



THE TAMIL NADU
Dr. AMBEDKAR LAW UNIVERSITY

(State University Established by Act No. 43 of 1997)



M.G.R. Main Road, Perungudi, Chennai - 600 096.

POLITICAL SCIENCE

FOR

**B.B.A.LL.B., B.COM.LL.B.,
B.C.A.LL.B. (Hons.) Degree Course**

SECOND YEAR – 3rd SEMESTER

STUDY MATERIAL

Edited by

Mr. P. Kannan

Assistant Professor

The Tamil Nadu Dr. Ambedkar Law University

&

Dr. K. Senthilvel

Guest Lecturer

School of Excellence in Law

The Tamil Nadu Dr. Ambedkar Law University

Chennai.

PREFACE

This course material meant for the students of first year B.A.,L.L.B., studying in School of Excellence in Law (SOEL), The Tamil Nadu Dr. Ambedkar Law University it covers the syllabus prescribed for political science one. The political science has a very close link with legal studies. An attempt has been made to give some basic concepts connected with political science.

The first unit covers introduction about the subject and various approaches to the study of political science. Further it explains about the state and its functions. Unit II and Unit III covers the basic concepts like sovereignty, liberty, equality, citizenship rights and duties. focuses on the various forms of government. Here it provides details about various forms of government and various types of legislature and the role of political parties. Unit IV and Unit V specifically deals about International relations and international organizations.

This made easy book of Political Science covers complete syllabus recommended by our university. Every case has been taken to avoid the difficult terms and expression. It has, therefore, been written in lucid, clear and thoughtful manner for the comprehension of all students. It is hoped that the book will meet the needs of the students of the subject and the aim with which it has been presented.

I wish you all the best for your successful career

Mr. P. Kannan

Assistant Professor

The Tamil Nadu Dr. Ambedkar Law University
Chennai.

CONTENTS

1.	UNIT - I INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL SCIENCE	1
2.	UNIT - II SOVEREIGNTY	27
3.	UNIT - III EVOLUTION OF GOVERNMENT AND FORMS OF GOVERNMENT	41
4.	UNIT - IV INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS	50
5.	UNIT - V BALANCE OF POWER	72

SUBJECT : POLITICAL SCIENCE

UNIT - I

INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL SCIENCE

INTRODUCTION

The lesson would enable the student to know the Definitions and Meaning of Political science. The Definitions would reflect the changing understanding of Politics. It is difficult to give a single precise definition of Political Science. It varies from person to person depending upon the importance he gives to various aspects of political life. The study of Political Science began with the Greeks.

DEFINITIONS OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Various definitions of Political Science given by the ancient, medieval and modern political scientists of this subject are as follows origin :-The term 'politics' is derived from the Greek word 'Polis' which means the city state According to Greek Philosophers, Politics was a subject which dealt with all the activities and affairs of the city state. Their City States were known as 'Polis' City state was an all inclusive term, as the ancient Greeks made no distinction between the state and the government on one hand, and State and Society on the other. They never differentiated between personal life and social life. Hence according to them Politics was a total study of man, society, state, morality and so on.

Politics as the study of the state:-Traditionally political science is a science of state, Political thinkers like R.G. Gettel, J.W. Garner, Bluntschli and many others were of the view that political science was the study of the state.

R.G. Gettel defined "Political Science as a study of state in the past, present and future and of political institutions and political theories". J.W.Garner States, "Political Science begins and ends with the state"

Politics as the Study of the Government:- Some Political Scientists like Paul Janet, George Catlin, Hans Eulan have accepted the view which states that politics deals with the state and government. Paul Janet writes "Political Science is concerned with the foundations of the state and principles of government. George Catlin states "Politics means either the activities of political life or the study of these activities. And these activities are generally treated as activities of the various organs of government."

Prof Hans Eulan considers in his definition of politics that the study of formal government is a fundamental concern of politics. The Oxford English Dictionary defines Political Science as "the study of the state and systems of government."

Politics as the Study of National Institution:- Bridal expressed the view that "Political Science is, above all, descriptive study which brings together the description of national political institutions, their history, their ideological principles, their working, the forces that direct them, the influence they undergo, the results they obtain and their effect on the life of the country and its relations with neighboring states".

Traditional Approach:- The concept of Political Science as a study of State, Government and National Institution is not considered adequate today. This aspect of above definitions emphasizes the legal structure only. They do not pay attention to what is happening within the state. Political Science must include the study of informal structures, facts and reality of politics. Hence, modern political thinkers defined Political Science differently and taken modern approach.

Political Science as a Study of Power:- Modern Political thinkers like Lasswell, Robert Dahl have defined politics in terms of power, influence, and authority. According to these thinkers power has acquired prominent position in political thought.

Harold Lasswell considers, "Politics is the study of shaping and sharing political powers"

Robert A. Dahl defined that, "A Political system is any persistent pattern of human relationship that involves, to a significant extent power, rule or authority."

According to the view of these thinkers entire political activity directed towards capturing and maintaining power. Power is the central idea in Politics – who get, What, When and How".

Political Science as a Study of Conflict Resolution:- This view was suggested by Miller in his Nature of Politics. The purpose of a political activity is either to bring about a change or resist a change. People compete with each other to satisfy their needs. When resources are limited and the people who want to utilize them are many conflicts arise. Politics is a means to resolve this conflict.

According to Peter B. Haris "The Modern emphasis in the study of Politics is laid on disagreements and reconciliation or resolution of these disagreement.

Political Science as a Study of Co -relation of many Forces Encyclopedia of Social Sciences States, "Present day political science revolves around the problem of the attainment, consolidation and distribution of political power whether in an actually existing state or a hypothetical state".

Political Institution and politics cannot function in vacuum. Social and economic forces affect the political process. Hence they also must be taken into account.

Analysis and Conclusion :-The several definitions of the term Political Science reflect the changing understanding of the discipline. From above definitions we may say that there are mainly two approaches of looking at Political Science. 1) Traditional approach 2) Modern approach. The Traditional Approach suggests that Political Science is the study of State, Government and National Institutions. It studies the formal, legal structures and theoretical part.

The Modern Approach emphasizes "What is actually happening in the state". It stressed on reality and actual facts of politics. Thus it studies various forces, processes and informal structures making it dynamic.

However, it can be said that political science is a systematic study of the State, Government, Political Institutions, Power, influence and authority, Political processes and Political forces.

NATURE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Political Science is a social science. Its nature is different than physical sciences like physics and chemistry. Whenever we study the origin, evolution and development of Political Science; we find various aspects of the nature of Political Science. The definitions and meaning of Political Science shows that it is a systematic study of Political theory, Political Institutions, Political forces and processes. When we call Politics as 'Political Science' we have to see how far this subject stands to the tests of science in the strict sense of the term.

1] Is it a Science ?

Very often a question is raised whether the discipline of politics can be regarded as a science? There is no unanimity among political thinkers whether the subject is a science.

What is a Science?

“Science is a systematic body of knowledge, the facts of which have been accurately and impartially collected, arranged and classified through the use of various scientific methods of observation, comparison and experimentation”.

Various arguments are forwarded for and against the discipline being a science.

ARGUMENTS THAT IT IS NOT A SCIENCE :

Political Scientists like Maitland, Burke, Gettel do not think that Politics is really a Science. Their arguments are as follows :

1] Disagreement in Definition, Terminology and Methods : There is no general agreement among political thinkers regarding definition, scope, terminology etc. There is no exactness or precision in the political science, as a result, they cannot be accepted and applied universally. This does not happen in case of natural sciences like physics and chemistry.

2] Lack of Precision :-Principles of Political Science are not precise, clear and they lead to many controversies. Where as a formula in physics or chemistry is clear and universally accepted. eg. The laws of gravity or the principles of arithmetic i.e. Two plus two equals four everywhere. However Political Science like pure and natural sciences such as physics and Mathematics does not possess any such universally relevant principles.

3] Human Beings :- Politics deals with human beings whose minds are unpredictable. Political scientists have to deal with man (human beings) who are not under their control. Human behavior is unpredictable and not always logical. Whereas physics and chemistry deal with matter or inanimate objects (non living objects). Natural scientist work in laboratories and the objects are perfectly under their control. Hence their rules and laws are absolute, and universal.

4] Limited Experimentation:- Experimentation in laboratory or in an isolated environment is not possible in Politics like natural sciences.

5] Lack of Objectivity:- Political Science lacks objectivity but subjective element is very strong. Political science is subjective and relative because political scientist has to deal with human beings in relation to society, state, government etc.

6] Difficult to Predict Future:- Political phenomena do not follow proper sequence like exact science. At times, the effects are contrary and therefore the results cannot be predicted.

Inspite of the above arguments, the subject is regarded as a science because :

Arguments that it is a Science :

- 1] Political Science is not a pure science but a social science – politics is a systematized body of knowledge. Its facts are collected and organized through proper observation, comparison and experimentation, etc. eg. Studies on election. Science is a systematic and formulated knowledge of a specified subject. In that sense political science is certainly a science.
- 2] Political Experiments are not completely ruled out. The government itself is a continuous experiment. The application of Marxist principles in the USSR was one such experiment.
- 3] Broad conclusions can be drawn in political science eg. Independent impartial judiciary, free press is essential for democracy.

- 4] Empirical studies are based on careful observation and classification. Political science puts hypothesis to empirical verification. Theories are not built on speculation. Political Scientists today employ survey methods, graphs, charts etc., to arrive at their research conclusions.

Thus political science is not a pure science, but a social science.

2] Is Politics an Art?

The term Art refers to the 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.

Robert Dahl States that Political Science is both – Science and 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 institution it is an art”.

3] Politics or Political Science? :

What should the subject be called Politics or Political Science? Aristotle called his studies in Political Phenomena as ‘Politics. Prof Laskis work was named as a “Grammar of Politics”. However, most of the modern writers prefer the subject to be called as political science, and not as politics. Because political science is a systematic study of political theory, political institutions, political forces and processes. The term politics indicates the current political problems or issues. Many times common people use the term of politics as a dubious, messy, rotten affairs. Politics is a wide spread and universal activity and that is analysis in political science. Study of politics is a part of the study of political science. Politics is an activity and that what it analyses as a political science is only a part of it. The term politics is not precise to give us whole range of knowledge pertaining to state and other political institutions. There is distinction between a politician and political scientist. A politician is a person who actively participates in the political affairs. Whereas a political scientist is an expert in the subject. He studies the subject systematically. Hence it is preferable the subject be called a ‘Political Science and not Politics.

THE SCOPE OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

The scope of political science means the subject matter or content of political science. Various political thinkers are not in agreement about the exact scope of politics. The lack of precise definition and terminology have created confusion regarding the subject matter of political science. Despite the ambiguity and controversy in the field various aspects included in the study of political science are as follows :

A conference of political thinkers held in Sept 1948 at the UNESCO House decided the scope of political science.

Political Science is the study of Political theories:- Over the centuries, political scientists have concerned themselves with formulating political theories and political ideas. e.g., Plato explained theory of Ideal State, Theory of justice, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau explained theory of origin of state. These theories enable us to organize their observations and offer a foundation on which future observations and analysis can be based.

Political Institutions:- Study of political science includes the study of various constitutions, various systems of government their merits, demerits etc. eg. Whether it is parliamentary, presidential, dictatorial, democratic, coalition form of government. Such a study helps us to reform our political institutions in order to realize our goals.

Political Parties and Pressure Groups :-It studies the various systems of political parties, their role and importance. Pressure groups and interest groups are becoming more important. Political science studies

their role, methods etc. in a given political system. This makes the study of political science more realistic. Opposition political parties, pressure groups Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) do not directly form the government. They indirectly influence governmental policies and decisions. Hence the study of governance (act of governing) is incomplete if it is limited to the study of government.

International Relations:- It includes the study of international organization, and policies. States do not live in isolation. Domestic Policy and Foreign Policy are interrelated. Hence the study of international relations becomes significant more in the times of globalization.

Political Science is the study of the relationship between government and civil society. The state is comprised of two entities government and civil society. Both entities influence governance in different ways. Civil society includes citizens, Non-Governmental Organization (NGOs), pressure groups, opposition political parties. Civil society influence governance indirectly, by influencing the government and convincing it to adopt certain policies. Whereas the government possesses the power and authority to influence governance directly. Hence the relationship between government and civil society is an important determinant of governance in the state. Political science studies this relationship in order to better understand the nature of the state and the efficacy of governance.

It is the study of Power, Authority, Influences, Political activities, Political Processes:- Political Science is normative as well as empirical. Normative approach of political science studies norms, ideals, morals, principles, philosophy of political science eg. What should be the nature of the state etc. Empirical approach of political science observes and analyses political activities and institutions as they are in a scientific way.

Morgenthau said scope of Political-Science includes three branches:

a) Political Sociology b) Political Theory c) Political Institutions Modern political Scientists feel that man's social life is an integrated whole. Any change in man's social environment have repercussions on man's political life. The modern state cannot escape from that impact of the social, psychological, economic and cultural forces. According to Leacock Political Science must not content itself with a mere analysis of political institutions as existing at any given time, it must take account of the process of change and evolution, and the alteration of social and intellectual environment.

Master Science :- Aristotle called political science the "Master Science" because politics determines the environment within which every person will organize his life. No one can claim that he has nothing to do with politics. No one can escape from the parameters set by politics. The ancient Greeks never made any distinction between man's personal life and political life. According to them politics is the total study of Man, Society, State, Morality etc.

Study of Political System and its Environments:- Varied political systems exist and function in different environment. Political science studies them with reference to the response given and feedback secured. The policies of one system have an impact on the other systems. Also political decisions are not made in vacuums. These are influenced by economic structure, social institutions and the whole environment in which the state functions.

APPROACHES TO POLITICAL THEORY

In the study of social sciences the approaches are extremely important because they help us in identifying the problems for our study and deciding on the appropriate data to be used. A care must however, be taken to differentiate between an approach and method, another term which is frequently used by the social scientists. It must be made clear that the two terms are not synonyms. Method can be defined as a particular manner or technique to carry out something. It suggests a systematic course of action that helps procure trustworthy body of knowledge about a particular issue or phenomenon and draw conclusions thereon.

There are quite a few methods that are applied in the study of social sciences such as Deductive Method, Inductive Method, Comparative Method, Scientific Method and so on. An approach, in contrast, is a broader term that takes hold of the method i.e. how to study or inquire along with bringing into focus the relevant data i.e. what to study for the purpose of understanding the particular phenomenon.

In the words of Vernon Van Dyke: "An approach consists of criteria of selection criteria employed in selecting the problems or questions to consider and in selecting the data to bring to bear; it consists of standards governing the inclusion and exclusion of questions and data." Furthermore, distinguishing between a method and an approach Dyke indicates: "In brief, approaches consist of criteria for selecting problems and relevant data, whereas methods are procedures for getting and utilizing data." It must also be added that an approach brings along its method too. This cannot be always true about a method because a method is not usually committed to a particular approach. In other words an approach suggests its own method while the vice versa is not true. For instance, behavioural approach is linked to scientific method and normative approach has association with philosophical method.

Meaning of Approach:

From the days of ancient Greek political thought scholars, philosophers and political scientists have analysed, investigated various types of political issues and incidents from the standpoint of their own perspective and on the basis of the study they have arrived at conclusions and prescribed recommendations.

This has inevitably led to the emergence of a number of approaches to the study of political science. Now we shall first of all try to analyse various aspects of each approach but before that we shall define approach. We have already noted Van Dyke's points on another issue. According to Van Dyke the word "approach is defined to denote the criteria employed in selecting the questions to ask and the data to consider in political inquiry".

In the opinion of Van Dyke, approach means criteria. A criterion is used to explain or analyse the political questions and data. Since the questions and data are very great in number and varied in nature each political scientist or philosopher analyses them in his own way by applying his own standpoint and method.

In physical or chemical science there exists an agreed method and more or less all researchers and scientists apply those agreed methods. But there is hardly any place of broad based agreement in political science as to the method and approach.

Another aspect of approach is methods employed by political science for its study cannot be distinguished from the methods used by other branches of social science. So also the approaches of political science are not different from other approaches.

However, this general observation is not hundred percent correct. Sometimes the approaches employed by political scientists differ in content from the approaches used by other social scientists. Thus variety of approaches for the study of political science is a central aspect of the subject.

Again from the past history of political science we gather the idea that at different periods different approaches have gained importance. In other words, the rise and fall in the importance of approaches is a noticeable characteristic.

Approach, we can say, is a scientific way of studying a subject. The students will have to analyse and categorize data, facts, events, problems etc. The point to note is that they cannot do it unscientifically or proceed haphazardly. To be precise, for a balanced and effective analysis and promising investigation analysts must proceed in a systematic way and for that purpose the students or analysts must apply a method or criterion and we call it approach.

Therefore, approach is a way to analyse a subject or what may suitably be called a discipline. It is believed by many that the application of an approach considerably enhances the importance and credibility of the analysis as well as discipline. So without an approach the analysis of the subject may not be in a position to receive wide support from the readers and also their credence.

Classification of Approaches:

The approaches employed by political scientists for the study of politics have been classified by Wasby in the following way: one classification may be based on fact-value problem. This leads to the division of classification into normative approach and empirical approach.

The other classification is based on the objective of study of political science. That is, in this approach the political scientists want to stress the specific purposes of studying and investigating politics. This broad group can again be subdivided into philosophical, ideological, institutional and structural approaches.

Some scholars are of opinion that Wasby-proposed classification of approaches is generally traditional in nature. Modern political scientists have made a broad classification of the approaches. On the one hand there is normative approach which to some extent liberal bias and on the other hand Marxist approach.

In the second half of the last century a large number of political scientists of America and later on other countries began to analyse political issues, incidents and behaviour from the standpoint of behaviour (particularly the political behaviour) of the individuals. David Easton championed this approach.

In formal language it is called behaviouralism or political behaviour and after very few years this behaviouralism landed on post-behaviouralism. Recently some scholars have attempted to analyse political science in a feminist way and it is called feminist approach.

Normative Approach:

The term normative is derived from the Latin word norma, meaning precept rule, carpenter's square. The word norm means usual, typical or standard thing. Normative relates to norm or standard. The central idea of normative approach is—the subject is viewed and analysed normatively that is there are certain standards, rules and precepts which must find their application in political science.

Again, political science means in its operative aspects. When the state starts its operation its primary objective would be to achieve the above-noted norms, standards and precepts. The success and failure will determine the nature, credibility, acceptability of the state or government.

Hence norms are several principles which an authority cannot deny. The accountability of the authority is also based on these norms and principles. Norm or normativeness is explained in terms of "should" and "ought". It means that the authority should do it or adopt such and such policy or decision. Or it ought to do it.

Therefore, normativeness talks about preference. The word preference is not different from should and ought. To sum up, the objectives and functions of state are judged in the background of preference, should and ought.

Origin of the Approach:

Normative approach to the study of politics owes its origin to the political philosophy of Greek philosopher Plato. The thought of a good society or an ideal state and the entire structure of such a state are built upon the concepts like 'should', 'ought', 'preference' etc. He said that any state or society ought to be or should be ideal or good and he has elaborated the criteria of good or ideal in his *The Republic*.

