christian traditions of political philosophy. He made efforts to identify institutional arrangements that would maintain social order and political stability. In simple words, we can say that Machiavelli was a realist thinker who argued that interest and stability of the state must be protected even by adopting evil means. In the medieval period, political thinkers subsequently tried to deal with the historical origins of different political institutions and their structural frameworks.

Ans to Q. No. 5: The Columbia University and Johns Hopkins University

Ans to Q. No. 6: David Easton, Charles E. Merriam

Ans to Q. No. 7: Sociologists

Ans to Q. No. 8: The Social Science Research Council

Ans to Q. No. 9: G. Mosca, Max Weber

Ans to Q. No. 10: Post-Behavioural revolution



3.7 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q.1: Who was the author of the book 'The Republic'?

Q.2: In which year was the American Political Science Association established?

Q.3: Mention the names of two ancient Roman thinkers who contributed towards the growth of political thought.

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q.1: Write a short note on the present status of the discipline of political science.

Q.2: Write briefly about the contribution of the ancient Greek philosophers towards the development of the discipline of political science.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q.1: Explain the growth of Political Science in the medieval period.

Q.2: Discuss the growth of Political Science as a discipline in the modern period.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 4: STATE

UNIT STRUCTURE

4.1 Learning Objectives

4.2 Introduction

4.3 State

- 4.3.1 Meaning of the State
- 4.3.2 Elements of the State
- 4.3.3 Nature of the State
- 4.3.4 Evolution of the State

4.4 Let Us Sum Up

4.5 Further Reading

4.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

4.7 Model Questions

4.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to-

- explain the meaning of the State
- explain the constituent elements of the State
- describe the nature of the State
- describe the evolution of the State
- list out the different forms of States that have emerged at different stages.

4.2 INTRODUCTION

The word “state” is one of the most commonly used terms in Political Science. As citizens, we find ourselves to be in constant touch with the institution of the state. In fact, the state gets reflected in objects like the national flag, the national anthem, the constitution, the legislature, the police, the bureaucracy, public offices and such other aspects of public life. As a most basic consideration of Political Science, it is important that we have a clear understanding of the state as a political organization.



Teutons:
A tribe that lived in Nothern Europe until about 100 B.C.

4.3 STATE

One of the primary concerns of Political Science is the state. The Greeks used the word "Polis" for "City States" in which they lived. The Romans used the term "Civitas" to imply the idea of citizenship of a city together with the notion of public welfare. The modern term "state" has been derived from the word "status" earlier used by the ***teutons*****.** It was Niccolo Machiavelli(1469-1527), who in the sixteenth century, introduced the term "State" in the modern literature of Political Science for the first time.



LET US KNOW

Political Scientist, R.G. Gettel, defined Political Science as "the science of the state" while J.W. Garner was of the view that "Political Science begins and ends with the State." (Mahajan, V.D.: *Political Theory*, S. Chand & Company Ltd., New Delhi, 2006, p.132)

4.3.1 Meaning of the State

The term "state" has been defined by a number of political thinkers. Some of these definitions are given below:

- Aristotle defined the state as "a union of families and villages having for its end a perfect and self-sufficing life by which we mean a happy and honourable life" (Agarwal, R.C.: *Political Theory-Principles of Political Science*, S. Chand & Company Ltd., New Delhi, 2007, p.65)
- According to Swiss jurist and politician Bluntschli, "The state is politically organised people of a definite territory" (Kapur, A.C. : *Principles of Political Science*, S.Chand & Company Ltd., New Delhi, 2006, p.77)

➢ According to American political scientist Burgess, "The state is a particular portion of mankind viewed as an organised unit" ((Agarwal,R.C.: *Political Theory- Principles of Political Science*, S. Chand & Company Ltd., New Delhi, 2007, p.65)

➢ Political thinker Phillimore defines the state as "a people, permanently occupying a fixed territory, bound together by common laws, habits and customs into one body politic, exercising through the medium of an organised government, independent sovereignty and control over all persons and things within its boundaries, capable of making war and entering into all international relations with the communities of the globe."(Agarwal,R.C.: *Political Theory- Principles of Political Science*, S. Chand & Company Ltd., New Delhi, 2007, pp.65-66)

By summing up all these definitions, we can come to the conclusion that state is a political community which is independent and has a fixed and defined territory and possesses sovereignty over it.

4.3.2 Elements of the State

An analysis of the above definitions reveal that the modern state is constituted of four constituent **elements**, namely, Population, Territory, Government and Sovereignty. Of these, the first two are physical elements, the third is political and the fourth is spiritual. The four constituent elements of the state are discussed below:

➢ **Population or the number of people:** There can be no state without people or human habitation. While the necessity of population as an essential element of state is recognised, there is no unanimity with regard to its size. ***Plato*** was of the view that an ideal state should have a population of 5040. Aristotle opined that the population of a state should be large enough to be self-sufficing and small enough to be well governed. The view of ***Rousseau*** was that 10,000 was an ideal number. In today's world, we have states with large populations like India and China on the one hand and those with small populations like ***Monaco*** and ***San Marino***.

Plato : He was a classical Greek philosopher born in 428 BC in Ancient Greece. He was the teacher of Aristotle and established the Academy in A thens the first institution of higher learning in the western world. this most important book is "The Republic."

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (28 June 1712 – 2 July 1778): He was a political philosopher who was born in Geneva, Switzerland and whose views greatly influenced the French Revolution as well as the American Revolution.

Monaco: The Principality of Monaco is a small sovereign state located in Western Europe.

San Marino: A micro-state in southern Europe.

While considering the population of a state, we have to study not only the number but also the quality of the people inhabiting the state. According to Aristotle, a good citizen makes a good state and a bad citizen, a bad state. Again the population of a state may be heterogeneous and need not belong to a single race, religion, language or culture.

Accordingly, while the size of the population of a state cannot be fixed, it is important that the people are self-sufficient to meet all their necessary requirements based on the proper utilisation of resources.

➢ **Territory or a definite place of residence:** The second essential constituent of a state is territory. If the people continue to move from one place to another without having any definite territory for their residence, there can be no state. The ***gypsies*** *and* ***nomads*** who wander from one place to another, cannot be said to constitute a state. The territorial jurisdiction of a state extends not only over the land but also over rivers, lakes, mountains, marginal sea, subsoil and aerial space above it. However, it is difficult to decide the size of an ideal state. The state of San Marino has an area of 38 Sq.miles only. The Vatican City under the Pope covers 108 acres only. On the other hand, states like the United States of America and China have large territories. It is important to note that more than the size, it is the proper utilisation of the resources in the state which leads to its prosperity and development.

Gypsies and Nomads: Wandering communities without any definite homeland.

➢ **Government:** The third essential constituent of the state is the government. Population and territory alone cannot form a state. Unless people of a territory are subject to the control of an organised government, a territory cannot be called a state simply because it is inhabited. The government is the political machinery or organisation through which the collective will of the state is formulated, expressed and executed. As a matter of fact, the state operates through the governmental machinery. It is the agency through which society is politically organised, common policies are determined and by which

common affairs are regulated and common interests are promoted. Hence, the government is responsible for the maintenance of law and order and for the provision of common services like defence, issue of currency, foreign relations, roads, bridges, transport and communications, water, electricity, health and education, etc. No particular type of government can be recommended as essential. It varies in kind and complexity from nation to nation.

- **Sovereignty:** Sovereignty is the most important characteristic of the state. It is what distinguishes a state from other forms of human organisation. There can be no state in the absence of sovereignty. Broadly speaking, sovereignty means supremacy of the state. Sovereignty is of two types-*internal* sovereignty and *external* sovereignty. Internal sovereignty means that the state is supreme in all internal matters. It exercises its supremacy over all the institutions and the people of the state and the latter have to obey its commands. External sovereignty implies that a state must be free from foreign control. If a state is controlled by another state, the former will no longer be regarded as a sovereign state and it will become a part of the state which exercises control over it. This is the reason why India before August15, 1947, could not be regarded as a state, as the country was under the control of Great Britain.



ACTIVITY 4.1

Try to relate the four elements of the state to India. Does India qualify as a state?

….....

….....

….....

….....



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1: Who introduced the term “State” in the modern literature of Political Science for the first time.

.....

.....

Q 2: Sovereignty is the most important characteristic of the state. (True/False)

.....

Q 3: The Greeks used the word ..... for “City States” in which they lived. (Fill in the blank)

.....

Q 4: List out the four constituent elements of the state?

.....

.....

Q 5: Plato was of the view that an ideal state should have a population of 5040. (True/False)

.....

Q 6: Who held the view that the ideal population of a state should be 10,000 ? (Aristotle/Rousseau/Burgess)

.....

4.3.3 Nature of the State

There are various points of view regarding the nature of the state. Accordingly, it is necessary to examine some of the more important views regarding the nature of the state for a clear understanding of the same. These are discussed below:

➢ **Legal Notion of the State:** The Roman Empire gave birth to the legal notion of the nature of the state. In the modern period, thinkers like Bodin, Hobbes, Bentham and Austin are the chief exponents of the legal notion of the state. They interpret the state as entirely a legal construction. The state was formed for making, interpreting and enforcing law in order to regulate human behaviour. It is a legal

entity. If the law is violated, it has coercive power at its command to punish the violator. The legal notion of the state is criticised as a partial view. It is pointed out by the critics that besides law making, the state is also responsible for promotion of the moral and spiritual life of the people.

- **Ethical Notion of the State:** The ethical notion regarding the nature of the state was propounded by Plato and Aristotle. The state is necessary for intellectual, moral and material development. It is a natural institution rather than a man-made institution. In their view, the state represented the highest morality. Whatever is done by the state is always justified. Many political philosophers like Rousseau, Kant, Hegel, T.H. Green and others also supported the notion of the state as the supreme ethical institution. This view is criticised on the ground that the state is regarded as an end in itself and not a means for the moral and intellectual development of man. In modern times, such a view has provided a foundation for the ***totalitarian*** notion of the state.



Totalitarian: A system of government consisting of only one leader or party that has complete power and control, permitting no opposition.

- **State as a Necessary Evil:** The individualists considered the state as a necessary evil. According to them, the state is an evil. However, if each individual is left to himself or herself and allowed to do whatever he or she wants, one will seek one's own selfish interests at the expense of others. There will be no law and order. Accordingly, the state becomes necessary to maintain law and order in the society. Adam Smith, Bentham and Herbert Spencer supported this view. Critics point out that the state is not a negative institution. The state is capable of performing many positive functions for the welfare of society at large.
- **Anarchist notion of the state as an Unnecessary Evil:** The anarchist view regarding the nature of the state is that the state is an evil and as such the sooner it is abolished, the better it will be for the spontaneous development of a person's personality. They believe that with the gradual perfection of human nature, the state as an

agency for regulating human conduct will become less and less necessary.

➢ **Pluralist Notion of the state:** According to the Pluralist view of the state, the state is to be accorded a coequal status with other permanent groups like the family, the church, the trade union, the social club, etc. which cater to our various needs. The Pluralists stand for ***decentralisation of political power*** and do not consider the state as in anyway superior to other associations which perform their due functions in the society. The important advocates of this view are MacIver and Laski. However, critics are of the view that it is important to have a superior organisation in the form of the state to regulate and coordinate the affairs of the various organisations in the society.

Decentralisation of political power: Delegation of decision making authority to the lower levels of the governmental organisation.

➢**Totalitarian state:** According to the totalitarian view of the state, the state has absolute powers and the individuals have no right against the state. The state exercises exclusive control over the whole life of the individual. Philosophers like Hegel and Nietzsche, writers like Bernhardi and Treitschke and dictators like Mussolini and Hitler supported the totalitarian notion of the state. Critics point out that such a view of the state is highly undesirable as it is undemocratic and it denies the worth and dignity of the human personality.

➢ **Power notion of the state:** The advocates of this view interpret the state exclusively in terms of ***'might'***. The German writers, especially, Berhandi and Treitsche, interpreted the state exclusively as a power system with unlimited authority to make war and peace. When individuals come into contact with each other, conflicts and contradictions arise in society. This requires the use of power to cope with the demands of various sections of the society and to maintain peace and harmony in society. The power view of the nature of the state is not accepted by many writers. They do not deny that force is an essential part of the state, but they point out that force is not the foundation of the state. Brute power can never justify a state.

'might' : Great power or strength.

Power needs to be transformed into authority. In other words, the use of power by the state must be for social ends and based on popular consent.

➢ **State as a Welfare System:** The contemporary liberal view of the state is that of a welfare state. The main supporters of this view are thinkers like J.S. Mill, T.H. Green, MacIver and Laski. According to this view, the state is not merely an agency for the maintenance of law and order. The state as a welfare system performs many positive functions besides maintaining law and order. It promotes human welfare. It serves the interests of the whole society. The state is required to regulate the working conditions of workers, spread education, promote the health of the people, run social services and eradicate social evils.

LET US KNOW



The Directive Principles of State Policy incorporated in Part IV of the Indian Constitution contains the idea of a welfare state. These are policy directives laid down for the State to be implemented so as to bring about social justice and equality in the society.

➢ **Organic view of the state:** The organic view of the state compares the state with a living organism and the individuals with its organs. As the existence and worth of the organs (hands, legs, etc.) depends on the existence of the organism (the living body as a whole), so also the existence and worth of the individuals depend on the existence of the state. The state is like a living organism and there is complete interdependence among the individuals who constitute it. The state without individuals has no meaning and the individuals separated from the state have no meaningful role to play. Hobbes, Rousseau, Herbert Spencer and Fichte are some of the political thinkers associated with the organic view of the state. German philosopher Fichte was the first to point out the interdependence of

society and individual. Bluntchli was of the view that the state is the very image of human organism. Each has its member parts, its organs, its functions and its life processes. Critics are of the view that a comparison between the state and organism is superficial.

➢ **Class View of the state:** Some writers have described the state as a class structure. With the emergence of private property, the society came to be divided into two classes-the dominant class possessing ownership of private property and the dependent or oppressed class which is the propertyless class. The dominant class tries to uphold its own interests at the expense of the dependent or oppressed class. According to Karl Marx, the state is an organisation for the exploitation of the poor by the rich. The critics of this theory point out that there can be no rigid division of society into two classes, the dominant and dependent classes. They argue that a normal state exists for common good and not for serving the interests of the powerful sections.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 7: The Roman Empire gave birth to the Legal Notion of the nature of the state. (True/False)

.....

Q 8: Which view regarding the nature of the state regards the state as the highest morality?

.....

Q 9: German writer, Berhandi, was an exponent of the ..... notion of the state.(Fill in the blank)

.....

Q 10: Pluralists stand for centralisation of political power. (True/False)

.....

Q 11: The .....maintain that the state becomes necessary only to maintain law and order in the society. (Fill in the blank)

Q 12: Which view regarding the nature of the state regards the state as the promoter of human welfare?

.....