The picture of state that prevailed in Plato's time was very far from of what ought to be or should be. In most of the city-states in Plato's time there was no place and recognition of morality, virtue, ideals and ethics. But he firmly believed that a state ought to have these eternal values and he also said that in order to be an ideal state all individuals must be ideal that is they must possess virtues such as morality and various ethical qualities.

His great disciple Aristotle followed the footsteps of Plato and elaborated the ideal state. In latter periods we come across a number of philosophers who emphasised the normative approach of politics and the great contractualist Rousseau is a prominent figure.

The normative approach stressed by Plato, Aristotle, and Rousseau etc has assumed the form and colour of Utopia. Utopia means something which has no practical foundations and it is not supported by reasons. Large number of philosophers began to scan the existing systems by Utopian criteria. Again with the help of this standard existing situations are to be judged.

Thomas More (1478-1535) imagined of a Utopia or an imaginary state. His famous book Utopia was published in 1516 and here he depicted the picture of an ought to be state. He disapproved the drawbacks that characterised the prevailing state of his time and that led him to think of an ought to be state.

Central Idea of Normative Approach:

The central idea of the normative approach to the study of politics is politics or analysis of state or the functions of state are to be viewed in the light of what ought to be rather than what they are. The normativeness wants to give preference to should and ought to be. It wants the realisations of certain universal values, norms or principles through, the machinery of state. "Instead of asking how social policy decisions have come to be made, it asks instead about how they ought to be made. In such studies the aim is to examine a set of political principles, detail their logical characteristics and explore their implications for social policy, at least in broad institutional terms".

It is assumed by some that since normative principles relates to what should be or ought to be these principles can easily be ignored. But the great adherents of the approach declare unambiguously that norms, or principles are not to be ignored but they are to be implemented. "Normative theory should be a reflection on practice, not a means of ignoring it".

Thus we can say that values, principles or eternal ideas relating to politics or function of state constituted the central idea of normative approach to the study of politics. In other words, this approach says that norms or principles are to be followed in practice and the aim of such norms is to make the political organisation acceptable to all or majority people.

Components of the Normative Approach:

In the normative approach there is an emphasis on what is good and what is not good. It says that when a policy-maker proceeds to formulate policy or adopt a decision he must see that to what extent the policy or decision will produce desired results. The concept of goodness is linked with expectation.

The members of political organisation want to fulfill their manifold desires and they expect that the authority shall act accordingly. It may be that the expectations do not always tally the real results. But that does not matter. The expectations fall in the category of "ought to be". Good also relates to the attainment of welfare objectives of the state. The term good starts to scan the policy, decision and function of authority.

The normative approach establishes the concept of responsibility. If certain norms and principles are put forward and if they are made binding on the authority, people can judge the success or failure of the authority. In other words, norms are easy of locating the responsibility.

Normative approach stipulates that norms or principles are of immense value and importance so far as the determination of policy and decision and their implementation are concerned. 'Is' or 'what' is happening, are important no doubt but every authority must follow these norms and ideals.

Normative approach envisages of striking a balance or equilibrium between what is or what happens and ought to be or should be. Any biasness will invariably plague the proper functioning of state as well as decision making process.

An authority aiming at the attainment of general welfare objectives cannot take the risk of neglecting either ought to be or what is. The balancing process is not a stable one. It is always in an unstable condition. It moves from one stage to another.

Normative approach never thinks of anything settled. Though it is generally argued that norms, values, principles are of eternal in nature but scholars are of opinion that the word 'eternal' need not be taken seriously.

Values, norms etc. are always subject to change and a responsible authority must take this change into account and also will act accordingly. That is normative approach though pays heavy emphasis on norms it proceeds with the change. In every age certain norms, values and principles are given more importance and they are given priority.

Importance of Normative Approach:

It is now evident that in normative approach there is lot of importance of norms, values, ideals, ideas. It further believes that they have got relevance in the study of politics. It is a fact that all these cannot be translated into reality. But on this ground the norms, values, etc. cannot be thrown into the wind. They have importance and a large number of political scientists and statesmen still believe that the norms have immense importance.

The normative approach criticises the functions, principles and policies of the existing states as did Plato in his *The Republic*. Even today the same approach is followed. The criticism by the supporters of the normative approach has not always succeeded in changing the prevailing course of action of the state or the un-normative principles of the authority.

But it has been able to aware the public about the state of activities of political organisation. This approach suggests that what is going on should be changed for the better. It is still believed that the normative approach can be helpful for the day to day activities of state.

It is alleged that normative approach to the study of politics is a smack of norms, ideals, values and principles which have not full relevance to the reality of social and political situation. But this criticism is not tenable. As every individual should decide certain principles which he wants, to follow, a state should also decide or set up certain ideals, norms and principles which it should apply while deciding policies and taking decisions.

All these are declared in various forms such as constitution, laws and general policy decisions. After deciding the principles or general objectives the state proceeds to implement them. This can be illustrated by the Constitution of India. The Preamble to our Constitution contains several lofty ideals and many of them are yet to be achieved. But this non-implementation does not invalidate the ideals.

The rise of welfare state and its increasing popularity have added new feathers to this approach. The concept of welfare state declares that the function of the state does not exhaust in maintaining law and order alone, it must perform many other functions which will bring about general welfare to the society.

The welfare objectives on the one hand and ideals, norms, principles on the other hand are always at par. The welfare objectives pay more importance upon the ought to be or should be.

The function of the state is not a static one. In a dynamic society it should also be dynamic. It means that the state should make continuous efforts for the improvement of its functions and this again means that there should be certain ideals, principles and norms before it. Otherwise it will have to sail in an uncharted sea. But a pragmatic theory of state does not suggest that the state should sail in an uncharted sea. The fact is that the state should decide certain ideals and then it will begin its journey.

It is apprehended that there may arise conflict between practice and ideals or between "is" and "ought to be" and this conflict may dwarf the activities of the state. There is also a possibility that the norms could not be fulfilled. But the non-fulfilment does not call for its rejection. Norms are always norms and they always act as guiding stars.

Plato's ideal state, philosopher king, Aristotle's polity, Marx's classless state or society, his communism, Rousseau's moral state etc still haunt us. We all know that all these can never be achieved but we still hope that we must try to achieve them because they are our ideals.

It is not surprising that in the writings and thought systems of every philosopher there is an important place of ideals and principles and this place is very much important. Take the case of utilitarianism. Its great pro pounders proposed that the state authority must follow the principle of pleasure and pain or in general the policy of utility while making policy or taking decisions. The utilitarianism has not been strictly followed or it is ignored, but it still holds good as a policy of liberalism.

The supporters of the normative approach say that this hints at the efficiency of the state. Once the norms and ideals are declared the authority of the state should make arrangement for their implementation any discrepancy between promises and performance will call for a valuation of the activities. If the discrepancy stands at a minimum level that will be an indication of the efficiency of the state.

Some political scientists claim that an adequate and comprehensive political theory must duly take into account of the normative approach to the study of politics. Legal approach and empirical approach have importance no doubt. But normative approach has importance.

Historical Approach:

The historical approach to the study of politics is one of the traditional approaches. History means the records of past incidents and facts. These took place at different periods. It also means what people have thought or imagined. "History as a record consists of documentary and other primary evidences" which occurred in the past. So far as historical approach is concerned we shall concentrate our attention on historical events recorded in documentary evidences.

The characteristic feature of historical approach is that history as a written or recorded subject focuses on the past events. From history we come to know how man was in the past and what he is now. History is the store-house of events. From the biographies, autobiographies, descriptions by authors and journalists we come to know what event took place in the past.

It is to be noted here that the events must have political bearing or they must be politically significant. These events provide the best materials upon which theory and principles of political science are built. History tells us how government, political parties and many other institutions worked, their successes and failures and from these we receive lessons which guide us in determining the future course of action. Let us take an example.

The American President enjoys enormous powers. But all his powers are not derived from the Constitution. In order to find out a distinction between what powers he enjoyed past and powers now he is exercising, historical analysis is essential. Naturally, history helps us a lot in this regard. Without history we cannot collect any past incidents. The sources of British constitution are historical facts or incidents.

A very small part of British constitution is written. Powers and functions of Prime Minister, Monarchy and different organs of government are derived from history. To support or refute an argument or a conclusion one can cite facts recorded in the pages of history. The principles or conclusions of politics in many cases are based on historical incidents. Briefly stated the historical approach means to study politics with the help of facts derived from history.

History is not simply the record of past events and achievements but the interpretations, comments and explanations made by the historians. They also arrange the events chronologically. All these are regarded as suitable materials for political scientists. We can say the historians have made the task of the political scientists partially easy. The comparisons and conclusions of historians very often throw ample light on principles of politics.

Two great personalities of political philosophy depended upon history in a remarkable way. They are Marx and Hegel. In fact, Marx's theory of class struggle and increasing impoverishment of the working class are buttressed by historical data. Hegel drew inspiration in formulating a philosophical theory of civilisation and its manifestation in national state from the study of history. Dyke says that Marx has reified and personified history.

Michael Oakshott unequivocally lays emphasis on the historical approach of the study of politics. He offers us the following observation: "Politics as the activity of attending to the general arrangements of a collection of people who compose a single community." Here his main emphasis is on the tradition and practice of political community.

He also distrusts rationalism. In his judgment, inhabitants of a state are "hereditary cooperative groups." Oakshott's final observation demands our special attention. He says "what we are learning to understand is a political tradition, a concrete manner of behaviour. And for this reason it is proper that at the academic level the study of politics should be an historical study."

Not only Oakshott but many other modern political' scientist have supported the historical approach to the study of political science.

Evaluation of Historical Approach:

The historical approach to the study of politics has faced a few challenges from several quarters. One of the main fulcrums of the challenges is history has two faces— one is documentation of facts which is quite naive and the other is interpretation of facts and phenomena. Again, the accumulation of evidences is to be judged from a proper perspective.

The implication is adequate care should be taken while evaluating evidence and facts and it is not surprising that such a caution is not always strictly followed and, as a result the historical facts do not serve the proper purpose of those who use it. This is the main objection against the historical approach to the study of politics. We can in this connection remember the opinion of a critic.

He says: "History in the light of the best modern practice is to be sharply distinguished from the antiquarianism or the collection of facts for their own sake and should be defined rather as the study of problems or causes, the interpretation of phenomena".

Of course, how much caution the historian will take cannot be said before-hand. It depends upon the person and the facts. Caution is, however, essential. The adoption of caution is mandatory because history records fabricated data. Facts and incidents are not always correctly recorded. This is not an imaginary allegation.

Alan Ball has drawn our attention to another dark side of the historical approach. He says "past evidence does leave alarming gaps, and political history is often simply a record of great men and great events, rather than a comprehensive account of total political activity." Very few historians interpret historical events and evidences broadly and liberally.

Narrowness in outlook prevails upon them leading to the biased interpretation of facts. This cannot provide a better and reliable basis for political science. The historian must be sincere in collecting facts and impartial in interpreting them. Such an approach only can be helpful for the study of politics.

Sir Ivor Jennings's is a great authority on British constitution and his analysis about various aspects of British Constitution is still regarded as authentic. His treatment of history is really unique. The depth of analysis, broadness of outlook and impartiality of treatment has elevated his research and students of politics still remember him. From the records of history Jennings has formulated a comprehensive account of the British Prime Minister, Parliament and other departments of Government.

Robert Mackenzie studied the party system and Mackintosh investigated the working of cabinet system of England. Their method is historical, but they have interpreted the documents liberally. The writings of these authors are encouraging and have created precedents. Many other thinkers have depended upon historical facts for the analysis of politics. Many of them have been successful, but not all.

Philosophical Approach:

Philosophical approach is another traditional or classical approach of studying politics. There are many definitions of philosophy and one such definition is, philosophy "is the study or science of truths or principles underlying all knowledge and being." It means that philosophy or philosophical approach attempts to find the truth of political incidents or events. It explores the objective of political writings or the purpose of political writer.

The purpose of philosophical approach is to analyse the consequences of incidents in a logical and scientific manner. According to Van Dyke "philosophy denotes thought about thought. Somewhat more broadly it denotes general conceptions of ends and means, purposes and methods." The purpose of philosophical approach is to clarify the words and terms used by the political philosophers. The enquiry started by the philosophical approach removes confusion about the assumptions.

The important plus point of philosophical approach is it enters into the depth of every aspect of political phenomena and scans them without any partiality. Its interpretation of political activities evokes interest in the minds of students of politics. Words and phrases used by philosophers throw light on the subject. Philosophical approach, it is claimed, enhances linguistic clarity. That is why it is said that this approach aims at thought about thought.

The method applied by philosophical approach is logical analysis. It uses reason to find out the truth. The truth which this approach establishes or finds out may be of various kinds—normative, descriptive or prescriptive. But the philosophical approach is indifferent to the nature or category of truth.

It also tries to establish standards of good, right and just. It has been observed by a critic that the objective of this approach is to determine what is in the interest of the public and he identifies interest more with ends than with means.

In the vast range of political science there are a number of great or remarkable books. Philosophical approach wants to explore the meaning and central theme of these books as well as the exact purpose of the authors. In the contemporary Greek city-states of Plato morality, moral values and idealism degraded to such an extent that he received a great shock and seriously thought to revive these and this urge prompted him to write *The Republic*.

He wanted to establish that politics and morality are not antithetic concepts. Rather, an ideal and moral body politic can be made a real one through the selfless administration by a philosopher-king. John Locke wrote his *Second Treatise* to justify the interests and objectives of the new middle class and the struggle of people for liberty.

Machiavelli and Hobbes wrote to support royal absolutism. We may not agree with the views of these philosophers or the arguments of these books, but it must not be forgotten that the books were written at particular and critical moment of history.

Philosophical approach helps us to understand the contemporary history and the nature of politics suggested by philosophers. To put it in other words, the philosophical approach helps us to be acquainted with the political ideologies of past centuries. In this sense, the philosophical approach is highly important.

Criticism of the Philosophical Approach:

In spite of the immense importance of the philosophical approach to the study of politics critics have raised several questions about its worthiness. One of the central ideas of political philosophy is idealism and it is prominent in Plato's *The Republic*. Critics say that idealism itself is quite good but when its practical application arises it appears to be a myth.

Idealism was a favourite theory of Plato, but it had not practical importance and he fully realised that idealism would never be translated into reality. It is a subject of sheer imagination. Machiavelli and Hobbes wrote with the sole purpose of supporting the status quo. We cannot forgive Hobbes for his authoritarian view and anti-individualist stand.

The philosophical thinkers of the earlier epochs were impractical thinkers. They had no intention to propagate ideas which can change society. They were indifferent to people's liking and disliking, their love for liberty, their sorrows and sufferings and they failed to provide prophylactic devices. As an academic discipline philosophical approach is all right, but as a practical guide for action it has hardly any importance.

Evaluation:

Plato and Hegel were impractical philosophers no doubt. Their philosophy may impress us but does not guide us. There are other philosophers who do not fall in this category. For example philosophies of Marx, Engels, Lenin guide us and in the purpose was to change the society. These philosophers took a realistic view of society. They interpreted history from materialistic point of view. The idealism and philosophy of Marx, Engels and some others had a relation to material world.

The idealist philosophers of earlier periods had strongly advocated certain moral, ethical and ideal values. It is true that these values will never be realised in reality. But ideal is ideal, it guides us. The eternal value of Plato's idealistic philosophy in politics is not divorced from morality and idealism.

The philosophical ideas of particular philosophers are to be judged in the background of contemporary social, economic and political situations. Machiavelli supported royal absolutism for the unification of Italy. Hobbes wanted to save England from disorder and anarchy which engulfed the British Society of his time.

All of them were great patriots. Rousseau could not tolerate the alienation of man from society and the loss of liberty with the progress of civilisation, arts and literature. To him the state was a public moral person whose chief duty was to ensure liberty and morality as well as to reform the people. The philosophical approach to the study of politics throws light on these aspects of politics.

Degradation of moral values and rampant corruption are the distinguishing features of the society which is at the threshold of the 21st century. If we want to free politics from these, we must try to revive moral values and idealism about which Plato spoke long ago. We are not thinking about a philosopher-king, but we must think about an honest, able, moral and ideal ruler who may be a prime minister or president.

Plato's main concern was justice and ideal state. Marx spoke of emancipation of the toiling mass. All these constitute the elements of idealism and we cannot treat them insignificant. In the Preamble of the Constitution of India there is a word 'justice'.

The purpose of the welfare state is to ensure emancipation. Locke's liberalism appears and reappears. His constitutionalism has an important place in British and Indian systems. In our analysis of the philosophical approach to the study of politics we must remember these points.

Economic Approach:

Economics and politics are two important disciplines of social science and in several respects they are intimately related. In the curriculum of universities of India and many other countries a few decades ago economics and political science constituted a single subject which implies the close relationship between the two. This denotes that in the study of politics the help of economics is essential.

The policy formulations -of economic nature and determination of the principles of planning which has recently become a part of the governmental activity are done by the government. In most of the countries of the world public issues are economic issues and here the main—, and sometimes the only—actors are the personnel of the government such as the prime minister, president and other ministers. This obvious relationship between the two subjects has placed the economic approach in a convenient position.

Fiscal policies of all types, industrial policy, agricultural policy, labour policy are all economic issues, but the chief actors are the members of the government. The executive branch takes the final decision. There are many specialists and advisers. Since the question of implementation is to be looked up by the government, the final say comes from the government side.

Policy regarding production and distribution, though within the jurisdiction of economics, is always taken up by the government. It is to be pointed out here that the impact of success and failure of the economic policies fall upon the government. So we cannot discuss politics without discussing economics.

The greatest attribution of the economic approach to the study of politics comes from the pen of Marx and Engels. The doctrine of class struggle, increasing impoverishment and capitalism's exploitation are based on economic factors. Marx and Engels have emphasised the heterogeneity of interests between the classes. Classes are formed on the basis of economic interests. Capitalist's profit making motive leads to exploitation of workers. To emancipate from exploitation the workers are forced to take the path of struggle.

The idea of emancipation is associated with economic terms. According to Marx, politics is controlled by the persons who own sources of production and manage the process of distribution. Outside economic influence, politics has no independent authority.

Marx's theory of base and super-structure is a matter of relationship between economics and politics. Perhaps Marx is the only philosopher who has forcefully argued (of course with reason and data collected from history) the relationship between the two important subjects of social science.

The interest group approach to the study of politics is popular in some liberal democratic countries and this conception is associated with economic approach. Interest groups or pressure groups create pressure to achieve economic objectives. Hence, interest group politics and economic approach are mutually dependent.

Sociological Approach:

Political science and sociology both are social sciences and in several places they overlap. The areas of sociological studies are human behaviour including the political behaviour, group behaviour and attitude of group, culture, society. Needless to say that all these fall within the study area of political science. "Culture refers to the totality of what is learned by individuals as members of society, it is a way of life a mode of thinking, acting and feeling." Culture in various ways influences the political behaviour of individuals which is again studied by political scientists.

Readers of politics are quite well-known with political culture which is composed of the attitudes beliefs emotions and values of society that relate to the political system and its political issues. We, therefore, find that so far as culture is concerned, it is the subject matter of both sociology and political science.

Society is another important topic of sociology and the sociologists devote a considerable part of their analyses to the exploration of various aspects of society. Students of politics also treat society with considerable emphasis. Society is composed of human beings who form intimate relationship among themselves.

The relationship is characterised by both conflict and cooperation and these in turn give rise to politics. Individuals form institutions which are also parts of society. These institutions play important role in moulding the character, attitudes and behaviour of individuals. Thus, both sociology and politics deal with society in its broadest perspective. Any sociological analysis of society without its political orientation is bound to be incomplete.

Human beings form not only society but also group based on a network of social relationships. There are numerous sociological studies about these social relationships. Politics also studies these relationships. Politics, of course, studies only the political aspects. There are various associations or groups within every society and they are normally formed on the basis of profession.

For example, teachers of political science have formed political sciences association. Similarly, there are doctors' club, trade unions, student's organisations, women's forums. Not all these associations and groups are directly related to the political authority, but they are not outside the jurisdiction of state and an interaction between groups or associations and state is never a rare occasion.

The researchers of politics study the behaviour of various groups and how they discharge their functions in similar and different environment. Political scientists are concerned only with the impact of the behaviour and function upon politics.

On the other hand, sociologists analyse them in a broader perspective. The sociologist investigates the relationship between behaviour pattern and social conditions. The studies of sociologists and political scientists are interdependent. A recent analyst has observed:

"Political behaviour, political relationships and political institutions are within the realm of sociology along with other kinds of behaviour, relationships and institutions. Political science thus overlaps with sociology just as it overlaps with history and economics. Those who take a sociological approach to the study of politics give attention to the kinds of questions and the kinds of data....political movements of all sorts can be studied on the basis of a sociological approach to politics".

Policy formulations and legislations to a large extent depend upon the sociological studies. Studies by sociologists on crime, divorce, juvenile delinquency, conditions of slum and urbanisation guide the government and legislators. Modern states are no doubt welfare states and the authorities of such states can neglect the sociological studies on the above issues only on their own peril.

Psychological Approach:

Politics and psychology have close relation. Psychologists normally study the political behaviour of individuals and factors leading to such behaviour. They also study why certain individuals behave in a certain way. Recently, a new subject has gained popularity—it is psychology.

This studies the behaviour, attitude etc. of the voter and the researchers after studying various aspects draw conclusions which very often serve the purpose of political leaders. It is not an exaggeration to hold that the foundation of behaviouralism is psychology of the individuals. Political scientists of today's world are extremely curious to know how motives and emotions work in the field of political activity. Sometimes the psychologists focus their attention upon the group behaviour.

We can collect dozens of instances from the pages of the history of political thought as to how psychology and politics are related. According to Aristotle, man is by nature a social animal and his sociability is the prime reason of the emergence of political organisation which is called state. Psychology of man is that man wants to live with others.

Hobbes has said that every individuals wants security and for that he desires to accumulate power. Because he thinks that power only can provide security. Hobbes' political philosophy is based, to a considerable extent, upon psychological factors. He has depicted the nature of men who lived in the state of nature, Men of the state of nature were power hungry, quarrelsome and envied each other.

Only death could draw a curtain upon this ceaseless struggle. Locke's people strongly desired to have freedom and right and to that end they build up a civil society. Utilitarian philosopher Bentham studied well the psychology of the middle class people who sought to maximise their happiness. Bentham projected their psychology through the tendency of avoiding pain and welcoming pleasure. Marx's theory of class struggle is also based on psychology.

The proletarians desire to end the exploitation let loose by the capitalists. Individuals in any society pursue conflicting desires and this is the path-finder of politics. There are motives, likes and dislikes behind every type of political activity. So politics cannot be alienated from psychology.

Even in international politics the influence of psychology is discernible. The big or super-powers are involved in power politics to establish their domination and enhance their image in international society. This is absolutely a psychological issue.

The idea to launch a war emanates from the mind and for that reason it has been suggested that attempts are to be made to remove that pernicious idea from the mind. Statesmen of international repute are of opinion that for peace and security it is essential that all sorts of fear are to be removed from the mind.

Institutional Approach:

Institutional approach to the study of politics is very common today and according to Wasby it is important. Readers, scholars, researchers and even ordinary people are accustomed to view politics in term of the institutions. The institutional approach is also called structural approach. According to Maclver institutions are established forms of procedure.

Institution relates the structure and machinery through which human society organises, directs and executes multifarious activities required to satisfy human needs. According to this definition family, government and state and all types of organisations which have flourished within the states are institutions. Institutions are, therefore, created to meet human requirements. Political parties, pressure and interest groups, legislature all are institutions.

The traditional political thinkers were primarily concerned with the activities and role of the different types of institutions and they viewed politics in terms of the institutions. Dyke's cogent remark is-the study of politics is the study of the state or of government and related institutions.

This is also the definition of politics. Politics thus, cannot be separated from state or government i.e. institutions. Wasby's definition is little bit elaborate. He says, "The emphasis of the institutional or structural approach is almost exclusively on the formal aspects of government and politics. Since various institutions constitute the structure of society it is also called structural approach".

The emphasis of institutional or structural approach is that the institutions their rules and procedures are important for the analysis of political phenomena and not the individuals constituting the institutions. The advocates of institutional approach do not even consider the impact of institutions or rules upon the individuals. They are inclined to say that the institutions in political analysis are of prime importance.

Political science, for long periods of time, was studied in the light or perspective of the function and behaviour of institutions. The British and American political scientists up to the Second World War concentrated their attention on legislature, party system and pressure group activities. They did not think it proper to throw light on the other factors of politics. In a word, politics to a group of thinkers was institution- concept and nothing else.

The institutional approach has been vehemently criticised. Chief objection against this approach is institutions are, no doubt, important for politics, but they cannot form the entire structure of politics. The institutionalists have been charged of being biased, because they have neglected the individuals who form the institutions.

Without individuals the institutions have no practical importance and it is unfortunate they have not paid proper attention to them. The supporters of this approach have interpreted politics narrowly.

Criticisms of the Traditional Approach:

The traditional approach to the study of politics has been under attack from several corners and the main points of attack are noted below:

The traditional approaches have dismally failed to recognise the role of the individuals who play very important roles in moulding and remoulding the shape and nature of politics. In fact, individuals are important actors of both national and international politics. The focus is directed to the institutions.

It is surprising that behind all the institutions there are individuals who control the structure, functions and other aspects. Singling out institutions and neglecting individuals cannot be pronounced as proper methods of studying politics. The definition politics as the study of institution' is nothing but an exaggeration or it may be called a travesty of truth.

Traditional approach is mainly descriptive. Politics does not rule out description, but it is also analytical. Mere description of facts does not necessarily constitute the subject matter of political science. Its purpose is to go to the depth of every incident. Researchers want to know not only what is happening, but also why a particular incident occurs at a particular time.

The view-point of the traditionalists is, limited within the institutions. Political scientists of today's world are not inclined to limit their analysis of politics within the four walls of institutions. They have investigated the role of environment into which is included international politics multinational corporations, non-governmental organisations or trans-national bodies.

The decision-making process of the nation state is influenced by international events and the political activity of other nation states. When the traditionalists were writing the nature of politics, the interdependence of national and international politics was not unknown to them and it is their failure not to recognise it. Viewed in this light we can say that traditional approach is biased and incomplete. It has not the ability to meet the needs which are rising in the present age.

Attention is to be paid to another shortcoming. The traditional approach as a method of analysing politics is deficient for the analysis of political institutions of the Third World countries, particularly the countries which do not follow the Western political system in to. In these countries, if we try to find out Western system or institutions that will be an utter failure.

It is, therefore, alleged that traditional analysis is unsuitable for all types of political systems—both Western and non-Western. To compensate this deficiency the political scientists of the post-Second World War period have devised a general system approach which is quite comprehensive.

Before drawing a curtain upon this part of analysis we like to quote liberally the observation of Stephen Wasby. He says, "Just as a dissatisfaction with an over-concentration on the philosophical approach to the study of politics had brought a shift towards the study of institutions and formal structures, with an accompanying move from normative to empirical outlooks, so there was increasing realisation that institutional approach did not encompass all the world of politics.

Scholars began to recognise problems in the use of the "State" concept. Other basic emphases were also questioned. Because not all rules and structures have been reduced to law, the legal approach to politics and the institutional approach had never completely coalesced. Political scientists of an institutional bent, freed from the European location of political science within faculties of law, recognised that there is much material within political science not subject to legal examinations."

Students and researchers of politics began to extend their outlook and interest to the other areas and these required new approaches. The scholars also devoted their energy to the comparative analysis of various political systems. We shall now turn our attention to other approaches such as comparative approach, power approach and interest group approach.

BEHAVIOURAL APPROACH

Behaviouralism is one of the most significant modern approaches to the study of political science. A modern approach differs from a traditional one in precisely two ways: First, a modern approach is concerned mainly about establishing a separate identity of political science by emphasizing on the factual character of politics. Two, a modern approach makes an attempt to study politics in entirety, which means it pays little attention to the formal aspects of the discipline and brings into focus such other aspects that influence and also get influenced in the political processes. Behaviouralism is an approach in political science which seeks to provide an objective, quantified approach to explaining and predicting political behaviour. Its emergence in politics coincides with the rise of the behavioural social sciences that were given shape after the natural sciences. Behaviouralism is mainly concerned to examine the behaviour, actions, and acts of individuals rather than the characteristics of institutions such as legislatures, executives, and judiciaries. Behaviouralism underscores the systematic inquiry of all exclusive expression of political behaviour. Some scholars insist that behaviouralism implies the application of meticulous scientific and statistical methods

in order to standardise means of investigation. It is also an exercise in ensuring a value-free study of the discipline of politics. It is usually argued that by the adherents of behavioural approach that political science should be studied in manner similar to the study of natural sciences. In this context, the supporters of behavioural approach insist that the main role of a political scientist is to collect and analyse factual data in an objective manner. The major point of criticism against the traditional approaches has been that they have been deficient in applying scientific methods to the study of politics that has rendered its very claim to be a science at all. Therefore, the behaviouralists recommended the application of exacting methodology and empirical studies to make the discipline of political science a true social science. The behavioural approach has without doubt given a totally ground-breaking purpose to the study of politics by taking it towards an inquiry based on research-supported verifiable data. The behaviouralists have challenged the realist and liberal approaches by labeling them traditional as they fail to substantiate their conclusion with verifiable facts. In order to understand political behaviour of individual the supporters of behavioural approach prescribe the methods like sampling, interviewing, scoring, scaling and statistical analysis.

The behavioural approach came to be exceedingly favoured in the study of political science after the World War II. Nonetheless, it originated with the publication in 1908 of the works of two political scientists, Graham Wallas (*Human Nature in Politics*) and Arthur Bentley (*The Process of Government*). Both these political scientists preferred to underscore the informal political processes and diminished the significance of the study of political institutions in isolation. Wallas, moved by the new findings of modern psychology, strived to introduce similar realism in the study of political science. The major breakthrough provided by modern psychology was that an individual, after all, was not that much a rational being as the traditional political scientists and classical economists had tried to make him out. Consequently, he emphasised that, more often than not, an individual's political action were not given direction by rationality and self-interest. Wallas pointed out that human nature was a complex phenomenon and for an objective understanding of human nature suggested gathering and analysis of factual data of human behaviour. The other political scientist, Bentley was credited for inventing 'group approach' in the study of politics. He also prescribed that there should be a shift from description of political activity to the application of new tools of investigation. Bentley had sought greater inspiration from modern sociology that made him emphasise the role of the informal groups such as pressure groups, elections and political opinion in political processes.

Another significant political scientist who made valuable contribution to behavioural approach was Charles E Merriam, known as the founder of Chicago School. His objection to the traditional approaches to politics was the usual one i.e. they suffer from the absence of thorough scientific inquiry. He was also critical of the works of those historians who did not take into account the role of psychological, sociological and economic aspects of human existence. He vociferously advocated an inter-disciplinary approach to the study of political science, which would endow the discipline with a true scientific character. He favoured the use of quantitative techniques in the study of politics and encouraged political scientists to treat political behaviour as the cardinal issue in the studies. Since he was a resolute admirer of democracy, he strived to employ science to disseminate the message of democracy. He did not see any inconsistency to advance the cause of a specific form of government through an approach to politics. It was William B Munro, another supporter of modern approach who made it plain that it was improper for political science to encourage the spread of any specific form of government, democracy or otherwise. One more proponent of behavioural approach, G E Catlin spoke of making politics a value-free social science in his notable work, *Science and Method of Politics*, published in 1927. For Catlin, the essence of politics is to be located in 'power' and in this respect he cautioned that in the analysis of power, no particular value-system should be taken into account. Catlin's idea that politics was essentially the study of power was later turned into a comprehensive study by Harold D Lasswell in the renowned work *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How* that came out in 1936. It is considered as one of the most meticulous studies of power.

These were the most important attempts to transform politics into a scientific discipline prior to World War II. In the post-war period quite a few American political scientists such as David B Truman, Robert Dahl, Evron M Kirkpatrick, Heinz Eulau et al made outstanding contributions to behaviouralism that elaborated and expanded the extent of behavioural approach beyond the analysis of political behaviour. Therefore, it is pertinent to quote here the contemporary definition of behavioural approach as provided by Geoffrey K Roberts in *A Dictionary of Political Analysis*, published in 1971: "Political behaviour, as an area of study within political science, is concerned with those aspects of human behaviour that take place within a state or other political community, for political purposes or with political motivation. Its focus is the individual person as voter, leader, revolutionary, party member, opinion leader etc. rather than the group or the political system, but it necessarily takes account of the influences of the group on the individual's behaviour, the constraints of the system on the individual's opportunities for action, and the effects of the political culture on his attitude and political habits."

In view of this definition the political scientists who subscribe to behavioural approach investigate the psychological and sociological bearings on the behaviour of the individual in a political situation. Such an approach makes it imperative to make investigation of certain processes and political aspects such as political socialisation, political ideologies, political culture, political participation, political communication, leadership, decision making and also political violence. It goes without saying that the study of most of these processes demands an inter-disciplinary or multi-disciplinary approach. Thus, in the post-war scenario behavioural approach went beyond the confines of the research of individual centric political behaviour. In the contemporary sense it is identified with an array of points of reference, procedures and methods of 17 analysis. It was David Easton who set forth eight 'intellectual foundation-stones' of behavioural approach. They are:

- 1. Regularities:** It refers to identifiable similarities in political behaviour which help generalisation and explanation of regularities in political theory.
- 2. Commitment to Verification:** It necessitates that the soundness of theoretical statements must be subjected to verification tests with reference to relevant political behaviour.
- 3. Techniques:** It calls for experimental attitude in matter of electing techniques. In other words political behaviour must be observed, recorded and then analysed.
- 4. Quantification:** In order to make a precise expression of conclusions based on collected data it is necessary to quantify the recording of data wherever possible.
- 5. Values:** The behavioural approach demands a clear distinction between ethical assessment and empirical explanations. The behaviouralists insist on this separation to make political inquiry as far as possible value-free or value-neutral.
- 6. Systemization:** It draws attention to establishing linkages between theory and research because research data without the support of theory is likely to become inconsequential while theory in the absence of verifiable data may become an exercise in futility.
- 7. Pure Science:** It recommends postponing the attempts to convert politics into a pure science for the purpose of making it an applied science. It is necessary because on account of the study of political behaviour we can use the knowledge of politics to find practical solutions to the pressing problems of a polity.
- 8. Integration:** It suggests integration of social sciences with their respective values in order to develop an all-inclusive outlook of human affairs.

David Easton made attempts to make behavioural approach “analytic, not substantive, general rather than particular, and explanatory rather than ethical.” In other words his intent was to make political theory capable of making evaluation of political behaviour without involving any ethical issue. It is often described as an exercise to distinguish between facts and values. Behaviouralism has been criticized by both conservative and radical political scientists for its so-called attempt to make the discipline value-free. For the conservative the behavioural approach is a serious threat to the possibility of political philosophy. According to Christian Bay, behaviouralism was nothing but a pseudo-political science because it did not represent ‘genuine’ political research. His major point of criticism was that behavioural approach attached too much importance to empiricism and overlooked normative and ethical examination of political science. The radical critics point out that it is not possible to study political science by separating of facts from values. Nonetheless, it must be stated that behavioural approach did provide a great deal of reliability to political inquiry in comparison with political generalisation. It has made it possible to make available dependable answers to political question by using systematic methods. In the opinion of Vernon Van Dyke: “The student who takes a behavioural approach is not likely to ask broad and vague questions like what caused the decline and fall of the Roman Empire...Nor is he likely to focus on ideologies and constitutions or law or upon the organizational structure of institutions.” Behavioural approach accordingly is concerned more about micro-level political situations and shuns political generalisations.

SUMMARY

In the study of Social Sciences the approaches are extremely important because they help us in identifying the problems for our study and deciding on the appropriate data to be used. An approach is a broader term that takes hold of the method i.e. how to study or inquire along with bringing into focus the relevant data i.e. what to study for the purpose of understanding the particular phenomenon. There are quite a few approaches that are employed in the study of political science.

Normative approach poses questions based on ‘norms’ or ‘standards’ in the study of social sciences with an aim to appraise values. Unlike the empirical approach that is concerned about ‘what happened and why’ the normative approach emphasises ‘what should have happened’. As the name suggests, a thorough investigation of political institutions in order to study the discipline of political science is called the institutional approach. The approach is almost as old as the discipline of politics and most political scientists since the times of Aristotle have defined and restricted the scope of the discipline only to the study of state and government. In this respect a particular feature of the approach is that it does not usually make use of other social sciences such as philosophy, history, or law to analyse political phenomena. It, therefore, assigns an independent individuality to the organized inquiry of political science.

Behaviouralism is an approach in political science which seeks to provide an objective, quantified approach to explaining and predicting political behaviour. Its emergence in politics coincides with the rise of the behavioural social sciences that were given shape after the natural sciences. Behaviouralism is mainly concerned to examine the behaviour, actions, and acts of individuals rather than the characteristics of institutions such as legislatures, executives, and judiciaries. Behaviouralism underscores the systematic inquiry of all exclusive expression of political behaviour. Some scholars insist that behaviouralism implies the application of meticulous scientific.

POST-BEHAVIOURAL APPROACH

Failure of behaviouralism to deal with the practical problems of world, failure to convert political science into a problem solving science, over-emphasis on research methods and tools and dissatisfaction with behaviouralism led to the growth of a new and strong movement in political science called Post-Behaviouralism. David Easton was an ardent advocate of Post-Behavioural movement. Easton is of the

opinion that the behaviouralists are doing useless research. He was dissatisfied with the type of research and teaching done by the behaviouralists who were trying to convert the study of politics into a more rigorously scientific discipline based on the methodology of the natural sciences.