4.3.4 The Evolution of the State

The modern state has evolved over a period spanning over thousands of years. The interplay of several factors such as kinship, religion, property, war, technological development and political consciousness have contributed to the emergence of the state. Sociologists have generally identified the following forms of state in the course of its historical evolution: the **Tribal State**; the **Oriental Empire**; the **Greek City-State**; the **Roman World Empire**; the **Feudal State**; and finally, the **Modern Nation-State**.

- **The Tribal State:** The tribal state was the earliest stage of state organisation. The tribal states were small in size. The head of the tribe, often assisted by an advisory council, wielded authority and governed the state. The head of the tribe dictated and his dictates were obeyed by the members of the tribe. Anyone who disobeyed was punished by the head and punishment was meted out as per the customs and traditions of the tribe. The main purpose of the existence of these tribal states was the preservation of internal order and the waging of war with other tribal states. These states retained strong traces of common birth, common religion and common trade interests.
- **The Oriental Empire:** In due course of time, tribes settled in places where their basic needs and necessities were fulfilled. They settled in places where they could get food to eat, water to drink and pastures for their cattle. Flourishing civilisations arose in the fertile valleys of the Nile in Egypt, the Euphrates and Tigris in Mesopotamia, the Ganges in India and the Yellow River and Yangtze Kiang in China. The increased prosperity led to the development of the art of war and conquests of territories. As the stronger groups won over the weaker ones, the inhabitants

of these valleys were bound together into the empires of Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, India and China. The Oriental Empires were neither strongly centralised nor closely knit together. They were made up of subordinate units which though were practically autonomous in local affairs, were under central supervision. The units were under the obligation to furnish soldiers and to pay tributes. However, the large size of these empires eroded central authority, led to local revolts and external invasions. As a result the empires disintegrated in course of time.

- **The Greek City-State:** The next stage was the Greek city states. The peculiar location of Greece helped in the evolution of a new form of political organisation called the city-state in the ancient days. The mountains and the sea divided this area into small parts in the form of numerous valleys and islands. The different communities inhabiting these small areas developed features peculiar to their own. Accordingly, several city states emerged in ancient Greece with a variety of political institutions. The size of the Greek states was confined to the city which was the centre of all activities. The city-states were the outcome of local patriotism. Athens and Sparta were two such city-states which attained a higher level of political development and individual liberty. Gradually, the Greek city-states disintegrated due to mutual rivalry and frequent wars between themselves and external invasion.
- **The Roman Empire:** After the downfall of the Greek city-states, the main political development was the emergence of the Roman empire. The Roman state passed through several periods. The first period was that of the monarchical state. During that period, the king was not only the head of the state but also the chief priest of the community. The king was required to consult the Council of Elders and follow their advice. During this period, the nobles known as the Patricians shared political power with a monarch. But the Plebians who included average working

citizens of Rome like farmers, bakers, builders or craftsmen enjoyed no political rights. Gradually, monarchy was succeeded by a republic ruled by elected representatives and both Patricians and Plebians got equal political rights. During this period Rome started annexing the neighbouring territories. Consequently, the Republic gave way to the Roman Empire which extended over Austria, Germany, France, Spain, England, the Balkans, Greece, ***Asia Minor*** and the whole of the Mediterranean coast and its hinterland. In due courses of time, the Roman Empire began to decay as institutions of democracy and local self-government disappeared.



Asia Minor : A region of the world that corresponds roughly to modern day Turkey that lies between the Black sea and the Mediterranean seas.

- **The Feudal State:** After the fall of the Roman Empire, central authority was eroded and its vast territories fell into the hands of powerful feudal chiefs, i.e., the landlords holding big estates. Each of these nobles created a community of his own based on ownership of big estates. These feudal chiefs began to exercise powers in fifth century A.D. Each feudal lord gave his land to tenants-in-chief who in turn gave the same to tenants. This led to a hierarchical political organisation upon the basis of landholding, with the king as the supreme lord at the top and ***serfs*** or the landless peasants at the bottom. In fact the king exercised only superficial control over the feudal ***vassals*** who enjoyed the real power within their domain.



Serfs: An agricultural labourer confined to working in a particular estate.

Vassals: (In the feudal system) a person who has to fight for a lord in return for holding a piece of land.

The erosion of the authority of kings, led to the emergence of the Christian church as another symbol of authority. By the beginning of the fourteenth century, when Popes were using their authority arbitrarily, the authority of the church was challenged and power of monarchy restored.

- **The Modern Nation-State:** The modern state is largely identified as the nation-state. Feudalism was succeeded by nation-states, each one of which was based on the bonds of nationality and language, strengthened by natural boundaries. This process led to the emergence of France, Spain, England,

Switzerland, the Netherlands, Russia and later Germany and Italy as nation-states by the sixteenth century. Initially, the nation-states were mostly monarchies. However, since the middle of the eighteenth century, there has been a slow transition from the absolute monarchy to constitutional monarchy and democracy in large parts of Europe. With the growth and expansion of democracy, the principles of liberty, equality, popular sovereignty came to be established in a large part of Europe. Beginning in the seventeenth century, many European countries started extending their domination over Asia, Africa and Latin America in search of new sources of raw material, cheap labour and new markets. During the nineteenth century, there came into existence many colonial empires with Great Britain having colonies all over the world. Political awakening and national movements for independence in most of these ***colonies*** ultimately led to popular uprisings against the foreign powers, especially after the First World War (1914-18). Subsequently, many of these countries gained independence one after the other from their colonial rulers, especially after the Second World War (1939-45). In this context, mention may be made of countries like India, Pakistan, Burma, Sri Lanka, Egypt, Nigeria, etc.



Colonies: A country or territory under the control of another country.

From the above discussion, we find that in the history of mankind, various types of state systems were evolved in different ages leading up to the modern nation-states of today.

LET US KNOW

In today's world, with the advancement of the means of transport and communication and rapid progress in the field of information technology, the distance between nation-states has virtually been eliminated. This has resulted in increasing interaction between nation-states for trade and other purposes, which has converted the world into what has been termed as a "global village".

ACTIVITY 4.2

Find out the names of two counties from Asia and two others from Africa which achieved independence in the post Second World War period.

.....

.....

.....



CHECK YOUR PROGESS

Q 13: The tribal state was the earliest stage of state organisation. (True/False)

.....

.....

Q 14: The Roman Empire was succeeded by the ..... State. (Fill in the blank)

.....



Q 15: Mention four countries from Europe which emerged as nation-states by the sixteenth century.

.....

Q 16: Mention the names of two prominent Greek city-states.

.....

.....



4.4 LET US SUM UP

- The term state has been defined variously by different thinkers as “a union of families and villages” to a “politically organized people” involving “a definite territory” and “a government” possessing “independent sovereignty”.

- The modern state is constituted of four constituent elements, namely, Population, Territory, Government and Sovereignty. Of these, the first two are physical elements, the third is political and the fourth is spiritual.
- While discussing the nature of the state we have learnt about the various notions of the state like the legal notion of the state, the ethical notion of the state, the power notion, the class view of the state, state as a welfare system, etc.
- The modern state has evolved over a long period of time through the interplay of several factors like kinship, religion, property, war, technological development and political consciousness. Sociologists have generally identified the following forms of state in the course of its historical evolution: the Tribal state; the Oriental empire; the Greek City-State; the Roman World Empire; the Feudal State; and finally, the Modern Nation-State.



4.5 FURTHER READING

1) Agarwal, R.C. (2006). *Political Theory-Principles of Political Science.* New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.
2) Asirvatham, Eddy & Misra, K.K.(2006): *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.
3) Kapur,A.C.(2006). *Principles of Political Science*. New Delhi:S. Chand and Company.
4) Mahajan V.D. (2006). *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand and Company.