Features of Post-Behaviouralism

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

1. Opposition to value -free social science :

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

2. A Movement of Protest:

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

3. Intellectual Movement :

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

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

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

Characteristics of post-behaviouralism as given by David Easton:

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

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

THE STATE

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

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

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

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

Definitions and Nature of State:- Many scholars have defined state in various ways. Even today modern day scholars attempt to define state taking into account its modern functions.

In 4th century B.C. Aristotle, who is regarded as 'Father of Political Science had defined state. According to him, state is a union of families and villages having for its end a perfect and self sufficing life, by which we mean a happy and honorable life.

According to some scholars, this definition is so comprehensive that it can hardly be improved upon. Aristotle's definition communicates the primary objectives of the state however we must study some more definitions of the State.

Holland:-State is a Politically organized people of a definite territory.

Prof Woodrow Wilson, State is a People organized for law within a definite territory.

Though these two definitions are short, they are inadequate also. Hence we must look at some more definitions

Dr. J.W.Garner, 'As a concept of Political Science, the State is a community of persons more or less numerous, permanently occupying a definite portion of territory, independent or nearly so, of external control and possessing an organized government to which the great body of inhabitants render habitual obedience.'

Prof. Harold Laski, The State is a territorial society divided into government and subjects claiming within its allotted physical area, a supremacy over all other institutions.

If we analyse the two definitions, we can identify four elements which are essential to make a State. These are (i) Population (ii) territory (iii) government (iv) Sovereignty.

Today we live in them of globalization and an age of international politics. Hence we must consider definition given by Philimore which takes into account the perspective of international law. According to

him, 'State is a people permanently occupying a fixed territory, bound together by common laws, habits and customs into one body politics exerting through the medium of an organized government, independent sovereignty and control over people and things within its boundaries, capable of making war and peace and of entering into all international relations with the countries of the world.'

This definition extends the scope of state. The earlier Scholars focused on four elements. This definition adds the fifth dimension to international relations, war and peace etc.

ELEMENTS OF THE STATE

As noted State has four constituent elements (i) Population (ii) Territory (iii) Government (iv) Sovereignty Each of these element needs to be studied properly.

(i) Population – We cannot imagine a State without population. How much population is an issue that can be debated. For example, India is over populated State whereas Austria is under populated State. This issue has engaged the attention of scholars from time immemorial. Aristotle was talking of optimum population small enough to be well governed and big enough to be self sufficient. But there is no denying the fact that without population, there is no State.

(ii) Territory – Like without population, we cannot think of a State without territory. A State can exercise its authority over well defined territory.

Fixed Territory is necessary for legal purpose. For emotional purpose, people need to have a fixed territory which they call mother -land or father -land.

Territory is so important that normally there are disputes over borders between two states. For example, India and Pakistan have dispute about Kashmir. India and China has dispute about Arunachal Pradesh. Fixed, well defined territory is also necessary for legal purpose. A State has control over land, water, mineral wealth and air space.

However, there are some exceptions to the importance of territory as a constituent element of state. Some nomadic tribes wander from region to region. They have no fixed territory. Similarly the Jewish people had no territory of their own till 1948. These are exceptions, not the rule.

(iii) Government – government is that agency which steers the ship of the State. Without government, state will be directionless. Here the form of government does not matter. It could be Presidential System, one party rule or even dictatorship, there has to be a government. In other words, government is nothing but the implementing arm of state. Government is that system through which state expresses its will. The government makes law, punishes law breakers, promotes welfare of people.

(iv) Sovereignty – scholars believe that sovereignty is the soul of state. Before 15th august 1947, India had territory, population and government. But it did not have sovereignty. It shows the importance of sovereignty. It has two aspect (i) internal and (ii) external. In internal sovereignty, the state has ultimate, unlimited power within its territory. It enjoy final control over all people, associations and other things. Under external sovereignty, it means a state is free from external control. It can enter into international treaties. Some scholars believe that after UNO was formed in 1945 and more specifically after the age of globalization began in 1991, the scope of external sovereignty has shrunk considerably.

ORIGIN OF STATE

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

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

- The theory of force
- The theory of social contract
- The patriarchal theory
- The matriarchal theory and
- The Evolutionary theory or Historical theory

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

THE EVOLUTIONARY THEORY OR HISTORICAL THEORY

This is the most scientific theory on the origin of the state. The theory assumes that a state is a historical growth. The state is neither the result of an artificial creation nor it originated at a period of time. To quote Leacock "the state is a growth, an evolution, the result of a gradual process running through all the known history of man and reading into remote and unknown part". John Morley, Gettel, Garner, Burgess and Leacock are the supporters of this theory.

The Elements of the origin of the state

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

War and conflict help in the amalgamation of families into clans, of clans into tribes and tribe into larger units that become the state. With the weakening of kinship, the applications of forces become necessary for the maintenance of peace and order. The coercive force exercised by the leader eventually developed into political sovereignty. This resulted in the domination of the strong over the weak. According to Mac Iver conquest and domination paved the way for the emergence of the state.

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

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

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

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

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

UNIT - II

SOVEREIGNTY

Introduction

State has four characteristics -namely population, territory, government and sovereignty. The term sovereignty literally means supreme or highest authority or power, within the state. It is the most important of characteristic of the state. It is like the very heart or soul of the state. A nation or a country cannot be called state unless it enjoys sovereign power over its people and within its territory. Essence of the state authority is its sovereign power. It is this element which distinguishes the State from other associations. In every state there must be an authority which is supreme, final, whose will is legally binding over all individuals and associations within the territory. The concept of sovereignty is essentially a juristic concept. It implies supreme and final legal authority, above and beyond which no further legal power exist.

EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT OF SOVEREIGNTY

The concept is closely associated with the emergence of modern state. However, its idea can be traced back to Aristotle, who spoke of the 'supreme power' of the state.

The first systematic theory of sovereignty goes to Jean Bodin (1530-96) He defined sovereignty as the supreme power over subjects and possessions. According to Bodin, law is the expression of sovereign's will, and binds the subject regardless of their consent. The sovereign power is however, subject to the constraints of natural and Divine law. The sovereign cannot be subject to his own laws, since they express his will.

ASPECTS OF SOVEREIGNTY

Bodin developed concept of internal sovereignty (as supreme power of the sovereign over citizens and subjects) Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), the Dutch writer, developed the concept of external sovereignty. He propounded the theory of equality of the sovereign states in their relations and independence of external control or dominations. Concept of sovereignty was also influenced by the writings of Niccolo Machiavelli.

Subsequently Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) of England argued that the sovereignty of the state had no legal limits in principle, and no need for justifying any power outside itself. The state could not only administer traditional laws but could create new laws. He denied the claims of the Church to share political power. He advocated that there has to be a single centre of authority, Hobbes, thus developed the concept of legal sovereignty.

'Concept of sovereignty was further developed by Bentham, Austin, Rousseau, Hegel and Bosanquet The jurists viewed the state as legally supreme with final and absolute authority.

Limiting the Sovereign power: As stated above, while a group of writers advocated absolute power for the sovereign, another group of thinkers led by John Locke, Montesquieu, Spinoza and Kant, rised the question of the limits of the sovereign power.

They developed doctrine of separation of power, limited and constitutional government and theory of natural rights.

SOVEREIGNTY DEFINED

Blackstone defined sovereignty as "the supreme irresistible, absolute, controllable authority in which the supreme legal power resides".

Jellinek defines it as “that characteristic of the state in virtue of which it cannot be legally bound except by its own will, or limited by any other power than itself”.

Duguit defines sovereignty as “the commanding power of the state; it is the will of the nation organised in the state; it is the right to give unconditional orders to all individuals in the territory of the state.”

Burgess characterizes sovereignty as “original, absolute, unlimited power over the individual subject and over all associations of subjects.”

Garner defines it as “the supreme will and power”, elements which distinguish the state from other human associations.

Political Science Dictionary defines sovereignty as “the supreme power of a state exercised within its boundaries, free from external interferences”.

The Penguin Dictionary of Politics defines sovereignty as “the right to own and control some area of the world”.

All these definitions emphasise absolute and exclusive nature of sovereignty in its internal and external aspects. In simple words sovereignty means supreme authority of the state within its territory and complete freedom from external control, or interference.

In conclusion we may quote the words of Justice Sutherland of the Supreme Court of United States of America : “Rulers come and go; governments and forms of government change; but sovereignty survives. A political society cannot endure without a supreme will somewhere. Sovereignty is never held in suspense”. In strict sense sovereignty is a legal attribute of a state which entitles it to make decisions with respect to matter within its jurisdiction, free of external restraint or coercion.

CHARACTERISTICS OF SOVEREIGNTY

On the basis of above definitions, we can briefly state the characteristics of sovereignty as follows :

(i) Absoluteness

The sovereignty of the state as studied from the legal point of view is absolute, It is the most important and essential characteristics of the state. The will and authority of the sovereign power of the state cannot be challenged or overridden by any agency within the state. Externally no power can influence or dictate terms to the state. However, as pointed elsewhere in these notes, this concept is purely of juridical nature. In reality sovereignty of the state is limited by several factors, such as customs, public opinion, power of electorate etc. Externally even the most powerful state cannot ignore the world public opinion.

(ii) Permanence :

The sovereignty is like the very heart and soul of the State. Destruction of sovereignty means end of the state, it does not cease with the change of government or death of a president. Even after a successful revolution the sovereignty shifts to the new bearer of power.

(iii) All comprehensive and Universality :

Sovereignty of the State is all comprehensive and universal, in the sense that the sovereign power of the state extends over all its individual citizens and all groups, human associations within its territorial limits. No individual, except, of course, the foreign diplomats and ambassadors, is free from its all-embracing authority. None can claim exemption from the authority of the state.

(iv) Inalienability :

Sovereignty, being an indispensable element of the state, it cannot be alienated from the state. Alienation of the sovereignty would amount to the state's suicide. When there is change of power the sovereignty shifts to new bearer.

(v) Exclusiveness :

It means the state and the state alone possesses sovereign power over its citizen and associations within its territory. In other word there cannot be more than one centre of power within the territorial boundaries of the state. To have more than one centre of power means to divide sovereignty, which juridically would mean denial of the absoluteness of the sovereignty.

(vi) Indivisibility :

If the sovereignty is exclusive it logically follows that it cannot be shared or divided. Sovereignty being the highest will within the state it cannot be divided without destroying or creating more than one state. Some writers speak of 'dual' sovereignty. However, they confuse sovereignty with its emanation. Power which emanates from sovereignty can be divided, but not the sovereignty itself. In a federal state the power flowing from the constitution is divided between the Union and constituent units.

The characteristics of legal sovereignty may thus be summed up as under

- (i) It is always definite, determinate, organised, precise and known to laws.
- (ii) It may reside either in the person of a monarch, as in an absolute monarchy, or it may be vested in a body of persons as in democracy, e.g. Parliament in Britain.
- (iii) It alone has the power to declare in legal terms the will of the state.
- (iv) All legal rights emanate from the legal sovereign and it can withdraw or annul them at its will.
- (v) The authority of the legal sovereign is absolute, unlimited and supreme. It is not subject to any control from outside the state.

CLASSIFICATION OF SOVEREIGNTY

The term sovereignty has been used its different senses. This leads to various kinds of sovereignty. We may briefly discuss them as under :

(1) Titular and real sovereign :

Titular means nominal or ceremonial, such as the British Monarch or, President or India. While the real sovereign is the one who exercises real power such as the absolute monarchs in the former days. Under Parliamentary system the king or the Queen, or even elected President is nominal sovereign in whom the executive powers of the state are vested, while the Parliament is a real sovereign. A king would also be a real sovereign if he directly exercises all powers.

(2) Legal and Political sovereignty :

Distinction is also made between legal and political sovereignty. A legal sovereign is one which has supreme power to enact law. In a modern state the Parliament or the Central legislative body like the American Congress are the legal sovereigns within their states. A legal sovereign can theoretically override even the divine law or long-standing social customs.

Main features of a legal sovereign are :

- (a) It is definite, determinate, organised and known to laws.
- (b) It alone has power to enact highest laws.
- (c) Disobedience to legal sovereign will lead to punishment.
- (d) All rights emanate from the legal sovereign.
- (e) Authority of the legal sovereign is unlimited.

We have already said that the British Parliament and the American Congress exercise such legal sovereignty.

(3) Political Sovereign

Stands behind the legal sovereign. In democracy political sovereignty belongs to the voters. There are differences of opinion about the location of political sovereignty. Some political scientists feel that not only the voters, but other forces which are behind the legal sovereign, make up for political sovereignty. However, the fact remains that political sovereignty is difficult to locate. There is, however, no doubt that public opinion, the wishes of the voters etc. influence the decision of the legal sovereign. In a direct democracy, the people could be considered as political sovereign.

(4) Popular Sovereignty

The concept of popular sovereignty is very old. For example, Roman scholar, Cicero said "the authority of the Common Wealth is derived from the corporate power of the people." "In the medieval period, political thinkers spoke of the voice of the people. Machiavelli said: "voice, of the people is voice of God." The Social Contractualists also argue that authority of state is based on the consent of the people. In this sense people are the popular sovereign. James Bryce said "the sovereignty of the people is the basis of democracy."

(5) De Jure and De Facto Sovereign

A distinction is also made between de jure (legal) and de facto (actual) sovereign. De jure sovereign is one who is legally recognised, and is competent to issue command of state. Thus the authority of the de jure sovereign rests on law. Sometime due to historical circumstances the de jure sovereign is unable to exercise his power. This may happen as a result of revolutions, or conquest by foreign power. For example, after the Battle of Plassey (1757) the Nawab of Bengal remained de jure sovereign while the East India Company became de facto sovereign, as it exercised complete control over the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Some scholars are of the opinion that since sovereignty is a legal concept, only de jure sovereign is the real sovereign. De jure sovereignty is also necessary for political stability.

CONCLUSION

- (1) Sovereignty is the heart and soul of a state. Internally it stands for the supreme authority of the state within its territory and externally free from any foreign or external pressure or interference.
- (2) Austin advocate monistic or absolutist concept of Sovereignty. Scholars such as Gierke, Maitland, Durkheim, Barker etc. questioned the absolutist concept of sovereignty. This school of thought came to be known as Pluralism.
- (3) However, in the ultimate analysis, scholars agree that for a state to be able to perform its functions effectively it must have unrestricted sovereign power, in the absence of which we will revert to the Hobbsean State of Nature. Indeed modern period has witnessed two parallel trends -expansion of individual freedom and greater state action in defence of that freedom and welfare obligations of the state.

AUSTIN'S THEORY OF SOVEREIGNTY OR MONISTIC THEORY OF SOVEREIGNTY

John Austin, the famous English Jurist, who gave one of the most authentic definition of sovereignty, in his book Lectures on Jurisprudence published in 1832. His theory of Sovereignty has left an indelible imprint on the subject of sovereignty and even today the concept of sovereignty cannot be studied without reference to Austin. Austin provided the most elaborate analysis of the legal theory of sovereignty. His theory is also known as Monistic Theory. In spite of several criticisms the basic principles of his theory still serve as the basis for modern jurisprudence.

Austin's theory is as follows Austin's theory of sovereignty is purely legal or juristic. In simple language it means that :

- (1) In every independent political community there exists a sovereign power. In other words sovereignty is an essential attribute of an independent political society.
- (2) The sovereign is a determinate person or body of persons. It cannot be an indefinite body or a vague concept.
- (3) The power of the sovereign is legally unlimited, there is no legal limit to his power or authority.
- (4) The obedience rendered to the sovereign is habitual and not casual. Austin's thesis is that obedience to the sovereign must be continuous, regular, undisputed and uninterrupted. But this obedience need not be from every member of the society. It is enough if obedience comes from the bulk or majority of the population.
- (5) The power of the sovereign is indivisible. There must be as many states as there are sovereigns. The power of the sovereign cannot be divided or shared. Division of the sovereignty is unthinkable.
- (6) The command of the sovereign is the law. Whatever is not commanded by the sovereign, cannot be considered, as law. Obedience to the command of the sovereign is obligatory. Disobedience will invite penalty.

Criticism of Austin's Theory of Sovereignty

Austin's theory was criticised by many scholars such as Sir Henry Maine, Clark, Sidgwick, Laski etc. Criticism of Austin's theory is as under :

- (1) Sovereignty does not reside in a determinate human superior. Sir Henry Maine pointed out that sovereignty does not reside in a determinate superior. He pointed out that sovereignty and the power of sovereign can never be absolute. e.g. Maharaja Ranjit Singh, he said that he could have commanded anything yet never in his life he issued a command which could be properly called as law. The rules which regulated the life of his people were derived from customs, usages and conventions. He himself was subject to customary laws of the community.

Not only in the Asian society but even in the Western society no sovereign could disregard the social customs and traditions. In the medieval period the Church exercised complete control over the authority of the sovereign. Accordingly, Sir Maine concludes that sovereignty has never been or can never be absolute.

- (2) Maine also pointed out that Austin's theory is inconsistent with the concept of popular sovereignty. It is not true in a democratic society. In democracy sovereignty resides in the people. In this sense, sovereignty cannot be determinate. Austin also does not take into account, what is today called as political sovereignty.

- (3) According to Laski, law is not simply a command of a sovereign. It must be based on the moral sense of the society. There cannot be a law opposed to social, moral values and customs.
- (4) Sovereign power can never be absolute and unlimited. Even the most powerful dictators and autocratic rulers could not ignore the public opinion, or prevailing customs and tradition. Theoretically, we may say that the power of the sovereign is absolute but in reality, in every society there are forces which can challenge the authority of the state.
- (5) Austin lays too much emphasis on force. He believes that obedience can be exacted by the threat of force. But force and coercion are unproductive in the long run. In fact repeated use of force can become counter-productive. Force is something which destroys its own roots. It is not force but the willing consent which should be the basis of authority.
- (6) In a modern democratic state the location of the sovereign is practically impossible. In a Parliamentary system sovereignty is located in Parliament. But behind the Parliament is the political sovereign i.e. the common voters. And behind this political sovereign is the mass of people, who make-up for the popular sovereign. Thus in a democratic society it is practically impossible to discover the sovereign in the Austinean sense.
- (7) Austin also failed to distinguish between legal, political and popular sovereignty. In a Parliamentary system while Parliament is the legal sovereign, the electors are the political sovereign, and the masses, popular sovereign.
- (8) Austin also failed to recognize the role of other associations within the modern state. Laski has pointed out that in a modern state, there can be powerful associations and groups, which exert great pressure on its members.
- (9) In the international system no state is externally free from foreign dominations or influences. Even powerful states cannot disregard the feelings of the smaller states; on the other hand the smaller states are constantly under economic or political pressure of the larger states.
- (10) The greatest defect of Austin's theory is that it is undemocratic. According to him the sovereign is the determinate superior while the people are subordinate dependent on him. Such a theory will logically lead to despotism.