4.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Niccolo Machiavelli.

Ans to Q No 2: True

Ans to Q No 3: Polis

Ans to Q No 4: Population, Territory, Government and Sovereignty.

Ans to Q No 5: True

Ans to Q No 6: Rousseau

Ans to Q No 7: True

Ans to Q No 8: The Ethical Notion of the State

Ans to Q No 9: Power

Ans to Q No 10: False

Ans to Q No 11: Individualists

Ans to Q No 12: State as a Welfare System

Ans to Q No 13: True

Ans to Q No 14: Feudal State

Ans to Q No 15: England, France, Switzerland and the Netherlands,

Ans to Q No 16: Athens and Sparta



4.7 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: State the definition of state provided by Aristotle.

Q 2: Mention the names of any two supporters of the legal notion regarding the nature of the state.

Q 3: Which view consider the state as a necessary evil?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Describe in brief any four constituent elements of the state.

Q 2: Explain the Anarchist notion regarding the nature of the state.

Q 3: Explain the Organic view regarding the nature of the state.

Q 4: Describe in your own words the Roman Empire with regard to the evolution of the state.

Q 5: Describe in your own words the Modern-Nation State with regard to the evolution of the state.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Explain the meaning of the state. Describe the constituent elements of the state.

Q 2: Discuss the various views regarding the nature of the state.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 5: THEORIES OF THE ORIGIN OF THE STATE: DIVINE ORIGIN THEORY AND EVOLUTIONARY THEORY

UNIT STRUCTURE

5.1 Learning Objectives

5.2 Introduction

5.3 Theories of the Origin of the State

5.3.1 Divine Origin Theory

5.3.2 Evolutionary or Historical theory

5.4 Let Us Sum Up

5.5 Further Reading

5.6 Answers to Check Your Progress

5.7 Model Questions

5.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to-

- explain the origin of the state with reference to the Divine Origin Theory
- point out the criticisms of the Divine Origin Theory
- describe the Evolutionary or Historical theory regarding the origin of the state
- examine the criticisms of the Evolutionary or Historical theory.

5.2 INTRODUCTION

The State constitutes one of the most important topics of the study of political science. Human beings can lead a civilized life only in a well-organized state. In the previous unit ,we discussed the meaning, nature and the four constituent elements of the state. Through this unit an effort will be made to discuss two important theories associated with the origin of the state - the Divine Origin Theory and the Evolutionary or Historical.

5.3 THEORIES OF THE ORIGIN OF THE STATE

There are a number of theories regarding the origin of state. Different scholars have expressed different views through their own theories in this context. Two such important theories are the Divine Origin theory and the Evolutionary or Historical theory. Here, we will discuss these two theories with emphasis on their relevance and importance in explaining the origin of the state and criticisms against the theories.

5.3.1 Divine Origin Theory

The Divine Origin theory is the oldest theory which seeks to explain the emergence of the state. The divine origin theory is as old as the state itself. This theory strongly holds the view that the state is a divine institution created by God. This theory firmly believed that it was the will of God that human beings should live in a political society and therefore, God has created the state to save mankind from destruction. God has created the state for the welfare of all people. According to this theory, the state is governed by God Himself who sends His representative to govern the state. Thus, the theory believes that the King is the divinely appointed agent and the representative of God and that's why he is responsible to God and not to the people. On earth, the King has unlimited power and nobody can limit his power or question his authority. All actions and orders of the King are supposed to be just and benevolent. The King derives all powers and authority from God and resistance to the authority of the King reflects disobedience to God and thus, it is a sin. According to this theory, obedience of the people towards the King is a religious duty. Another important point to be mentioned here is that the supporters of the Divine Origin theory believed in the hereditary monarchical form of government, and hence all the powers and rights that a King possesses should pass from father to son. Thus, the theory establishes divine sanctity of the state and places the King above all people and law.

In the ancient period, it was strongly believed that the state was the creation of God. During that period, the authority of the state was connected with certain unseen powers and the ruler was a combination of priest and King. The order of the King was supposed to be supreme and resistance to the King's authority was considered as an act against God. There are many references to this Divine Origin theory in the old religious books, such as the Mahabharata, the Old Testament etc.

Criticisms of the Divine Origin theory :

The Divine Origin theory of the state was relevant in the ancient period but now, it has lost its relevance. This theory is subject to criticism on many grounds. Some of the **criticisms** levelled against this theory are mentioned below :

- Critics have pointed out that the argument of the Divine Origin theory that the state is a divine institution created by God does not find any relevant place in the present context, as the state is essentially a human institution.
- The Divine Origin theory may give rise to the despotic ruler since this theory tries to justify unlimited and arbitrary powers of the king.
- This Divine Origin theory stands only for absolute monarchical form of government. But in the present context, such monarchical form of government has lost its relevance.
- The Divine Origin theory supports absolute power of the King without any say of the people. This reflects that in such a state, people did not have any individual freedom.

Though the Divine origin theory is no longer valid today, it had its utility in the primitive period, when the society was semi-civilised and there was no authority to impose rules and regulations. The Divine Origin theory inculcated the belief that the powers and laws of the King had religious sanctions and thus, obedience to the state is a religious duty. Thus, this theory taught people to obey the King when the people were not in a position to govern themselves. In such a context, the Divine Origin theory helped to maintain order

which established the belief that the King is the representative of God and people have to obey him.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: According to the Divine Origin theory, who is the creator of the state?

.....

Q.2: According to the Divine Origin theory, the King is the representative of God. (True/False)

.....

Q.3: Mention the names of any two religious books where we can find the traces of the Divine Origin theory.

.....

.....

Q.4: Mention two criticisms of the Divine Origin theory.

.....

.....

5.3.2 Evolutionary or Historical Theory

The Evolutionary or Historical theory is another important theory regarding the origin of the state. The theory is the outcome of modern sociological, historical and anthropological research. The evolutionary theory strongly holds that the state is a natural institution. Regarding the emergence of the state, this theory advocates that the state did not appear abruptly but is the result of evolution from the past and is evolving slowly and gradually over a long period of time. The state has acquired its present shape by passing through several stages of evolution. A number of factors have contributed to the evolution of the state, such as- social instinct, kinship, force or war, religion, economic activities and political consciousness. These are discussed as follows-

- **Social Instinct:** Social Instinct of human beings is an important factor that contributed in the evolution of the state. Greek political philosopher Aristotle said, “Man is by nature a social animal”. Aristotle strongly believed that it was due to social instinct that human beings felt the need of a state so that they could lead a secured life and the state ensured a better life for them. In this context, we can say that this social instinct of man encouraged people to live together and led to the formation of society and gradually to the formation of the state.
- **Kinship:** Another important factor that has contributed to the emergence of the state is kinship or blood relationship. Much before the formation of the state in the primitive period, people who had blood relationship among themselves used to live together. American scholar , Professor Gilchrist has also said that blood relationship was an inevitable bond in the society. We can say that the earliest human organisations and unions among the people were based on blood relationship and kinship. People who had a common ancestor lived together as a union. So, the family was at the base of human organization during the primitive period. With the passage of time, family gradually developed into a household through its expansion, then into clans and the clans were united to tribes which eventually led to the formation of state. Family relationship developed the attributes like loyalty and obedience which are also important factors toward the evolution of the state. So, we can say that kinship played a very important role in the evolution of the state.
- **Force or War:** Another factor that has played a very important role in the emergence of the state is force or war. During the primitive period, force or might was the determining factor in every aspect and only the physically strongest survived. A stronger group of people could overthrow the weaker group and establish its domination. Historical evidence also shows that a number of warriors established their domination by forcefully occupying some portion of a territory. This factor of force or war also led to the establishment of many

modern states. From the very ancient period, war has been a major factor behind the establishment of the state.