CONCLUSION

Austin's theory is further criticised on the ground that it assigns absolute and unlimited power to the sovereign. The pluralist do not agree with this argument, they maintain that the state is an association like many other associations in a society. Therefore, the pluralists accused Austin's doctrine of a single and unifying sovereignty. They argue that sovereignty in modern state is diffused and shared by many associations and institutions. Externally also sovereign states cannot ignore the limitations put by the international Law, Austin's theory is therefore regarded as legal fiction. Laski is of the opinion that the idea of an independent sovereign state is fatal to the well being of humanity. Today, the States of the World constitute an international society. There are several common international problems which cannot be solved without international co-operation. For example, international terrorism cannot be tackled without the co-operation of different states. Similarly, agencies of the United Nations work in close cooperation. Besides, there are Multi-National Corporations (M.N.C.) and trans-national organisations, having their activities across national and continental boundaries. Today, in addition to regional co-operation, there is a process of globalisation of the world economy. The world economy is now closely integrated. Therefore, in such a situation Austin's theory does not hold ground.

CITIZENSHIP

METHODS OF ACQUIRING CITIZENSHIP.

Citizenship may be acquired according to two methods

- (i) by birth, or
- (ii) by naturalization.

Birth:

There are two practices which are observed regarding the acquisition of citizenship by birth Jus Sanguinis and Jus Soli.

Jus Sanguinis:

According to Jus Sanguinis, a child acquires the citizenship of parents irrespective of the place of birth, e.g., child born of Indian parents is an Indian citizen whether it is born on Indian soil or abroad. The practice of Jus Sanguinis was very popular in ancient times. Even now, it is observed by most of the states in the world. This practice is natural as well as logical. It is exclusively observed in Germany, Italy, Sweden, Norway etc.

Jus Soli:

According to this practice, citizenship is determined by the place of birth and not by parentage. This practice is now not popular. It was, of course, popular in the middle ages when citizenship was associated with land. At present, however, this practice is exclusively observed in Argentina.

In England, U.S.A. and France, both the above practices are employed simultaneously. Observance of both the practices sometimes gives rise to duplication of citizenship. A child born of English parents in America, for example, becomes the citizen of America according to the practice of Jus Soli. The same child becomes a citizen of England also according to the practice of Jus Sanguinis. The problem is solved by giving an option to the child to accept the citizenship of either state it likes when it comes of age.

Naturalization:

Citizenship can also be acquired through naturalization. According to this method, an alien can become a citizen after fulfilling certain conditions. Though these conditions vary from state to state, yet some of the general principles which are observed may be summed up as follows:

1. Residence:

A certain period of residence in the state is essential before an alien can be granted citizenship. This period varies from state to state. In England and U.S.A. this period is 5 years. In France, it is 10 years.

2. Oath of Allegiance:

An alien must take an oath of allegiance before he can become a citizen of another state.

3. Purchase of Real Estate:

An alien, who buys real estate in a foreign land, can get the rights of citizenship if he so desires.

4. Service (Civil or Military):

An alien may be given rights of citizenship if he renders meritorious service in another state.

5. Marriage:

Women acquire the citizenship of their alien husbands e.g., an English lady will acquire the citizenship of India if she marries an Indian. The condition of marriage in Japan, however, is quite different. Japanese women do not lose their citizenship even if they marry alien husbands. The alien husband, on the other hand, acquires the citizenship of Japan if he marries a Japanese lady.

Loss of Citizenship:

Citizenship may be lost under the following conditions.

1. Renunciation:

One may renounce the citizenship of one's original state and may become the citizen of a foreign state by naturalization.

2. Marriage:

Women lose the citizenship of their original state if they marry aliens. In England, there is a move to retain English citizenship for women marrying foreigners.

3. Acceptance of Service, Decoration or Title from a Foreign State:

Some states deprive their citizens of citizenship, if they accept service, honor or title in a foreign state.

4. Long Absence:

In some state, like France and Germany, citizens who absent themselves from their states for more than ten years may lose their citizenship.

5. Treason or Felony:

A person, who is charged with treasonable activities, may be deprived of his citizenship.

LIBERTY

Introduction

The concept of liberty emerged in the 19th century and become important in democracy. It is a very widely used term but is difficult to precisely define it.

Meaning

The word "liberty" is derived from the Latin word "liber" meaning "free." Liberty is necessary for quality human life. It is a necessary condition of rationality, of action, of achievement. To be free is to be able to translate one's ideals into reality, to actualize one's potentialities as a person. Lucas regards freedom as being chiefly freedom, from ill health, from fear, from want, from arbitrary arrest, from public opinion.

Two aspects of Liberty

In negative sense it means merely the absence of restraint or absence of interference of impediment. It is a situation in which A is free from B to do the desired things of his/her own choice. Positively it refers to the positive opportunity for self-development. According to Isaiah Berlin negative liberty is absence of interference by others and positive liberty means persons capacity to implement his will.

Characteristic Features of Liberty:

- 1) Liberty and freedom are synonymous.
- 2) Liberty does not mean absence of restraints, It means acceptance of reasonable restrictions,
- 3) Unrestrained liberty means law of jungle,
- 4) Liberty is opposed to political subjection. It advocates independence for every nationality.
- 5) It means freedom to do something positively.
- 6) Activities of the state and individual liberty are not opposed to each other. In fact they are complementary.
- 7) The law of the state protects freedom of the weak.
- 8) Liberty incorporates the idea of individual and social welfare. There must be a balance between the two.
- 9) It is an essential condition for all-round developments of human personality.
- 10) Liberty is associated with responsibility.
- 11) It is a dynamic concept. It is meaning changes with changing times, places and conditions.
- 12) It is the responsibility of the state to create required conditions for enjoyment of liberty.

Types of Liberty

Notion of liberty can be classified in many types.

Natural Liberty:

It means total and complete freedom. It means lack of any restraint. This notion of liberty refers to the fact that man is by nature free. Natural Liberty is strongly advocated by Rousseau who said that, "Man is born free but everywhere he is in chains." However, this concept of liberty is illusory. It is a myth.

Personal Liberty

This notion suggests that every human being desires to exercise his faculties and to determine the general conditions of his life. This provides justification of personal liberty which is championed by Mill who said that the individual should be free to experiment with his life, as long as his actions do not affect others.

National Liberty

It means national independence. National liberty stands for achievement of complete independence and subsequent sovereignty of the nation from the dominance of foreign nation. Freedom from the bondage of other states is essential for the realization of liberty in its fullest sense. It means it is the foundation of all other liberties.

Civil Liberty

This liberty exists in a civil society.

It means liberty in social life. In the words of Gettel, "it includes liberty to free action and immunity from interference. It comprises rights and privileges that the state creates and enforces." It includes freedom of the person, physical freedom from injury or threat to the life, health, and movement of the body, intellectual

freedom for the expression of thought and belief, equality before the law, security of private property, freedom of opinion and expression, and freedom of conscience. As per Laski civil liberty is the sum total of the rights, recognised in various degrees in different states. It is a safeguard against physical and moral coercion exerted by either an individual or the state. It includes; the right to life, personal safety and freedom, religious freedom, the right to reputation, the right to work, education, family rights, the right of association, the right to the general advantages of social life, the right to property.

Political Liberty

It refers to the individuals role, participation and share in the administration of the state. It connotes the opportunity of taking part in the process of government, and of having a say in the future development of the community. As Barker says, political liberty is "a liberty not of curbing; constituting it by a general act of choice or election, in which we all freely share on the basis of universal suffrage; controlling it by a general and continuous process of discussion, in which we all freely share according to our capacities." Political liberty reinforces the duty of political obedience. Political liberty is often equated with the right to vote, the liberties of holding views about political matters and of ventilating those views in public, the right of addressing those with whom the decision rests and the liberty of seeking and holding office. Political liberty is based on the ideal of participation.

Political liberty is a guarantee to the whole community that it will not be governed by any outside power or by any individual or section of its own members. Further it is a guarantee to a sufficiently large group or interest that its claim will be heard and its wishes would make themselves felt. According to Laski political liberty can be realized if a citizen is educated enough to express what he wants and if he is well informed by honest and straightforward supply of news. According to Sartori, Political freedom is protection against arbitrary and absolute power. It desires "a situation which permits the governed effectively to oppose abuse of power by the governors."

Economic Liberty

It means reasonable opportunity for everyone to earn his daily bread.

It implies economic freedom wherein a labourer is assured of a just reward. This freedom creates harmonious industrial system in which every man will produce only that which he is capable of producing and the community will have need for what he produces. Economic liberty also implies the absence of economic inequalities which can become economic constraints.

It is understood as a security that the economically weak will not be at the mercy of economically strong. It tends to resist the concentration of economic control.

According to Laski, economic liberty means, "security and the opportunity to find reasonable significance in the earning of one's daily bread." It implies that the citizen must be free from the constant fear of unemployment and insufficiency which, perhaps more than any other inadequacy takes away the whole strength of personality. The citizen, "must be safeguarded against the wants of tomorrow." The citizen must be able to make his personality flow through his effort as a producer of services, and "find in that effort the capacity of enrichment." He further says that economic liberty implies democracy in industry.

Restrictions and Safeguards of Liberty

Absolute liberty is dangerous. It supports the dictum that, "might is right". Such unrestricted freedom is ultimately denial of equality along with freedom of others. Certain safeguards are devised to check liberty. Some of them are; prevention of others, general public utility, equity, national unity, security and sovereignty of the country, peace and order in the society, etc.

Liberty also involves certain safeguards. Just law is the vital condition of liberty. Law can destroy; law can uphold conditions of liberty. Democratic polity is prerequisite of liberty. In democracy widespread enjoyment of liberty is dependent on the respect for minority rights and on the widespread habit of tolerance in a community. An independent judiciary and a healthy development of local self-governing institutions further help liberty. Constitutional government, a charter of fundamental rights, a tradition of constructive public opinion and eternal vigilance are other sure safeguards of liberty.

Importance of Liberty:

It is a very important political value.

- 1) It is one of the pillars of democracy. A democratic government is meaningful only if people enjoy liberty. Love for liberty teaches individuals to oppose injustice. It puts a check on the activities of the government.
- 2) Liberty is the most precious aspect of human life. Only liberty can bring about all-round development of human personality.

EQUALITY

Introduction Equality:-The American Declaration of Independence, 1776 proclaims that, "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights." The French Declaration of 1789 also proclaimed, "men are born and live free and equal in their rights." Both the documents underline the fact that Equality is a protest ideal, a symbol of man's revolt against chance, fortuitous disparity, unjust power, crystallized privilege.

Equality is difficult and controversial notion in politics. It is a fact that humans are not equal. They have differences in their mental, moral qualities or their attitudes and abilities. The demand for equality does not neglect the differences among humans. It is a protest against unjust, undeserved, and unjustified inequalities, for hierarchies of worth and ability never satisfactorily corresponds to effective hierarchies of power. Demand for equality provides necessary motion to break the inertia of human society, which constantly tends to perpetuate the existing vertical structures. Such structures perpetuate themselves with nurturing the belief that each man should live according to his station? And by means of routine, custom, and traditional, social mechanisms. The ideal of equality works against such force of gravity inherent in politico-socio organisms.

Meaning of Equality

Thus the very differences in the nature of men require mechanisms for the expression of their wills that give to each its due hearing. In brief, equality refers to the equal enjoyment of rights by all citizens and absence of any discrimination based on status, race or sex. The principle that all men are equal only means that they ought to be treated in the same manner in certain vital respects. It means impartiality of treatment. According to Harold J. Laski equality means the absence of special privilege availability of adequate opportunities open to all. It is fundamentally a leveling process. Marx argued for equality as an end to class domination and economic exploitation of man by man. These definitions show two aspects of equality.

- 1) Negative aspect – It means absence of special privileges.
- 2) Positive aspect – It means that adequate opportunities should be made available to all.

Dimensions of Equality:

A. Legal Dimension of Equality

Legal dimension of Equality is essential ingredient of liberal democracy. Legal equality implies that every individual is equal before the law and is entitled to and can claim equal protection of the laws. In modern democratic states, law neither allows special privileges to any particular class nor confers unequal rights on, or claim unequal obligations from, different categories of citizens.

Equality before the law does not guarantee equal treatment by the law but equal access to the law, and consideration only of those factors laid down by law as relevant.

Legal equality does not mean that any two persons must always be treated exactly alike. It claims that the grounds for deciding between two persons should be only those laid down by law, and not any legally extraneous ones, whether unreasonable grounds of moral sentiments or Natural law, or unreasonable ones of private caprice. Application of legal dimension is contextual. Division of labour and distributive justice provides ground for legitimate unequal treatment to certain classes or categories of individuals or groups.

Equality before the law basically denotes equal enjoyment of certain fundamental rights and duties.

Political Dimension of Equality

Political equality implies equal access to political power. This form of equality is closely associated with liberal democratic form of government. The concrete expression of political equality is the conferment, on all adult citizens, of the right to vote and its corollaries, the right to contest for public office and equal eligibility for administrative and judicial posts provided the necessary technical qualifications are fulfilled. In short, political equality denotes the equality of political rights of citizens.

This notion of equality is heavily discarded by many. According to elitist theory, ordinary citizens, even when they have votes, have no real access to political power. In democratic political system power is contested by political parties which are themselves controlled by a clique or self appointed leaders.' According to Laski, "political equality, is never real unless it is accompanied by virtual economic equality; political power, otherwise is bound to be the handmaid of economic power," Marx ridiculed the notion of equality in a society based on capitalism.

Socio-Economical Dimensions of Equality

It is generally agreed that legal and political dimensions alone are not adequate to interpret equality because it ignores the basic fundamental aspect of equality, i.e., its socio-economic dimensions. If the legal and political equalities are of the formal type, economic and social equalities are substantive and of the material type. First is apparent and second is real equality.

Literally it implies the attempt to expunge all differences in wealth, allotting to every man and woman an equal share in worldly goods. But practically it is difficult to follow this meaning. Properly interpreted, economic equality means the provision of adequate opportunities for all in the material sense of equalising the starting-points, that is, creating by means of a relatively equal distribution of wealth the material conditions for equal access to opportunities. In Marxian sense it demands State ownership of all wealth.

The principle of social equality remains a characteristically democratic preoccupation.

Characteristic Features of Equality:

- 1) Absolute equality i.e., complete identity of treatment and reward is not desirable.
- 2) Men are by nature unequal in their capacity
- 3) It is basically a leveling process.
- 4) It is essential for social justice.
- 5) It means equal opportunities to all.
- 6) It means absence of special privileges to any one.
- 7) Essential things must be provided to all.

Types of Equality:

Equality can be classified into four types.

Ontological Equality:

This form of equality has its base in religious and moral tradition. It is expressed in the religious belief that all persons are equal before God. Natural theorists stressed an essential equality of human beings qua human beings. In modern scientific world this notion is quite ineffective to argue in favour of equality. But Marxism takes similar position when it asserted that all human beings are knowledgeable, conscious and practical agents. All human beings have to labour productively to produce their means of existence and reproduce their own species.

Equality of Opportunity:

It means that access to important social institutions should be open to all on universalistic grounds. Especially by achievement and talent. The debate about equality of opportunity was especially important in the development of modern educational institutions where promotion and attainment were in theory based upon intelligence, skill and talent regardless of parental and class background, in terms of universal criteria of achievement, not on ascribed standards of age, sex or wealth.

Equality of Condition:

Equality of opportunity is closely linked to equality of condition. Equality of opportunity rewards those who have ability and who are prepared to exercise their skills in the interest of personal achievement in a competitive situation. In order for equality of opportunity to have any significant content, it is essential to guarantee equality of condition, that is, all competitors should start at the same time.

Equality of Outcome

It stresses on equality of result regardless of starting point and natural ability. It seeks to transform inequalities at the beginning into social equalities as a conclusion. Social programmes of positive discrimination in favour of disadvantaged or disprivileged groups are meant to compensate for significant inequalities of condition in order to bring about a meaningful equality of opportunity to secure an equality of result.

Evaluation of the notion of Equality;

Importance of Equality :-

- 1) A peaceful society can be developed only on the solid foundation of equality. The history is full of wars, clashes and revolutions because there was absence of equality.
- 2) Equality is a necessary precondition for enjoyment of liberty. Without equality liberty becomes a privilege of some people
- 3) Equality promotes justice

Equality is highly contested concept. It is one of the leading ideals of the body politic; it is the most controversial of the great social ideals. It is the essence of social justice. Along with other ideals it is the basic core of today's egalitarianism. Despite various differences it serves to remind us of our common humanity. In social sciences we use the concept of equality in number of ways. e.g. Equality before the law, equality of opportunity, equality of outcome, gender equality, racial equality, social equality etc. There is no single acceptable, common notion of the term equality.

Apart from common meaning of the term the value of equality itself is attacked by many thinkers and school of thoughts. In ancient Greece Aristotle justified inequality when he justified slavery. He contented that slavery was natural an reasonable institution because there was a fundamental difference and inequalities among men. In his words, some are marked out for subjection, others for rule. Cicero contradicts these arguments of Aristotle, According to him, men differ indeed in learning, but they are equal in the faculty of learning, nature has given to all men reasons.

Main obstacles in the implementation of equality:

- 1) Social-Age old customs, traditions and superstitions create inequality of social status.
- 2) Political – Political power is enjoyed by people belonging to certain castes and certain families. This means absence of equal opportunities.
- 3) Economic – There is concentration of economic wealth in the hands of few.

Following are some common arguments against equality:

The different components of equality are often, mutually incompatible. For example, equality of opportunity and condition tend to produce inequality of results. The notion of equality of opportunity is characteristic of liberalism and some versions of liberalism are content to accept a situation where inequality of outcome is predominant.

A political programme to secure equality generally would be feasible, since to secure radical equality of condition or equality of outcome would require massive social and political regulation by the state resulting in a totalitarian and authoritarian regime. The price of significant equality is political despotism which would subordinate individual talent and achievement.

The achievement of equality may be incompatible with other values which are also desirable than personal liberty, or at least that liberty and equality are somewhat mutually exclusive.

UNIT - III

EVOLUTION OF GOVERNMENT AND FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

Aristotle's Classification of Government

According to Aristotle, Constitution is the arrangement of the offices of the state. But it is not just arrangement of offices. It also means who should hold these offices. The nature of the ruling class determines the nature of the constitution. The nature of the constitution determines nature of the state.

The constitution is not just a part of the state. It is the state itself. The constitution is the way of life of its citizens. It is the inner character of the people. Change in the constitution means change in the way of life of the people. According to Aristotle, citizenship means participation in the functions of the state. These are sovereign functions. There are three kinds of governments. The classification is based on the number of people having power. The power may be vested in a single person, in a few people or many people. Thus, there are 1. Monarchy 2. Aristocracy and 3. Polity.

If power is vested on a single person, it is called a Monarchy. If power is vested on few people, it is called an Aristocracy. If power is vested on many people, it is called a Polity. These are normal forms of government.