- **Religion**: In the evolution of the state, religion is also a factor that has played an important role. In the ancient period, religion controlled almost every aspect of human life. Religion helped in strengthening the ties of oneness in families, clans, tribes and kingdoms. During the primitive and the Middle Ages, religion brought people to a common platform and inculcated the feeling of unity among them. During the very primitive period, people due to their ignorance followed religious norms superstitiously. People thought that all the changes in their lives, in nature and the earth had happened due to some supernatural power and if they did not worship God then there would be great disaster. By taking advantage of the ignorance of the people, the magician kings appeared in the subsequent ages and established their authority by claiming that they could dispel all evil spirits. With the passage of time, the magician kings were replaced by the priest kings who enjoyed power and authority till the end of the Middle Ages; for example, the Pope ruled the Christian world as its religious head. So it can be said that religion, from the very ancient period, united people on the basis of common religious practices and rituals which they followed under the leadership of priestly authorities, eventually leading to the formation of the state.
- **Economic Activities:** Economic activities have also played an important role in the evolution of the state. From the very dawn of human civilization, men have a number of economic needs and aspirations and for fulfilling these needs and aspirations they have to depend on one another and as a result of this dependency, economic relations grew among the people. In such economic relationships, disputes arose among the people and then there came the need of the state authority to regulate, by enacting laws, the economic relations among people. Thus, economic activities also helped in the evolution of the state.

- **Political Consciousness:** Another factor which has played an important role in the evolution of the state is the rise of political consciousness that dawned upon the people. With the passage of time, people wanted to live a better and settled social, moral and intellectual life. Moreover, the people started realising the importance of maintaining peace and order and along with this, political consciousness came to them. People came to realise that they could make progress only through some kind of political organization. This political consciousness brought a kind of cooperation among the people to fulfill their needs and aspirations. This political consciousness gradually led to the formation of the state in due course of time.

Criticisms of the Evolutionary or Historical Theory

However, the evolutionary or historical theory has been criticised on the following grounds:

- The critics are of the view that the evolutionary or historical theory has simply explained the factors that led to the formation of the state. The theory has not provided the answer as to when and how the state has come into existence.
- The evolutionary or historical theory has mentioned that the factors which led to the emergence of the state are universal. But according to the critics, these factors are not universal.
- Though this theory is useful in explaining about the origin of the state, yet it has not provided any account of the condition of the primitive stage prior to the formation of the state.

Despite such criticisms, this theory has its own value in political science. The evolutionary or historical theory advocates that the state evolved gradually by passing through various stages over a long period of time as a result of plurality of factors.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 5: According to the Evolutionary theory, the state is a natural institution. (True/False)

.....

Q.6: What are the factors that have led to the evolution of the state over a long period of time?

.....

.....

Q. 7: Write briefly about the factor of political consciousness in the evolution of the state.

.....

.....



5.4 LET US SUM UP

- The Divine Origin theory and the Evolutionary or Historical theory are the two important theories associated with the Origin of the State.
- The Divine Origin theory believed that the state is a divine institution created by God.
- According to the Divine Origin theory, the state is governed by God himself or sends His representative to govern the state. So the King is the representative of God and that's why the King is responsible to God and not to the people.
- The Divine Origin theory favoured absolute and unlimited power for the King. According to this theory, resistance to the authority of the King is a sin.
- The Divine Origin theory is criticised as it may give rise to despotic ruler and it is against individual freedom.
- Though the Divine Origin theory is criticised, it had its utility in the early period. During the early period when there was no authority, the Divine Origin theory helped to maintain order which established

the fact that the King is the representative of God and people have to obey him.

- The Evolutionary or Historical theory regarding the origin of the state advocates that state did not appear abruptly; in fact, it is the result of evolution from the past and it is evolving slowly and gradually over a long period of time.
- The Evolutionary or Historical theory has mentioned that a number of factors have affected the evolution of the state, such as- social instinct, kinship, force or war, religion, economic activities and political consciousness etc.
- The critics have pointed out that the Evolutionary or Historical theory has simply explained the factors that led to the formation of the state but has not provided the answer as to when and how the state has come into existence. The theory has not given any picture regarding the condition of the primitive stage prior to the formation of the state.



5.5 FURTHER READING

1. Agarwal, R.C. (2006). *Political Theory (Principles of Political Science)*. New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd.
2. Asirvatham, E & Misra, K. K. (2006). *Political Theory.* New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd.
3. Jayapalan, N. (2002). *Comprehensive Political Theory.* Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors.
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5.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: God

Ans to Q No 2: True

Ans to Q No 3: The Mahabharata, the Old Testament

Ans to Q No 4: (i) The Divine Origin theory may give rise to the despotic ruler since this theory advocates for the unlimited and arbitrary powers of the king.

(ii) The Divine Origin theory stands only for an absolute monarchical form of government. But in the present context, such monarchical form of government has lost its relevance.

Ans to Q No 5: True

Ans to Q No 6: Social instinct, kinship, force, religion, economic activities and political consciousness.

Ans to Q No7: One of the factors which played an important role in the evolution of the state is the rise of political consciousness among people. With the passage of time, people wanted to live a better and settled social, moral and intellectual life. Moreover, people also realised the importance of maintaining peace and order and along with this, political consciousness also appeared among them. People came to realise that they could make progress only through some sort of political organizations. This political consciousness brought a kind of cooperation among the people to fulfill their needs and aspirations. This political consciousness of the people gradually led to the formation of state in due course of time.



5.7 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: According to the Divine Origin theory, the King is responsible to whom?

Q 2: Mention any two factors that have helped in the evolution of the state.

Q 3: Who said, “Man is by nature a social animal”?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Write a short note on the role of religion in the evolution of the state.

Q 2: Write briefly about the utility of the Divine Origin theory.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Critically discuss the Divine Origin theory.

Q 2: Critically discuss the Evolutionary or Historical theory regarding the origin of the state.

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UNIT 6: THE SOCIAL CONTRACT THEORY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE STATE

UNIT STRUCTURE

6.1 Learning Objectives

6.2 Introduction

6.3 The Social Contract Theory of the Origin of the State

- 6.3.1 Thomas Hobbes' Theory of Social Contract
- 6.3.2 John Locke's Theory of Social Contract
- 6.3.3 Jean Jacques Rousseau's Theory of Social Contract

6.4 Criticisms of the Social Contract Theory

6.5 Let Us Sum Up

6.6 Further Reading

6.7 Answers To Check Your Progress

6.8 Model Questions

6.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to-

- explain the main argument of the Social Contract theory regarding the origin of the state
- examine Thomas Hobbes' view on the Social Contract Theory
- explain John Locke's view on the Social Contract Theory
- discuss Jean Jacques Rousseau's Theory of Social Contract.

6.2 INTRODUCTION

In Unit 5 of Block 1, we discussed the Divine Origin theory and the Evolutionary theory regarding the origin of the state. Another important theory regarding the origin of the state is the Social Contract theory. This theory firmly believes that the state has come into existence as a result of the contract or agreement among people. This Social Contract theory is mainly associated with three great thinkers- Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and

Jean Jacques Rousseau. In this unit, effort will be made to have an understanding of the Social Contract theory with reference to the views of Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau.