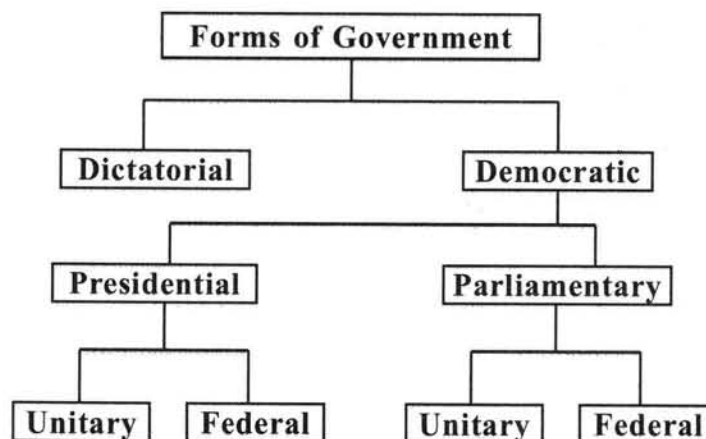
There are perverted forms of these governments also. They are called 1. Tyranny, 2. Oligarchy and 3. Democracy. Monarchy becomes tyranny when the rule is for him. Aristocracy becomes oligarchy when the rule is for a few people. Polity becomes Democracy when it benefits only the poor. Of all the different types of government, Monarchy is the best form of government. Monarchy has the highest virtue. Out of the perverted forms of government, the democracy is the best. Democracy has social equality.

There are many problems with Polity or Democracy. If only the rich is given power, they will oppress the poor. If only the poor is given power, they will plunder the rich. Therefore, there should be a formula. Important offices should be given to the rich and the meritorious. The poor should be given only some participation in the government. They should be selected through elections, selections and commissions.

FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

Introduction

Government is one of the essential elements of the State. It is the working agency of the State. The importance of the Government in modern times is highly felt. Attempts have been made from time to time to classify the various forms of Government.



The classification of Governments as explained by C.F.Strong may be represented through the following table:-

Sl. No.	Source of Classification	A	B
I.	Jurisdiction of governmental powers	Democracy	Dictatorship
II.	(a) Nature of the State	Unitary State	Federal State
	(b) Nature of the Constitution	Flexible	Rigid
	(c) Nature of Constituency	(i) State having universal franchise system	(i) State having limited voting system
		(ii) States having single-member constituencies	(ii) States having multi-members constituencies
III.	(a) Nature of Legislature	States having Bicameralism	States having Unicameralism
	(b) Structure of the Legislature	States having Elected Members in Upper Chambers	States having no Elected Members in Upper Chambers
IV.	(a) Nature of Executive	Parliamentary and Responsible form of Government	Presidential form of Government
V.	(a) Nature of Judiciary	States having Rule of Law	States having Administrative Law

UNITARY

A unitary form of government is one in which all the powers are concentrated in the hands of the central government. The central government creates local units for administrative convenience and delegates to them such power as it deems necessary. These local units are called local governments.

England, France, Japan, Sri Lanka are examples of Unitary governments.

Definition

Some leading writers defined unitary government as follows:

GARNER: "Where the whole power of government is conferred by the constitution upon a single central organ"

A.V.DICEY: "Habitual exercise of supreme legislative authority is by one central power"

C.F.STRONG mentions two important qualities of the Unitary Government. They are:

1. The supremacy of the central government;
2. The absence of the subsidiary sovereign bodies.

The distinction between subsidiary law-making bodies and subsidiary sovereign bodies is the distinction between the local authorities in a unitary state and state authorities in a federal state.

MERITS

1. There is unity, uniformity of law, policy and administration.
2. There is no conflict of authority and responsibility.
3. A unitary government will make prompt decisions and take speedy action.
4. A unitary government is less expensive.
5. Amendments to the constitution are easy.
6. Suitable for small countries.

DE-MERITS

1. The concentration of powers may pave way for the despotism of the central government.
2. The central government will have to tackle so many complex problems that they have no adequate time to devote to local affairs.
3. The central government will not be acquainted with local problems, local interest and initiative.
4. It is not suitable for big countries.

FEDERAL

The term "Federation" is derived from the Latin word "foedus" meaning treaty or agreement – that is agreement between central government (federal government) and the state governments.

Prof. Dicey defines federalism as a political contrivance intended to reconcile national unity with the maintenance of state rights.

Federalism is the theory or advocacy of federal political order, where final authority is divided between sub-units and a centre. Unlike a unitary state, sovereignty is constitutionally split between at least two territorial levels so that units at each level have formal authority and can act independently of the others in some area. Citizens thus have political obligations to two authorities. The allocation of authority between the sub-units and centre may vary, typically the centre has powers regarding defence and foreign policy, but sub-units may also have international roles. The sub-units may also participate in central decision-making bodies. Much recent philosophical attention is spurred by renewed political interest in federalism, coupled with empirical findings concerning the requisite and legitimate basis for stability and trust among citizens in federations.

FEATURES OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

1. The supremacy of the constitution.
2. The division of powers between the central government and state governments.
3. The rigidity of the constitution.
4. The independent judiciary.

1. **The supremacy of the constitution:-** There must be a written constitution. A written constitution is one in which provisions are written down in a document for both the federal government and state governments. The constitution is the supreme authority.
2. **The division of powers:-** In a federal form of government the powers of the government are divided between a government for whole country and government for parts of the country in such a way that each government is legally independent within its own sphere.
3. **The rigidity of the constitution:-** According to Prof. Dicey, a rigid constitution is one under which certain laws generally known as constitutional or fundamental laws cannot be changed in the same manner as the ordinary laws are changed.

Constitutional laws refer to those provisions of the constitution. Ordinary laws are those laws enacted by the parliament. The constitutional law is placed above the ordinary law.

4. **The independent judiciary:-** In a federal government, conflicts may arise between the federal government and a state government or between state governments. The power to settle the conflicts or to interpret the constitution is given to the judiciary. The judgement given by the court must be obeyed by the centre as well as states.

PARLIAMENTARY

A parliamentary form of government is that in which the executive is responsible to the legislature. It is also called the cabinet government or responsible government.

Example : India, United Kingdom (U.K)

Essential features:-

1. The executive has two types of functions. One is the nominal and the other is the real. The nominal head represents the state. The real head represents the government. In Britain, head of the state is the king or queen. The head of government is the Prime Minister.

Legally all the powers are vested with the nominal head Example President of India.

In practice, all the powers are exercised by the real head Example, cabinet under the leadership of the Prime Minister of India.

2. The ruling party should have a clear and stable majority in the legislature. In the event of a "hung parliament" a coalition government can also be formed. For example in India during the prime ministership of Mr. Deva Gowda (1996) Mr. I.K. Gujral (1998) we had hung parliament.
3. Head of a cabinet is the leader of the majority party in the legislature. He is the prime minister.
4. The prime minister and the cabinet ministers are selected from among members of parliament.
5. Each minister is responsible to the legislature for the acts of omission and commission of his own department. Likewise, all ministers are collectively responsible to the legislature for the collective policy of the ministry in power.

MERITS

1. The most important merit in a parliamentary form of government is the harmony and co-operation between the legislature and the executive.
2. It is flexible and elastic. Whenever there is a crisis, smooth change of government is possible without revolution.
3. Opposition political party offers a constructive criticism of governmental policies.
4. It is responsive to public opinion.

DEMERITS

1. It is against the theory of separation of powers. When the executive and legislature functions are combined together, there is every likelihood of prime minister becoming more powerful.
2. In the absence of majority, coalition is the only alternative. Coalition government is a weak form of government and may result in political instability.
3. If ruling party resigns from the government or defeated in the elections, the opposition party assumes office of governance. It will reverse all the decisions of the previous government. It means that there is no continuity in policy matters.

PRESIDENTIAL

The presidential form of government is that in which the executive is not responsible to the legislature. Example: United States of America (U.S.A)

Essential features

1. The president is the real executive. There is no nominal or ceremonial executive. All the powers are vested in the hands of the president.
2. The powers of the three organs namely, legislature, executive and judiciary are separated and vested in different persons.
3. Though the three organs of the government are kept apart, they are also connected by the system of checks and balances. Each organ of government exercises checks on the other two organs so that a sort of balance is established.
4. The tenure of the president is fixed. The tenure of office cannot be lessened or increased under any circumstances. President can be removed by the legislature only by a process of impeachment.

MERITS

1. Stable government is possible.
2. Under a presidential form of government, experts are appointed as heads of the departments without consideration of their party affiliations. The president may appoint persons who belong to the opposition parties.
3. There is continuous and consistent policy.
4. Highly suitable during the period of national crisis.
5. There is no chance for concentration of powers.

DEMERITS

1. The executive is not responsible to the legislature and can do whatever it pleases.
2. There is always the possibility of deadlocks between the legislature and the executive.
3. It is not flexible form of government.
4. The Presidential executive finds it difficult to follow a vigorous foreign policy, as there is no harmonious relationship between the executive and the legislature. The executive may follow a policy which may not be acceptable to the legislature.

COLLEGIATE

The collegiate or plural executive is one in which the authority is exercised by two or more individuals having co-equal authority. It is a system of government which adopts the merits and discards the defects of both the parliamentary and presidential systems of government.

Example: Switzerland The collegiate executive of Switzerland is called the Federal Council. It consists of seven members called councillors. These councillors are elected for a fixed term of four years by the two Houses of the Legislature (Federal Assembly) at a joint sitting. Swiss Government has seven departments and each department is under the control of a councillor. After being elected as the councillor they have to resign their membership in the Federal Assembly. They can be re-elected as many times as possible. The office of the President and the Vice-President of the Federal Council are shared among the councillors on a rotation basis for a one year term. No president can hold office for more than one year.

MERITS

1. The collegiate executive of Switzerland is characterized by stability and responsibility.
2. There is no possibility of concentration of powers in a single individual.
3. This type of executive avoids tyranny and dictatorship.
4. The collegiate executive of Switzerland is representative of all opinions and all areas of the country.
5. This type of executive paves the way for continuity and permits traditions to be formed.

DE-MERITS

1. Since the collegiate executive consists of seven members belonging to different political parties, there is unnecessary delay in taking decisions.
2. The members of the federal council belong to various parties. Hence it is difficult to ensure secrecy which is essential for proper functioning of the executive.
3. In this system of government speedy action is possible during emergencies.
4. The executive is organized on plural principle. Hence it is not compatible with unity and independence.

DISTINCTION BETWEEN UNICAMERAL AND BICAMERAL

Legislature is the first branch of the government. It is the law making body of the government. It expresses the will of the people. Unless laws are made, the question of enforcing them or interpreting them does not arise.

There are two kinds of legislature:-

1. Unicameral **Legislature**
2. Bicameral

Unicameral:-

Where the legislature has only one house, it is called unicameral.

Example: China (National Peoples Conference) India: Legislative Assembly (Tamil Nadu)

Bicameral:-

In Latin camera means house or chamber.

Where the legislature has two houses, it is called bicameral.

The following countries have bicameral legislature

INDIA Lower House - Lok Sabha Upper House - Rajya Sabha

U.S.A Lower House - House of Representatives Upper House - Senate U.K Lower House - House of Commons Upper House - House of Lords.

Bicameral system of legislature is prevalent in a majority of the countries of the world. At the same time, unicameralism is also in existence in certain countries. Political scientists expressed different opinions in support of and against the two systems of legislature. For example, writer like Bryce, Garner, and Lord Acton argued in favour of Bicameralism. On the other hand, political writers like Laski, Benjamin Franklin, and Bentham supported unicameralism.

Sir. J.A.R Marriott says that the “past history is in favour of the bicameral system. Experience has seen in favour of two chambers and it is not wise to disregard the lessons of history”.

Dr. Leacock says, “The unicameral system has been tried and found wanting.”

Distinction between		
	Unicameral	Bicameral
1.	Responsibility is located	Responsibility is divided
2.	Hasty legislation	Checks on hasty legislation
3.	Leads to despotism	Checks the despotism
4.	There is no delay in legislation	Delay in legislation
5.	No occasion for legislative dead-locks	Occasion for legislative dead-locks
6.	No duplication of work	Duplication of work
7.	Few countries are following Unicameral	Many countries are following Bicameral
8.	Work load is heavy	Reduces the work load
9.	Economy of national expenditure	Higher expenditure
10.	No scope for representation to minorities and other interests	Scope for representation to minorities and other interests

POLITICAL PARTIES

Political parties are easily one of the most visible institutions in a democracy. For most ordinary citizens, democracy is equal to political parties. If you travel to remote parts of our country and speak to the less educated citizens, you could come across people who may not know anything about our Constitution or about the nature of our government. But chances are that they would know something about our political parties. At the same time this visibility does not mean popularity. Most people tend to be very critical of political parties. They tend to

Election Commission has officially banned wall writing by parties during election times. Most political parties argue that was the cheapest way for their campaign. These election times used to create amazing graffiti on the walls. Here are some examples from Tamil Nadu. blame parties for all that is wrong with our democracy and our political life. Parties have become identified with social and political divisions.

Therefore, it is natural to ask – do we need political parties at all? About hundred years ago there were few countries of the world that had any political party. Now there are few that do not have parties.

Meaning

A political party is a group of people who come together to contest elections and hold power in the government. They agree on some policies and programmes for the society with a view to promote the collective good. Since there can be different views on what is good for all, parties try to persuade people why their policies are better than others. They seek to implement these policies by winning popular support through elections.

Thus, parties reflect fundamental political divisions in a society. Parties are about a part of the society and thus involve **PARTISANSHIP**. Thus a party is known by which part it stands for, which policies it supports and whose interests it upholds. A political party has three components: the leaders, the active members and the followers

Functions

What does a political party do? Basically, political parties fill political offices and exercise political power. Parties do so by performing a series of functions:

1 Parties **contest elections**. In most democracies, elections are fought mainly among the candidates put up by political parties. Parties select their candidates in different ways. In some countries, such as the USA, members and supporters of a party choose its candidates. Now more and more countries are following this method. In other countries like India, top party leaders choose candidates for contesting elections.

2 Parties put forward different **policies and programmes** and the voters choose from them. Each of us may have different opinions and views on what policies are suitable for the society. But no government can handle such a large variety of views. In a democracy, a large number of similar opinions have to be grouped together to provide a direction in which policies can be formulated by the governments. This is what the parties do. A party reduces a vast multitude of opinions into a few basic positions which it supports. A government is expected to base its policies on the line taken by the **RULING PARTY**.

3 Parties play a decisive role in **making laws** for a country. Formally, laws are debated and passed in the legislature. But since most of the members belong to a party, they go by the direction of the party leadership, irrespective of their personal opinions.

4 Parties **form and run governments**. As we noted last year, the big policy decisions are taken by political executive that comes from the political parties. Parties recruit leaders, trains them and then make them ministers to run the government in the way they want.

5 Those parties that lose in the elections play the **role of opposition** to the parties in power, by voicing different views and criticising government for its failures or wrong policies . Opposition parties also mobilise opposition to the government.

6 Parties **shape public opinion**. They raise and highlight issues. Parties have lakhs of members and activists spread all over the country. Many of the pressure groups are the extensions of political parties among different sections of society. Parties sometimes also launch movements for the resolution of problems faced by people. Often opinions in the society crystallise on the lines parties take.

7 Parties provide people **access to government machinery and welfare schemes** implemented by governments. For an ordinary citizen it is easy to approach a local party leader than a government officer. That is why they feel close to parties even when they do not fully trust them. Parties have to be responsive to people's needs and demands. Otherwise people can reject those parties in the next elections.

Necessity

This list of functions in a sense answers the question asked above: we need political parties because they perform all these functions. But we still need to ask why modern democracies cannot exist without political parties. We can understand the necessity of political parties by imagining a situation without parties. Every candidate in the elections will be independent. So no one will be able to make any promises to the people about any major policy changes. The government may be formed, but its utility will remain ever uncertain. Elected representative will be accountable to their constituency for what they do in the locality. But no one will be responsible for how the country run.

We can also think about it by looking at the non-party based elections to the panchayat in many states. Although, the parties do not contest formally, it is generally noticed that the village gets split into more than one faction, each of which puts up a 'panel' of its candidates. This is exactly what the party does. That is the reason we find political parties in almost all countries of the world, whether these countries are big or small, old or new, developed or developing.

The rise of political parties is directly linked to the emergence of representative democracies. As we have seen, large scale societies need representative democracy. As societies became large and complex, they also needed some agency to gather different views on various issues and to present these to the government. They needed some way to bring various representatives together so that a responsible government could be formed. They needed a mechanism to support or restrain the government, make policies, justify or oppose them. Political parties fulfill these needs that every representative government. We can say that parties are a necessary condition for a democracy.

UNIT - IV

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The term International Relations (IR) may be used both for a 'condition' and a 'discipline'. Quincy Wright, for example, makes such a distinction. The official relations between sovereign countries are described as international relations, though according to him, "..... the word interstate would have been more accurate because in political science the state came to be the terms applied to such societies. Viewed thus, international relations as 'condition' refers to the facts of international life, that is to say, the actual conduct of relations among nations through diplomacy based on foreign policy. It also includes actual areas of cooperation, conflict and war. According to Wright, IR should tell the "truth about the subject" i.e., how such relations are conducted and as a discipline IR should treat them in a systematic and scientific manner.

In other words, IR should focus on the study of all relations-political, diplomatic trade, ,academic among sovereign states which constitute the subject matter on international relations. The scope of IR should include study of "varied types of groups-nations, states, governments, peoples, regions, alliances, confederations, international organisations, even industrial organisations, cultural organisations, religious organisation" etc. which are involved in the conduct of these relations.

While Quincy Wright distinguished between international relations as a 'condition' and a 'discipline', there are other scholars like Palmer and Perkins who doubted its status as a discipline. They argued that History and Political Science are the disciplines from which international relations has emerged. Writing about 40 years ago. Palmer and Perkins had opined : "Although international relations has emerged from its earlier status as a poor relation of political science, and history, it is still far from being a well-organised discipline."

One of the earlier scholars of international relations, Professor Alfred Zimmern had written before the Second World War that : "International Relations is clearly not a subject in the ordinary sense of the word. It does not provide a single coherent body of teaching material It is not a single subject but a bundle of subjects of law, economics, political science, geography, and so on " International Relations, according to Palmer and Perkins, was too subjective in character and content. In its early stages even E.H. Carr had described it as "markedly and frankly utopian." But the failure of the League of Nations and its collective security system led Carr to remark that it had become possible to embark on serious and critical analytical thought about international problems." This has been vigorously pursued by a number of scholars after the Second World War. Today, it will not be proper to describe International Relations as 'Utopian or deny' it the status of an independent subject of study. National interest is an important concern of every state. Planners and makers of foreign policy - cannot ignore correct perception of their country's national interests. which must be protected at all costs. Hartman defines International Relations as a field of study which focuses upon the "processes by which states adjust their national interest to those of other states." Since national interests of different states are often in conflict, Morgenthau concludes that international politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power. Therefore, power is the means through which nations promote their national interest.

International Relations and International Politics

The first Chair in International Relations was established at the University of Wales (U.K) in 1919. The first two occupants of the chair were eminent historians, Professors Alfred Zimmern and C.K. Webster. At that time, International Relations as a subject was little more than diplomatic history. During the next seven decades this subject has changed in nature and content. Today the analytical study of politics has replaced descriptive diplomatic history. The term International politics is now used for the new discipline that has been emerging since the second world war. It is more scientific, yet narrow, as compared to International Relations.