6.3 THE SOCIAL CONTRACT THEORY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE STATE

Regarding the origin of the state, the Social Contract Theory holds that the state is the outcome of a contract or an agreement made by people among themselves. This theory considers the state of nature as the original condition of mankind. In the state of nature, there was no organization or authority to regulate human behavior and their relation with one another. To escape from such a deregulated life, people felt the need of some sort of authority or civil society where everyone could lead a life of stability and peace. So the people entered into contract or agreement which was deliberate and with this, the state came into existence. Thus, according to the social contract theory, the state is a human institution and an outcome of a contract among people. The state is created by the people for their welfare. Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau are the main exponents of the Social Contract theory.

6.3.1 Thomas Hobbes' Theory of Social Contract

In his book "Leviathan" (1651), Thomas Hobbes, an English political philosopher, discussed the origin of the state through the theory of social contract. According to him prior to the emergence of the state, people lived in the state of nature. According to Thomas Hobbes, the state of nature was both pre-social and pre-political. Thomas Hobbes depicted a very negative picture of human beings living in the state of nature. In the state of nature, human beings by nature were poor, nasty, brutal and selfish. Human beings had no sense of what is right or what is wrong. Principles of law, justice and tolerance were absent and fraud and force were the basic

principles in the state of nature. Everyone was an enemy of everyone else and people lived in the fear of constant war. However, with the passage of time, to get rid of such type of miserable life in the state of nature, people themselves entered into a contract to form a civil government. Under this contract, people surrendered their natural rights, except the right to self preservation, to a person or a group of persons who remained as sovereign. The sovereign was not a party to the contract. He was not subject to any conditions and possessed unlimited power. The sovereign was responsible for the protection of the lives and rights of the people. And since the people had voluntarily entered into the contract, they had no right to break the terms of the contract. People had no right to revolt against the sovereign. The sovereign was the only source of law and his commands were considered as laws. According to Hobbes, power and authority of the sovereign under this social contract was absolute, inalienable, indivisible and unlimited. Thus, Hobbes was of the view that a contract among people led to the establishment of a state and sovereign authority.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Mention the names two important exponents of the social contract theory.

.....

Q.2: According to the Social Contract theory, the state is the result of an agreement among people. (True/False)

.....

Q.3: Who is the author of the book “Leviathan”?

.....

Q.4: Write briefly about the nature of human beings as opined by Thomas Hobbes.

.....

.....

6.3.2 John Locke's Theory of Social Contract

English political philosopher John locke who was and another exponent of the Social Contract theory, through his book "Two Treatises on Civil Government" (1690) explained the emergence of the state. Locke was also of the view that people lived in the state of nature prior to the emergence of the state. Locke opined that the state of nature was pre-political. But regarding the nature of human beings, his views were different from those of Hobbes. According to Locke, people lived in peace without any fear of warfare in the state of nature. They enjoyed equal rights and liberties. There was mutual cooperation and understanding among the people. There was the presence of natural laws in the state of nature. But during that time there was no law court or judge to interpret the laws. As a result, people interpreted laws in their own way which ultimately fulfilled their self interest. This created problems like anarchy in the state of nature. To get rid of this problematic situation people entered into two contracts- one is the civil contract and the other is the governmental contract. The state came into existence as a result of these two contracts.

At the first stage, the people formed the civil society whereby the people agreed to respect one another so as to live in peace and harmony. They did so by surrendering some of the natural rights (except for the right to life, right to liberty and right to property) that they enjoyed against one another in the state of nature. This is the civil contract.

At the second stage, people pledged to obey one person or assembly of persons in the form of the king or the sovereign authority indicating the government or the state, which in turn was empowered to protect the right to life, the right to liberty and the right to property of the people. If the sovereign authority failed to protect these rights, the people would have the right to remove the government from power. This is the governmental contract. Thus, according to Locke the sovereign authority was not absolute and it was responsible for ensuring protection of the people.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: According to John Locke, there was peace and cooperation among people in the state of nature. (True/False)

.....

Q.6: According to John Locke, the state of nature was both pre-social and pre-political. (True/False)

.....

Q.7: Mention any two defects of the state of nature as pointed out by John Locke.

.....

Q.8: What are the two types of contracts mentioned by John Locke?

.....

.....

6.3.3 Jean Jacques Rousseau's Theory of Social Contract

Jean Jacques Rousseau, the great French philosopher, another prominent advocate of the social contract theory, in his book "The Social Contract" (1762) discussed the origin of the state. Like the other advocates of the social contract theory, Rousseau also held that prior to the formation of the state, people lived in the state of nature. In the state of nature, people led their lives peacefully with unlimited liberty. There were no competition and conflict among people. There was equality among the people in the state of nature. The concept of personal property or the question of right and wrong were absent in such a state of nature. However, with the passage of time, population in the state of nature increased and the idea of private property also came into existence. This led to disputes and conflicts in the state of nature. People became selfish and they began to hate each other. To get rid of such miserable condition of the state of nature, people entered into contract among them and

that led to the formation of a civil society. People surrendered all their natural rights to themselves or to the community and not to some other higher person or group of persons to be considered a sovereign authority. So the people themselves remained sovereign. Thus, according to Rousseau, sovereign authority remained with the community or the common people. This sovereign authority of the community is indivisible and inalienable.

Rouseau used the term general Will to indicate the sovereign power of the people and basically, he emphasized popular sovereignty through his theory of social contract. Rousseau opined that people unconditionally surrendered all their rights to the will of the community. People surrendered all their rights to the community for their own welfare. The majority will is reflected in the General Will. So General Will is for the general welfare. The General Will is indivisible, inalienable and permanent.

By discussing the above mentioned views of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau, it can be said that the social contract theory firmly holds that state came into existence as a result of a contract concluded between the people and the sovereign at a particular period in history.

6.4 CRITICISMS OF THE SOCIAL CONTRACT THEORY

The social contract theory has been criticised on various grounds. In this regard, the following can be mentioned:

- According to the critics, the social contract theory is unhistorical. There is no evidence in history that the state had come into existence as a result of mutual agreement among the people.
- Criticizing the social contract theory, the supporters of the evolutionary theory said that the state is not an artificial institution. It is a product of evolution and has natural growth.

- The critics have pointed out that Hobbes has presented a one-sided picture of human nature. He described human nature very negatively by stating that human beings were poor, nasty, brutal and selfish. But critics have said that Hobbes ignored the positive virtues of human being, such as- human sympathy, love and cooperation.
- At the same time, critics have also criticized the views of John Locke and Rousseau regarding the nature of human beings. They opined that in the state of nature, human beings were full of all positive values and attributes. But in reality, both positive virtues and negative elements are found in human beings.
- The social contract theory has considered all people as equal in the state of nature. But according to the critics, this assumption is not correct and inequality, instead of equality, was the common feature in the state of nature.

Though there are criticisms against the social contract theory, this theory has its own significance in explaining the origin of the state. This theory has put forward the concept that the state is a human institution, created by people for their own welfare and well-being. It has also established the fact that people's consent is the foundation of the state.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.9: Mention the name of the book authored by Jean Jacques Rousseau regarding the origin of the state.

.....

Q.10: What did Rousseau mean by the phrase 'General Will'?

.....

Q.11: State any two criticisms of the Social Contract theory.

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.....

.....



6.5 LET US SUM UP

- Regarding the origin of the state, the Social Contract theory holds that the state has come into existence as a result of a contract or agreement among people. This Social Contract theory is mainly associated with three thinkers- Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau.
- The Social Contract theory considers the state of nature as the original condition of mankind. In the state of nature, there was no organization or authority to regulate human behavior and their relation with one another. To escape from such deregulated life, people entered into contract or agreement which was deliberate and with this the state came into existence.
- Thomas Hobbes was one of the chief exponents of the social contract theory. According to him in the state of nature, the life of human beings was miserable. In the state of nature, human being by nature was poor, nasty, brutal and selfish. In simple words, we can say that Thomas Hobbes presented a very negative picture regarding human nature.
- Thomas Hobbes opined that to get rid of such a type of miserable life in the state of nature, people themselves entered into a contract by surrendering their natural rights, except the right to self preservation, to a person or group of persons who remained as sovereign and thus the state came into existence.
- Thomas Hobbes, through his social contract theory provided that the sovereign was not a party to the contract. The sovereign was responsible for the protection of the lives and rights of the people. According to Hobbes, power and authority of the sovereign under this social contract was absolute, inalienable, indivisible and unlimited.
- Another prominent exponent of the social contract theory was John

Locke. According to John Locke, prior to the emergence of the state people lived peacefully in the state of nature.

- According to Locke, natural laws were present in the state of nature. But during that time, there was no law court or judge to interpret the laws. As a result, people interpreted laws in their own way which ultimately fulfilled their self interest. This created problems like anarchy in the state of nature and to get rid of this problematic situation, people entered into two contracts.
- Locke opined that people entered into two contracts - one is the civil contract and the other is the governmental contract. The state came into existence as a result of these two contracts. According to Locke, the sovereign authority was not absolute and he was responsible for the protection of people.
- Jean Jacques Rousseau was another chief exponent of the social contract theory. Rousseau also held that prior to the formation of the state people lived in the state of nature. In the state of nature, people led lives peacefully with unlimited liberties. However with the passage of time, population in the state of nature increased and the idea of private property also came into existence. This led to disputes and conflicts in the state of nature. To get rid of such miserable condition of the state of nature, people entered into a contract among themselves.
- According to Rousseau, in the social contract people surrendered all their natural rights to themselves and not to some other higher person or group of persons to be considered a sovereign authority. So the people themselves remained sovereign.
- To refer to the sovereign power of the people, Rousseau referred the term General Will and basically, he emphasised popular sovereignty through his theory of social contract.



6.6 FURTHER READING

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2. Asirvatham, E. and Misra, K.K. (2006). *Political Theory*. New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd.
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6.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q. No 1: Thomas Hobbes and John Locke

Ans to Q. No 2: True

Ans to Q. No 3: Thomas Hobbes

Ans to Q. No 4: Thomas Hobbes presented a very negative picture regarding human nature. In the state of nature human being by nature was poor, nasty, brutal and selfish. Principles of law, justice and tolerance were absent and fraud and force were the basic principles in the state of nature. Everyman was enemy to everyone and people lived in the fear of constant war.

Ans to Q. No 5: True

Ans to Q. No 6: False

Ans to Q. No 7: (i) There was no law court

(ii) There was no judge to interpret the laws.

Ans to Q. No 8: The civil contract and the governmental contract.

Ans to Q. No 9: "The Social Contract''

Ans to Q. No 10: Rousseau referred to the term General Will to indicate the sovereign power of the people. The General Will is indivisible, inalienable and permanent.

Ans to Q. No 11: (i) According to the critics the social contract theory is unhistorical. There is no evidence in history that state has come into existence as a result of mutual agreement among people.

(ii) Criticising the social contract theory, the supporters of the evolutionary theory said that state is not an artificial institution. It is a product of evolution and has natural growth.



6.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q.1: Who is the author of the book “Two Treatises on Civil Government”?

Q.2: According to the social contract theory, what was the original condition of mankind?

Q.3: In the opinion of Thomas Hobbes, who was the only source of law?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q.1: Write briefly about John Locke’s view regarding human nature.

Q.2: Write a short note on the criticisms levelled against the Social Contract theory.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q.1: Explain Thomas Hobbes theory of social contract.

Q.2: Write a note on John Locke’s social contract theory.

Q.3: Examine Jean Jacques Rousseau’s theory of social contract.

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UNIT 7: THE MARXIST THEORY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE STATE

UNIT STRUCTURE

7.1 Learning Objectives

7.2 Introduction

7.3 The Marxist Theory

7.4 Criticisms of the Marxist Theory

7.5 Let Us Sum Up

7.6 Further Reading

7.7 Answers to Check Your Progress

7.8 Model Questions

7.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to-

- discuss the Marxist theory regarding the origin of the state
- examine the criticisms of the Marxist theory.

7.2 INTRODUCTION

Regarding the origin of the state different sections of scholars have expressed different views in their theories. Some of the important theories, such as–the Divine Origin theory, the Evolutionary theory and the Social Contract theory, have already been discussed in the previous units. Another important theory, which explains the origin of the state, is the Marxist theory. This Marxist theory analyses the origin of the state from class perspective. In this unit we will critically discuss the viewpoints of the Marxist theory regarding the origin of the state.

7.3 THE MARXIST THEORY

One of the important theories regarding the Origin of the state is the Marxist theory. The Marxist theory was developed by German philosophers

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. The Marxist theory upholds the view that the state is not a natural institution. The state has come into existence to protect and promote the interest of the wealthy class, not for the welfare of all the people. The supporters of this theory consider the state as an instrument of domination. According to the Marxist theory of the origin of the state, the state originated at a certain stage of human history and is associated with the emergence of the concept of private property. With the emergence of private property, the society was divided into two distinct classes- the "haves' or the dominant class representing the owners of private property and the "have-nots" or the exploited representing the propertyless class. At every stage of human history, the state becomes an instrument of exploitation and coercion of the "have-nots" by the "haves". The state is thus, the product and manifestation of irreconcilable class hostility.

The Marxist theory regarding the origin of the state is basically drawn from Friedrich Engels' book "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State" (1894). Karl Marx, V I Lenin (Founder of the Russian Communist Party and the first head of the Soviet Union), Joseph Stalin (head of the Soviet Union), Mao Zedong (Chinese Communist leader), Antonio Gramsci (Italian Marxist thinker) are important supporters of this theory. The advocates of the Marxist theory regarding the origin of the state were greatly influenced by the views of the American anthropologist Lewis H. Morgan who in his book "Ancient Society" (1871) opined that in primitive society, there was no state and people led a communal life or a shared way of life without having any personal property. The Marxist thinkers have accepted this view of Morgan. Engels held the view that the state was not a natural institution. State is essentially the product of society at a certain point of development. The concept of the state as an institution came into existence with the emergence of private property. The Marxist theory firmly holds that the state is not a natural institution and the emergence of the state is closely associated with the concept of class. This theory mentioned that during the primitive age, gentes (smaller kinship groups) constituted the first group or community which in turn constituted tribes. During that time, this type of

social organization did not have the concept of state or authority. However, with the passage of time the idea of having private property emerged which eventually led to the emergence of different classes. Thus, during the slave society, there emerged two classes, namely the slave owners and the slaves, the former being the dominant class and the latter being the exploited class. Similarly, during the feudal society, there emerged two classes, namely the feudal landlords and the landless serfs or the peasants, the former being the dominant class and the latter being the exploited class. During the capitalist society, the dominant class is the capitalist class which owns all means of production, while the exploited class is the working class. Accordingly, at each stage of development of society, there existed basically two types of classes, such as the exploiters and the exploited. With the emergence of classes, there arose a clash of interests among these classes. At that point, the need was felt for having some organisation to arbitrate and solve these disputes and conflicts. Against this background, the state came into existence. So the Marxist theory regarding the origin of the state puts forward the view that the state is an artificial institution. The state has come into existence to protect the interests of the propertied class. According to the Marxist theory, the state always takes sides with the dominant class which exploits the poorer class.