The two terms are even now sometimes used as synonyms. But, they have two distinct areas, or content, of study. Hans Morgenthau believes that "the core of international relations is international politics", but a clear distinction between the two is to be made. International Relations, according to him, is much wider in scope than International Politics. Whereas politics among nations is, as Morgenthau says, struggle for power, international relations includes political, economic and cultural relations. Harold and Margaret Sprout opine that international relations include all human behaviour on one side of a national boundary affecting the human behaviour on the other side of the boundary. International politics, on the other hand, deals with conflicts and cooperation among nations essentially at political level. As Padelford and Lincoln define it, international politics is the interaction of state policies within the changing pattern of power relationship. Palmer and Perkins express similar views when they say that international politics is essentially concerned with the state system.

Since international relations includes all types of relationships between sovereign states, it is wider, and international politics is narrower in scope. As students of IR, we shall indeed examine political conflicts and cooperation among states. But, we shall also study other aspect of relations among nations as well including economic inter-action and role of the non-state actor.

CHANGING NATURE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

The context and nature of IR have undergone major changes after the Second World War. Traditionally, world politics was centered around Europe and relations among nations were largely conducted by officials of foreign offices in secrecy. The common man was hardly ever involved, and treaties were often kept secret. Today public opinion has begun to play an important role in the decision-making process in foreign offices, thus, changing completely the nature of international relations. Ambassadors, once briefed by their governments, were largely free to conduct relations according to the ground realities of the countries of their posting. Today, not only have nuclear weapons changed the nature of war and replaced erstwhile the balance of power by the balance of terror, but also the nature of diplomacy changed as well. We live in the jet age where the heads of state and government and their foreign ministers travel across the globe and personally establish contacts and conduct international relations. Before the First World War a traveler from India to Britain spent about 20 days in the sea voyage. Today, it takes less than 9 hours for a jet aircraft to fly from Delhi to London, telephones, fax machines, teleprinters and other electronic devices have brought all government leaders in direct contact. Hotline communications between Washington and Moscow, for example, keeps the top world leaders in constant touch. This has reduced the freedom of ambassadors who receive daily instructions from their governments.

Decolonization has resulted in the emergence of a large number of sovereign states. The former colonies of the European Powers, including India, have become important actors on the stage of international relation. They were once silent spectators. Today, they participate in the conduct of world politics. The disintegration of the Soviet Union has created 15 members of the United Nations, instead of the previous three. Some of the very small countries like Nauru may have no power but they also have, an equal voice in the General Assembly. Four very small countries viz. Liechtenstein, San Marino, Monaco and Andorra were admitted to the U.N. during 1990-93. The total number of U.N. members has gone up from 51 in 1945 to 185 in 1997. Thus, international relations are now conducted by such a large number of new nation-states. Besides, many non-state actors such as multinational corporations and transnational bodies like terrorist groups have been influencing international relations in a big way. With the collapse of the Soviet Union as a Super Power, the United States has emerged as the supreme monolithic power and can now dominate the international scene almost without any challenge. The Non-Alignment Movement ((NAM) still exists but with the dismemberment of one of its founders (i.e. : Yugoslavia) and the disappearance of rival power blocs, the role of the 'Third World' has changed along with that of NAM.

IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS?

International Relations (IR), is closely related with several disciplines. These include History, Political Science, Law, Economics, and Geography. What is the utility of the study of IR as a separate subject? You know that no country in the World can live in isolation. Even when means of transportation and communication were primitive or much less developed than today, sovereign states did interact with each other. They cooperated at times, and had frequent conflicts which often led to wars. Relations among those states were generally studied by Historians and Political Scientists. Diplomatic History was usually studied for understanding relations among sovereign states.

During the second half of the twentieth century, revolution in the means of travel and communication has not only changed the nature of international relations, but made its study essential for every enlightened person.

We are today living in an interdependent state - system. It is essential for all of us to have a clear idea of what is happening in the world. Political events are important, but even economic developments, trade, commerce and activities of actors like multinational corporations are no less significant. We live in an age of growing international cooperation. Therefore, not only do the activities of the United Nations and its numerous agencies affect all the nations and their peoples, but regional organisations like the European Union, South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC), Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the 'Organisation of African Unity (OAU) also play important roles in our lives. International terrorism has been a concern for the humankind and economic institutions like the World Bank and the World Trade Organisation (WTO) affect international relations. The study of International Relations has therefore become highly useful and enlightening for students and others alike.

SCOPE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Beginning with the study of law and diplomatic history, the scope of international relations has steadily expanded. With growing complexity of contacts between nations, the study of international organizations and institutions attracted the attention of scholars. The outbreak of the Second World War gave a strong stimulus to area studies and strategic aspect of foreign policy. This led to efforts to understand better the dynamics of national liberation struggles and anti-colonial movements. The foundation of the United Nations during the war encouraged thinking about post-war restructuring of the relations among nations. The study of cooperation became important even as the study of conflict remained central. The immediate aftermath was marked by a constructive outlook. This is reflected in titles of books like *Swords and Ploughshares* written by this Claude. New topics like ideology and disarmament assumed unprecedented importance in the era of cold war. So did the system of alliances and regionalism. Contemporary international relations embrace the whole gamut of diplomatic history, international politics, international organisation, international law and area studies. Writing about the contents of international relations, a few decades back, Palmer Perkins had said that the then international relations was a study of "the world community in transition." This conclusion is largely true even today. The transition has not reached a terminal point. While the underlying factors of international relations have not changed, the international environment has changed and is still changing. The state system is undergoing modifications; a technological revolution has taken place in a very big way; new states of Asia and Africa are playing increasingly important roles. India, in particular, is in a position to assert and take a rigid stand, as in 1996 on the question of signing the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). There is also a "revolution of rising expectations." Thus, as Palmer and Perkins wrote, "old and new elements must be interwoven" in the contemporary international relations. "The focus is still the nation - state system and inter-state relations; but the actions and interactions of many organisations and groups have also to be considered."

The scope of international relations at the end of the twentieth century has become very vast indeed. The world has virtually become a "global village", as interdependence of states has increased manifold. Economic relations between states, the role of international institutions like the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organisation today influences economic activity all over the world. The United Nations and its various agencies are engaged in numerous socio-economic and political activities. International terrorism is a cause of serious concern for the human existence. Multinational Corporations (MNCs), who are giant companies operating the world over, are important non-state actors of international relations. Thus, the scope of international relations has become vast, and, besides international politics, it embraces various other inter - State activities as well.

APPROACHES

There are many approaches to the study of international relations. The traditional or classical approach treated History as the laboratory from which meaningful conclusions could be drawn. Two of the main schools of the traditional approach are Realism and Idealism. Whereas the Realism School considers the struggle for power as the central point of all international relations, the Idealism School believes in the inherent goodness of man. Realists like Morgenthau do not attach much importance to means, or morality. For them national interest is the aim that must be served with the help of power. The idealists, on the other hand, feel that the ideal of world peace is attainable with the help of reason, education and science. In recent years, Neo- Realism has appeared as another approach to the study of international relations.

TRADITIONAL APPROACHES : REALISM, IDEALISM AND NEO-REALISM

The two most important variants of the traditional approach of international relations are Realism and Idealism. Taking inspiration from Kautilya and Machiavelli, the leading twentieth century realists George Kennan and Hans Morgenthau argued that the struggle for power is the central point of all international relations. Individuals believe that others are always trying to attack and destroy them, and therefore, they must be continuously ready to kill others in order to protect themselves. This basic; human instinct guides the States as well. Thus, the realists argue that rivalry and strife among the nations in some form or the other are always present. Just as self- interest guides the individual's behaviour, similarly national interest also guides the foreign policy of nation-states. Continued conflict is the reality of international relations and realists attribute this to the struggle for power. Thus, national interest, as defined in terms of power, is the only reality of international relations. The realists do not attach much significance to means, for them national interest is the end, and it must be promoted at all costs. Hans . Morgenthau's influential book "Politics among Nations" (1972) carried the torch of realism far and wide. For the realists, distribution of powers among states is all that is there to explain in IR. Given a particular distribution of power, the realists claim that, it is possible to explain both the characteristics of the system and the - behaviour of the individual states.

The idealists firmly believe that the essential goodness of human nature will eventually prevail and that a new world order would emerge which would be marked by the absence of war, inequality and tyranny. This new world order would be brought about by the use of reason, education and science. Idealism presents a picture of future international relations free from power politics, violence and immorality. Idealism argues that an international organization commanding respect of nation-states would pave the way for a world free of conflicts and war. Thus, the crucial point on which the realists and idealists sharply differ is the problem of power. St. Simon, Aldous Huxley, Mahatma Gandhi and Woodrow Wilson are among the prominent idealists. Morality is vital for them as they aim at international peace and cooperation.

An analysis of Realism and Idealism will show that both have their validity provided they give up their extremism. The approach that takes a middle position between "idealistic utopianism" and "cynical realism"

is called Eclecticism. It has been described as a sort of synthesis of the 'pessimism of realism' and 'optimism of idealism'. Eclecticism tries to use the best in both realism and idealism. The former has been described by Quincy Wright as a representative of short-run national policies whereas idealism represents long-term policies of internationalism. Realists have been called 'Children of darkness' and idealists the 'children of light'. Neibuhr regards the children of darkness as evil and wicked and the children of light as virtuous. But, on the basis of another criterion, he says, the realists are wise as they understand the power of self-will, and the idealists are foolish because they underestimate the risk of anarchy in the international community. Both have something to learn from this.

Neo-Realism, also known as 'Structural Realism' is one of the current approaches to the study of international relations. Waltz, Grieco, Keohane and Joseph Nye are among the prominent neo-realists. Neo-Realists believe that might is right in a system which is essentially Hobbesian (full of strife) in nature. The great powers are engaged in permanent rivalry. The structure has, more or less, remained one of anarchy though the prominent actors have been changing. The term 'structure' has been referred to "how the actors in a system stand in relation to each other." The present structure being anarchical (challenges to state domination are rampant), one finds powerful states are most interested in trying to prevent others from improving relative capabilities. Keohane and Nye add that with the increasing role of non-state actors, the structure has become even more complex and unpredictable. In short, neorealism believes that the nation-states still remain the most important actors in world politics: behaviour of the states can be explained rationally; states seek power and calculate their interests in terms of power. (All these they share with the scholars of realism). However, the neorealists add, the international system is characterized by anarchy and emerging 'multi-centric' activities emanating from sources other than state. This complexity is further compounded by international terrorism, religious war-fares, increasing incidence of civil wars and emerging competitive multinational corporations.

In the post-cold war years, international arena has assumed a new form. Nation-states are being threatened by divisive and secessionist movements. Many of the conflicts have assumed deadly proportions. According to John Stremlau "prevention has become a buzz word among diplomats seeking to stem anarchy in Africa, the Balkans, the new states of the former Soviet Union, and elsewhere." In 1992, for example, out of 30 conflicts across the world as many as 29 were military actions taking place inside states. One can refer to such examples to show that more military actions are being taken recourse to inside states rather than outside and among them. The ethnic conflict in erstwhile Yugoslavia (conflict between Serbs and Croats, and between Serbs and Bosnians), insurgency within Afghanistan, the conflict in Iraq regarding Kurds, chaotic conditions inside Somalia, the conflict in Sri Lanka, Mohajir Quami Movement (MQM) related conflict in Palustan and terrorist activities in northern Indian States of Jammu & Kashmir and Punjab, are some of the ongoing military or paramilitary actions within nation-states. In the post-cold war conflicts, 90 per cent of casualties have been of civilians, not of the soldiers. Thus, neo-realism stresses the struggle for power not only between states but also intra-state struggles in an 'anarchic' world.

It will not be out of place here to mention that at a socio-political level, domestic determination of foreign policy options was not an important consideration with the realists who preferred states to remain confined to diplomatic, military and strategic sources of power. (See the box below). The post-cold war realists believe that peace was made possible in the world during the cold war period (1945-89) owing to stable bipolarity, balance of terror and a belief that nuclear war could be suicidal. With the end of the cold war, the realists hope for lasting peace to result out of the rules of conduct (for international relations) to be enforced by the United States which has virtual monopoly of powers. Realism today recognises the role of the United Nations, International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organisation yet they are still considered to be subordinate to the wishes of the powerful states. The realists do not want proliferation of nuclear weapons so that monopoly of the American power is maintained in that sector. Thus, realists

(and neo-realists) still believe in promotion of national interest as expressed through State power. Despite international organisations, regional and non-state actors, power continues to dominate international relations, the realists still maintain. It may be of interest to students to note that Realism and Neorealist approaches are mostly confined to studies in USA and Europe. Both stress on state power systems and inter-state relations. An important difference between the two is, however, one of degree and focus.

Neorealism (which appeals more widely in USA and Europe) in IR differs from Realism by virtue of its lesser concern with the diplomatic, military and strategic sources which maintain or disturb the balance of power and more pre-occupation with the political and economic concerns which need to be addressed for a sustainable international system. Most of the neo-realists therefore have been students of international political economy. IR studies began focussing on the developing countries after neo-realist approach came to vogue. They are more concerned with issues of dependence and development as against the state-centered approaches espousing the cause of "hegemonic stability" (that is to say, uneven distribution of power with one or a few states holding superior power to ensure stability in the world). As behaviouralists like Prof. James Rosenau often complained, concerned Third World students of IR often tend to be attracted to "dependency theory" (see below). This perspective posits that the Third World has been historically exploited by rich nations of the developed West.

MODERN/BEHAVIOURAL APPROACHES OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

Behavioural approaches to study of IR are often claimed by their western adherents to be scientific because they are based on quantitative calculations. They made us more aware of the complex nature of conflicts and provided many valuable insights into decision making. The ultimate objective of the behaviouralist scholars is to develop a general theory of international relations. The traditional approach was rooted largely in Political Science and drew heavily from Law, History and Philosophy. With the help of the behavioural approach, a discipline of international relations is at last beginning to emerge which is devoted to behavioural studies in IR. There are several theories which may be lumped together under scientific/behavioural approach. Some like Systems Theory are more comprehensive than others like Bargaining and Game Theories. We will in this section briefly deal with only two of these behavioural scientific theories viz., the System Theory and the Game Theory.

SYSTEM THEORY

A system is defined as a set of elements interacting with each other. Another important feature of the system is that it has a boundary which separates it from the environment, the latter however, influences the system in its operations. Generally speaking, a system may be either natural (e.g. solar system), or mechanical (a car, a clock or a computer), or social (e.g. family). The social system itself may be related either to "society, or economy, or politics, or international systems."

The general concept of an international system, and of international systems, formed the basis of work for many major scholars, Karl W. Deutsch and Raymond Aron being among the most prominent. As Aron observed, there has never been an international system including the whole of the planet. But in the post-war period, "for the first time, humanity is living (in) one and the same history, and there has emerged some kind of global system". It is greatly heterogeneous but not to an extent that scholars may fail to hold them together in a discipline. As a matter of fact, Stanley Hoffman's working definition of the discipline was sufficient. "An international system", according to Hoffman "is a pattern of relations between the basic units of world politics which is characterized by the scope of the objectives pursued by these units and of the tasks performed among them, as well as by the means used in order to achieve those goals and perform those tasks". (System and Process in International Politics, 1957).

Among others, Prof. Morton Kaplan is considered the most influential in the systems theorizing of IR. He presented a number of real and hypothetical models of global political organisation. His six well known models were (i) balance of power system, (ii) loose bipolar system, (iii) tight bipolar system, (iv) universal actor system, (v) hierarchical system, and (vi) Unit Veto system. The first two are historical realities; the remaining four are hypothetical models. Although Kaplan did not say that his six systems were likely to emerge in that order, yet it was expected that the Super Power being very powerful, non-aligned countries were likely to lose their status and become parts of one or the other power blocs, leading to a tight bipolar world. With the collapse of the former Soviet Union in 1991, the erstwhile bipolarity phenomenon ended. While the United States emerged more powerful than other countries, many countries like Germany and Japan also merged as major economic powers. Thus, depending upon how one analyses the emerging global order, it may be characterized as a unipolar or a multipolar world. The present situation does not however fall strictly within any one of the six-models of Morton Kaplan which are described briefly below :

1. The Balance of Power System : This system prevailed in Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In this system some powerful states seek to maintain equilibrium of power individually or in alliance. Usually there is a 'balancer' - a state which assists anyone who is likely to become weaker than others so that balance is not disturbed.
2. The Loose Bipolar System : This was the situation during the days of cold war politics. Despite bipolar division of the global power scene, some countries refused to align with either block. They hang loose in an otherwise stratified global order. Examples : Non-aligned countries (NAM).
3. The Tight Bipolar System : Think of a situation where the international actors like NAM countries are forced to align with either block, the result is - one of the tight bipolar system.
4. The Universal Actor System : In this system, an international organisation or actor commanding universal allegiance becomes the centre of power. Whether big or small, all states will accept the superiority of a universal actor like the United Nations. Thus, without giving up their sovereignty, nation-states will strengthen the United Nations and generally abide by its decisions. This may eventually pave the way for a world government.
5. The Hierarchical International System : In this system one country will become so powerful that all other states will be virtually dictated to by that one Supreme Power. This situation may be described as a 'Unipolar World Model'. The U.N. may still exist, but there will be no true non-aligned country and even the U.N. will not have enough power.
6. The Unit Veto System : Morton Kaplan's Unit Veto System in international context resembles the 'state of nature' as defined by Thomas Hobbes. Each state will be the enemy of every other state, because almost all the countries will possess nuclear weapons. Thus, all the international actors will be capable of using nuclear weapons against their enemies.

These six models were later supplemented by Kaplan himself by some other models. Meanwhile, other scholars have also suggested some other models. Thus, Coultombis and Wolfe endorse Kaplan's six models, but add three more. These three are a) multibloc (or interregional) model, b) the national-fragmentation (or multipolar) model, and c) the post-nuclear war model.

The multi-bloc model portrays a world divided into five to seven mutually exclusive spheres of influence. Each of these spheres would be controlled by one major power, thus giving rise to a multipolar world.

The National Fragmentation Model will be the outcome of political and territorial disintegration. Ethnic, tribal or racial separatist movements may cause many of the large states to disintegrate into small fragmented units. Examples : the former Soviet Union, former Yugoslavia and former Czechoslovakia which have split into several : sovereign states.

The Post-Nuclear War Model : is the world after a catastrophic nuclear war. If such a war takes place, its aftermath would be ghastly. In such a situation, only the most tyrannical regimes would be able to maintain orderly distribution of food, shelter and medicine. A new order will have to be found out to overcome such chaotic conditions.

GAME THEORY

Game theory attempts to provide models for studying world politics, especially in highly competitive situations when outcomes of the actions are difficult to anticipate. This has led scholars to create the game theory for a more scientific study of the calculation of probabilities in an uncertain situation. Game theory was created almost in one shot with the publication of *Theory of Games and Economic Behaviour* (Princeton, 1944) by the mathematician John von Neumann and the economist Oskar Morgenstern. Karl Deutsch and Martin Shubik are among influential theorists who followed them. Though the economists were the first to adapt it to their purpose in recent years it has been applied to many other fields with suitable modifications.