While discussing the Marxist theory regarding the origin of the state, it is important to mention here that this theory has given emphasis on the difference between the infrastructure or base of the society and the superstructure of the society. Infrastructure or base of the society generally refers to the economic structure of the society which consists of the ownership of means of production. Superstructure generally refers to the other aspects of the society which include social, legal, political, cultural, religious, philosophical and ideological aspects of the society. According to the Marxists, the infrastructure or the economic structure of the society controls all other aspects of the society. The Marxists have argued that the state also belongs to the superstructure and is being controlled by the infrastructure or economic forces of the society. As a result, the state becomes

an instrument to serve the interest of the owners of the means of production (who are relatively fewer in number) and protects the ideology of this class. This eventually leads to the exploitation of the depressed class who do not have the ownership of the means of production. So, according to the Marxist theory, the state becomes a class institution– an institution of the propertied class to protect their own interests.

It is to be mentioned here that the Marxist theory, while discussing the origin of the state, has held the view that the state must wither away to establish a classless society. Since the state is an institution of the propertied class to oppress the poor sections of the society, the propertied class wants the continuation of the state to maintain their supremacy over the exploited class. But, the Marxists are of the view that the state must wither away through proletarian revolution which would lead to the establishment of a classless society.



LET US KNOW

The socialist state as advocated by Karl Marx would use only that much fund as is necessary for covering the administrative costs for running public services, for responding to natural disasters and for supporting those who were physically incapable of working. Having met these expenditures from out of the “proceeds of labour”, the state should then go on to share the remaining goods among the workers, with each individual getting as much goods as the amount of labour invested by him or her. Thus, the worker who has worked harder and put in more labour will get a greater share of the proceeds of collective labour than the one who has not worked as hard. This is based on the principle of “each according to deed.” Marx believed that private property was the root cause of inequality. Accordingly, in the socialist state, there would be no economic and social inequalities as all properties and means of production would be owned collectively by the state.



ACTIVITY 7.1

Try to find out the names of two important books written by Karl Marx.

……

……

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: According to the Marxist theory the state is a natural institution. (True/False)

.....

Q.2: Who is the author of the book “Ancient Society”?

.....

Q.3: The Marxist theory opines that the state is a tool which works for the welfare of all the people of society. (True/False)

.....

Q.4: Write briefly about the concepts of Superstructure and Infrastructure or Base of the society.

.....

.....

7.4 CRITICISMS OF THE MARXIST THEORY

However , the Marxist theory has been criticised from various angles. Some of these criticisms are:

- The Marxist theory is criticised because of its overemphasis on class interest and class differentiation regarding the origin of state. In other words, this theory recognised the economic factor as the most important element which led to the emergence of the state. But critics are of the view that there are other factors too which have contributed to the emergence of the state and the Marxist theory has ignored these other factors.

- English political philosopher Plamenatz has argued that class came into being only after the emergence of the state. According to him class structure is a post-state phenomenon as against the Marxist view that the emergence of class and class interests has led to the emergence of the state.
- The critics have also criticised the viewpoint of the Marxist theory that the state is only an instrument of exploitation. The critics are of the view that the modern state is a welfare state and its aim is to achieve the welfare of all people irrespective of any class division.
- The Marxist theory has given overemphasis on class struggle. The view point of the Marxist theory that the state would wither away due to the struggle between the two classes of the society, i.e. the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, has not come out to be true.

Despite such criticisms held against the Marxist theory, this theory has its own significance and contribution in explaining the origin of the state.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: Who opined that the class-structure is a post-state phenomenon?

.....

Q.6: Write two criticisms levelled against the Marxist theory regarding the origin of the state.

.....

.....



7.5 LET US SUM UP

- The Marxist theory holds the view that the state is not a natural institution. The state has come into existence to protect and promote the interest of the wealthy class, and not for the welfare of all the people.

- The Marxist theory regarding the origin of the state is mainly associated with eminent scholars like - Friedrich Engels', Karl Marx, V I Lenin, Joseph Stalin, Mao Zedong, Antonio Gramsci and others.
- According to the Marxist theory, state has emerged with the emergence of the private property.
- The Marxist theory believed that during the primitive age "gentes" (smaller kinship groups) constituted the first group or community which in turn constituted "tribes". At that time, this type of social organization did not have the concept of state or authority.
- With the passage of time, the concept of private property came into existence bringing in its train the concept of different classes of people. At each stage of the development of the society, basically there existed classes of two types, the exploiters and exploited.
- According to the Marxist theory, with the emergence of classes, there arose a clash of interests among these classes and at that point there was a necessity to have some organisations that could address these conflicts. Against this background, the state came into existence. So, regarding the origin of the state, the Marxist theory holds the view that the state is an artificial institution which has come into existence to protect the interest of the propertied class.
- While discussing the state, the Marxist theory has given emphasis on the difference between the Infrastructure or Base and the Superstructure of the society. Infrastructure or Base generally refers to the economic structure of the society and superstructure generally refers to the other aspects of the society which include social, legal, political, cultural, religious, philosophical and ideological aspects of the society. The infrastructure or the economic structure of the society controls all other aspects of the society. The Marxists argued that the state also belongs to the superstructure and is being controlled by the infrastructure or economic forces of the society.
- The Marxist theory also predicts the withering of the state through a proletarian revolution to establish a classless society.



7.6 FURTHER READING

1. Agarwal, R.C. (2006). *Political Theory (Principles of Political Science)*. New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd.
2. Asirvatham, E & Misra, K. K. (2006). *Political Theory.* New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd.
3. Jayapalan, N. (2002). *Comprehensive Political Theory.* Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors.
4. Kapur, A.C. (2006). *Principles of Political Science.* New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd.
5. Mahajan, V.D. (2006). *Political Theory.* New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd.
6. Marx, Karl. *The Communist Manifesto*.



7.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: False

Ans to Q No 2: Lewis H. Morgan

Ans to Q No 3: False

Ans to Q No 4: Infrastructure or base generally refers to the economic structure of the society which consists of the ownership of the means of production. Superstructure generally refers to the other aspects of the society that include social, legal, political, cultural, religious, philosophical and ideological aspects of the society. According to the Marxist theory, the infrastructure or the economic structure of the society controls all other aspects of the society.

Ans to Q No 5: Plamenatz

Ans to Q No 6: (i) The Marxist theory is criticised because of its overemphasis on class interest and class differentiation regarding the origin of state. In other words, this theory has recognised the economic factor as the most important element which led to the emergence of the state. But critics are of the view that there are other

factors too which have contributed to the emergence of the state and the Marxist theory has ignored these other factors.

(ii)The critics have also criticised the viewpoint of the Marxist theory that the state is only an instrument of exploitation. The critics are of the view that the modern state is a welfare state and its aim is to achieve the welfare of all people irrespective of any class division.



7.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q 1: Mention the names of any three supporters of the Marxist theory regarding the origin of the state.

Q 2: Who is the author of the book "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State"?

Q 3: What do you mean by the infrastructure of the society?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: Write briefly about the main theme of the Marxist theory regarding the origin of the state.

Q 2: Write briefly about the infrastructure and the superstructure of the society.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q 1: Discuss the Marxist theory regarding the origin of the state. Explain the criticisms levelled against the theory.

Q 2: Explain the meaning of the infrastructure and the superstructure of the society with reference to the Marxist theory regarding the origin the state. Present a critical evaluation of the Marxist theory.

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