In its simplest version, the game theory is the model of a zero sum game which describes the situation of conflict/competition in which one party's total loss is exactly equal to the other adversary's total gain. This explains the name - the sum total of gain and loss is zero. For the study of IR, game theory model however is a multiparty non-zero-sum game. This is because as J.K. Zawodny reminds us, "we must recognize that some types of international conflicts today can be resolved only by situations in which neither side loses and in which sometimes both sides may win."

As you must have already understood, isolated, completely independent states, are not affected by what other states do. They however are affected and interact through mutual dependence for some benefits. States play games to have maximum gains out of such a situation of inter-dependence.

The two most important kinds of game that have been suggested are the "Chicken Game" and the game of "Prisoner's Dilemma". In the chicken game situation two car drivers are going in the middle of the road towards each other from the opposite sides. Unless one of them stops on the side and gives way to the other, there is a possibility of serious accident which may even result in the death of one or both the drivers. Any one who gives way to the other will suffer a loss of reputation but accident will be avoided. Nations often face such a situation. Generally, none wants to suffer loss of reputation. The underlying idea of chicken game is that in spite of not being able to know the intention of its opponent, a country's foreign policy-makers can adopt such a course as would ensure its own interest only if it does not mind the other country also benefiting from that course of action. A country standing on its prestige may suffer heavy losses.

The situation in prisoners dilemma is different. A nation, like a prisoner, often faces dilemma without having the slightest idea of its opponent's intentions. In this model two persons, charged with murder, are kept in two cells and they can neither see nor talk to each other. The prison-in-charge tells both of them separately that if one of them confesses to murder, and the other does not, the one who confesses will not only be set free but rewarded, and the other prisoner will be hanged. If none of them confesses, both will be freed but without reward. But if both of them confess, they both would be given serious punishment. The game suggests that everyone wants reward or advantage, but may land in serious situation as it does not know the mind of the other.

INTEGRATION THEORY

The theory is associated with the names of Charles Kegley and Wittkopf. In an essay published in 1993, they rejected the realist view of human nature. They argue that human beings have diverse make-ups, and that human action is based on voluntary choice influenced by environment. The liberals reject the view

that international relations are anarchic. They argue that the international system today is based on transnational interactions which create areas of interdependence. Societies and governance are being knit together by growing cultural homogeneity and economic and social interdependence. Various international agencies and regimes like the World Trade Organisation promote integration: The Liberals emphasize the growing role of non-State actors like NGOs, regional organisations etc, in promoting regional and global interdependence.

The liberals do not accept the view that the world has become unipolar. They feel that in the post-cold war years the world is moving in the direction of multi-polarity. At the same time there is increasing inter-state cooperation to reduce mistrust and tension in order to promote peace. Global interdependence has led to a growing concern among all governments about nuclear proliferation, global recession, ozone depletion, climatic changes and AIDS. These common concerns indicate: interdependence and need for the scholars to examine these problems in the context of integration. The liberals, therefore, insist on the study of these and other organisations. They believe that expanding the U.N. System promotes interdependence. To sum up : the liberal concern for interdependence is related to multipolarity in the post-cold war period. increasing role of U.N. and other non- governmental and regional organisations, and consequent integration under the influence of western industrialized countries.

NATION STATE SYSTEM

In the age of internationalism, nation-state system can be regarded as the key stone of International Politics. The nation state system in the words of Palmer and Perkins is "the pattern of political life in which people are separately organized into sovereign states that interact with one another in varying degrees and in varying ways." The term nation is essentially an ethnic tone base on common heritage, language, culture and a sense of identity among the people. The concept of nation-state evidently implies the territoriality of statehood, the desirability of homogeneous nationality and the independence from external or internal control of the sovereign power within each national territory. In international Politics, the existence of these sovereign states is termed as nation state system. In order to protect those personal interests, they interact with one another. States have to engage in war if their interests are not protected. To secure their existence the states develop their national power.

The state system is as old as the human history. However the nation state system is of recent origin. The Modern state system originated in the renaissance and reformation period in Europe. Renaissance checked Feudalism and Reformation reduced the influence of Pope in state affairs.

The Treaty of Westphalia in the year 1648 may be said to have established and formalized nation state system. By 1648 the state system was fully established in Europe. The result of Westphalia was very significant. It can be considered as the first stage in the evolution of the nation state system. After the II. World War many states in Asia and Africa came into being which do not possess a natural geographical boundary or a distant territory. Whatever difference may be among the states as the basis of territory, population or culture, the states are considered legally equal to one another.

FEATURES OF THE STATE SYSTEM

Certain features of the state system are essential conditions, without which the state system cannot exist.

These features have been described by Palmer and Perkins as corollaries. They are the concepts of nationalism, sovereignty and power.

Nationalism is that psychological or spiritual quality which unites the people of a state and gives them the will to champion what they regard as their national interest.

Sovereignty is the concept of unlimited powers. A group of people who are territorially organized are called sovereign when they possess both internal and external freedom to do what they wish to do.

National power is the might of a state which enables the state to get things done as it would like them to be done. Power is a complex of many tangible and intangible elements.

NATIONAL POWER

National Power of a nation is dependent upon several factors which are together called the components or elements or determinants of national power. Frankel calls these as capabilities or capability factors. Several other scholars prefer to use the name 'Determinants of National Power.' However, more and more scholars now prefer to use the name Factors/Elements of National Power because no single factor or element is a determinant of National Power.

ELEMENTS OF NATIONAL POWER:

There are a number of elements of National Power. Several political scientists have attempted to classify these. Whereas Morgenthau has classified these into two parts—permanent and temporary elements, Organski has preferred to classify these into the natural and social determinants—the former including geography, resources and population and the latter economic development, political structures and national morale.

Palmer and Perkins, Charles O. Lerche, Abdul Said, Theodore A. Coulombis and James H. Wolfe have classified these elements into two parts; Tangible and Intangible Elements—the former category includes those elements which can be assessed in quantitative terms and latter such elements as are ideational and psychological and cannot be quantified.

Geography, raw material, natural resources, population and technology are the tangible elements, whereas ideology, morale, leadership, personality, organisational efficiency and quality of diplomacy are the intangible elements.

In a simple way we can discuss the following seven elements of National Power:

1. GEOGRAPHY

Amongst the elements of National Power, geography is the most stable, tangible, permanent and natural element. Its importance as a factor of national power can be judged from the fact that Geo-political scientists, like Moodie, Spykman, Haushofer, Mackinder and others, regard Geography as the determinant of international politics.

While describing the importance of geography in international relations Napoleon, observed. "The foreign policy of a country is determined by its geography." Geography is, however neither an independent determinant of national power nor of foreign policy. It is just an element of National Power.

Nature and Role of Geography as an Element of National Power:

(i) Maps:

Maps are always geographical in nature. These are sometimes used by nations to justify a particular course of policy or action as well as to reject the views of other nations.

"Observers of international relations always need an atlas showing population, raw materials, communication routes and other data and the ability to interpret maps." —Padelford and Lincoln

The Sino-Indian dispute has been a dispute of maps regarding McMahon Line. Maps are used as instruments for justifying a particular demand or action of a nation. These are used to influence decisions in ones favour.

(ii) Size:

Size is another geographical element of national power. The large size of a country can accommodate a large population, offer better natural resources and raw materials, and can be more helpful in the defence of the country. A large size can help the country to defend by retreat in the event of an attack. It is definitely more, rather very difficult for a state to defeat a big country. It was also the large size of the erstwhile Soviet Union that helped it to defeat the forces of Hitler.

Large area also makes it possible for a country to establish vital industrial complexes far away from the borders and thereby, to organize effective defence. Thus size is a component of national power. A united Germany as a big state is bound to be a new powerful state in the world politics of 21st century.

However, size can be both a helping as well as a hindering factor. A large size with inadequate natural resources, inaccessible mountains and forests, unhealthy climate and topography can be a hindrance in the way of national power. It can also pose a defence problem.

The Himalayas in the North and a long sea-coast in the South have made the defence of India a complex and difficult problem. Moreover, the existence of some other factors can help even the small sized states to develop a large amount of national power. The location of England and the rapid industrial development that it could achieve after the Industrial Revolution helped it to establish and maintain a big empire and be a virtual ruler of the seas till 1945.

Japan, even with its small size, scored a victory over Russia in 1905. The USA has a relatively smaller territory than Russia yet it has more power than the latter. Israel offers another striking example of a small sized country that has a disproportionately large amount of power.

On the other hand, some large sized countries such as, Brazil, Canada, Zaire, Australia and Sudan, and now Russia are not as powerful as their sizes might indicate. In spite of these exceptions, it cannot be denied that a large territory generally creates the possibility of a great power, or, conversely, small states are normally not expected to be great powers.

(iii) Location:

Location of a nation can be as helping as well as a hindering factor for its national power. It determines whether a nation can be a sea-power or not. England could become a big naval power and thereby an imperial power because of its location. The location of Japan has helped it to be a major ship- building nation. Location of Germany in the heart of Europe has been a source of strength for it.

The location of the USA helped it to adopt (1823-1945) and follow the policy of isolationism. Further, its location, being relative to land as well as seas, has helped it to be a both land and sea power. The location of Switzerland has been instrumental in securing for it the status of a permanently neutralized state.

Middle East and Continental Europe have been the potential zones of power rivalry because of their geographic and strategic locations. Location of Canada has hindered its emergence as a great power. Hence, a favourable geographical location among other things can help a nation to be powerful and an unfavorable location can limit the national power.

(iv) Climate:

No one can deny the importance of climate in the context of National Power. Climate determines the food production, economy and even the culture of a nation. It can be a source of big limitation or help for the human capabilities. The cold climate of Arctic zone and Antarctic and the excessive heat of the Tropical zone, and Sahara have kept the development of life backward in these areas.

Extreme heat or cold are unfavorable conditions for national power. The prosperity of India stands inseparably conditioned by Monsoons. A failure of Monsoons weakens India and likewise timely and good Monsoon rains help India to be self-sufficient and even surplus in food production.

It is a well-known fact that the great centres of power have so far emerged only in the moderate temperate zone, between 20 and 60 degrees north. A helpful climate can be a source of power and an unkind climate can be a source of weakness.

(v) Topography:

The nature of terrain, together with other geographical elements, is an important factor of national power. Terrain can influence the power of a state and its potential for offence, defence and growth. A nation with plane and artificial boundaries can be an easy victim of expansionism on the part of a powerful nation.

Natural boundaries with strategic advantages are always a source of strength for a nation. It is terrain which determines decisions concerning physical security of the state. The English Channel has remained a source of defence and some security for England. The Atlantic and Pacific Oceans have provided strength to the security of the United States.

Since mid-1950s defence of the Himalayas has been a source of limitation on India's power. The lack of a good number of natural harbours along the sea coast has hindered the development of economic and trade relations of India with other countries. All these examples highlight the role of topography in determining the national power of a state.

(vi) Boundaries:

Boundary is also a geographic factor of national power. Settled and natural boundaries are always a source of friendly and cooperative relations among the nations of a region. Undefined and disputed boundaries are potent sources of conflict which weakens national power e.g. the boundary disputes between India and China, Israel and Arab states can be quoted as examples. Natural boundaries are helpful to national power and conversely artificial boundaries are a source of weakness and conflict.

Everyone accepts that Geography is an important element of National Power. However, its role can be both helpful and hindering. Ideal geographical conditions can be a source of strength and negative and hindering geographical factors can be a source of weakness for the national power.

Further, role of geography as an element of national power is linked with several other elements, like population, level of scientific and industrial development means of transport and communication, and the like. In fact, scientific inventions and technological innovations have made it possible for man to adjust with and overcome geographical problems and hindrances. Geography is an element but not an independent determinant of national power. The Geo-political scientists over-rate its importance.

2. NATURAL RESOURCES:

No nation can hope to be a powerful nation if its territory is not adequately graced by natural resources. Natural resources are indeed "gifts of nature of established utility." The industrial and military capabilities of a nation as well as its economic well-being are dependent upon the existence of natural resources.

A self-sufficiency in certain key resources can be a big source of power of a nation. The USA has been in a position to be a super power in the world mainly due to its near self-sufficiency in respect of several key natural resources. No nation can be powerful without becoming a developed industrialized nation and the chances of becoming an industrialized nation are basically linked with the possession of natural resources, particularly industrial raw materials and minerals. Natural resources, in the form of minerals, fertile soil, flora and fauna, through planned exploitation and use always make a nation powerful.

In analyzing the role of National Resources as a factor of National Power Morgenthau discuss it in two parts:

1. Raw Materials and
2. Food.

1. Raw Materials:

Raw materials can be further sub-divided into three categories:

- (i) Minerals— Coal, Petrol, Iron, Copper, Zinc, Tin, Manganese, Uranium etc.,
- (ii) Natural Products— Rubber, Jute, Bamboo, Medicinal Plants, Wood Pulp, Wood, Plants, Colours, Varnishes, Forest Products etc., and
- (iii) Animal Products—Milk, Eggs, Meat, Wool, Hides, Feathers, Silk etc.

It is impossible to develop power in modern times without industrialisation and it is very difficult, if not impossible, for a nation to get industrialized without adequate possession of key raw materials. Raw materials influence national power, national policies and international trade of the nation.

The United States has been nearly self-sufficient in respect of key minerals and this fact has largely contributed to its industrial and military strength. The interdependence among nations stands largely constituted by the necessities of trade relations in respect of minerals and raw materials for their industrial needs.

A nation cannot hope to be a big military, industrial and economic power without the possession of adequate quantities of raw- materials. The importance of oil as the key source of energy is a well known fact of present day international relations. Oil diplomacy in world politics of our times solely depends upon the fact that the OPEC countries monopolies world crude production and have vast oil reserves.

Oil has tremendous importance, both for industrial production and military strength and mobility. Clemenceau's observation; "One drop of oil is worth one drop of blood of our soldiers", is true even today. The importance of uranium as a source of atomic power is well known. Adequate means of energy security contribute to the national power of a nation. As such, raw materials constitute an important element of national power.

However, merely the existence of raw materials cannot be automatically a source of power. The ability to exploit and utilize the raw- materials is a factor almost as important as the existence of raw-materials. This ability is directly linked with the level of scientific, technological and industrial advancement.

2. Food:

Food indeed is an important element of national power. Food determines policies. The existence of large stocks of food grains and surplus food production can be a source of vital strength of a nation. A nation deficient in food production can rarely become a major power.

"Nations self-sufficient in food are better placed than nations which import food." —Morgenthau

The food shortage in India was a highly limiting factor of the Indian foreign policy during 1950s and 60s. Food shortage leads to power shortage. Acute food problem is a big source of weakness for all the developing countries. It is keeping them dependent upon developed states who have surplus food productions. The Green Revolution of 1970s enabled India not only to sustain its economy but also to preserve and develop its national power.

The military preparedness of a nation is dependent upon adequate supplies of food. A popular valid saying has been; "Armies travel on their stomach."

However, the food factor is also inseparably linked up with other factors particularly with population, science and technology. Food production is dependent upon agricultural technology and industrial capacity. Man-power is vitally important for food production. Production of food can be stepped up by human efforts and the application of advanced agricultural technology.

The ability to utilize sea food resources can help a nation to overcome its food problem. This ability is dependent upon science and technology. As such food is again an element of national power. However its role as a factor of National Power has to be evaluated along with other factors, population, climate, and level of scientific and technological development of a nation.

3. POPULATION:

Another basic element which affects national power is population. "As long as men are needed for production and fighting, other elements being equal, the state with a large number of men and women to perform such tasks shall be more capable of becoming a major power." Manpower continues to be a key factor which determines the industrial and military capacities of a nation and its status as a power in international relations.

In this age of science, machines have come to perform a large number of functions which were previously being performed by men. Yet machines have failed to completely replace men. Even today men behind the machines continue to be more important than the machines.

Manpower alone can exploit the natural resources and utilize these for the satisfaction of national needs. Geographical hindrances can be overcome by men. Scientific and industrial development cannot be accomplished without men.

Men are needed to fight. Voltaire's observation: "God is always on the side of the biggest battalions" holds good even today. The mechanization of warfare has not seriously limited the importance of man as the soldier. Manpower alone can register a military victory.

Hence, population is a source of power. The major powers of our times are states with fairly large populations. Large concentration of man-power in Asia, particularly China and India, has been an important factor of the power structure in international politics. Human Power resulting from the presence of a large class of skilled workforce has been a source for the emerging power of India in the world.

Thus, it can be observed that:

1. Population is an important element of military power.
2. Man power is needed for fully exploiting the resources of the state. Industrial production depends upon man-power as well as machines.
3. Population factor determines both national needs as well as policies designed to serve these needs.
4. Population is an important human element of National Power.

However, it is not merely the large number of people that determines the power of a nation. Britain, with a very small population, was in a position to rule many countries, even heavily populated countries like India. Israel with a small population has been demonstrating a larger amount of power than Arab countries.

Disproportionately large populations with a high growth rate have been hindrances in the way of China and India. Population factor has been a source of limitation on India's national power. It has adversely affected the economic growth rate and has posed a perpetual food problem for India. Poverty of India has been largely due to its over-population.

Moreover, it is not merely the quantity of population that influences national power. The quality of population is a more valuable factor in the context of National Power. Dedicated, disciplined, hardworking, healthy, educated and skilled manpower alone can be a source of power.

A nation inhabited by unhealthy, unemployed, lazy, unskilled, illiterate and ignorant people is bound to be a weak and inactive power. Further, the large size of population is a big source of strain as it leads to a rapid dilapidation of national resources. As such the evaluation of population as a factor of national power must involve an evaluation in both quantitative and qualitative aspects.

4. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND INDUSTRIAL CAPACITY:

A. Economic Development:

Economic power is a vitally important part of national power of a nation because it is the means for military power and the basis for welfare, prosperity and development of its people. A nation with developed, healthy and growing economy alone can be a great power in world politics. Effective economic organisation and planning are essential qualities of a powerful nation. Poverty is always a source of limitation of power. It is this factor which has been largely forcing most of the developing countries of the Third World to live with neo-colonialism.

The increased importance of economic instruments of foreign policy is a recognized fact of present day international relations. Only nations with developed economies can use the economic instruments—aid, loan, rewards, trade, grants and denial of rewards or punishment, for securing their desired goals in international relations. By using economic means a nation tries to exercise its national power in a productive and useful way. The level of economic well-being determines the power of a nation.

B. Industrial Capacity:

The economic factor is intimately linked up with industrial capacity of a nation. In this age of science, industrialisation and technology developed industrial capacity alone can be a source of enduring and effective economic development. Only industrially advanced nations can become great powers. Today, the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Japan and Germany are powerful nations because of their huge industrial capacities. They have the ability to process raw materials, and thereby are in a position to control international economy. India is now emerging as an industrial power.

Industrial capacity of a nation is thus an important factor of national power. Industrial backwardness, despite the possession of raw materials, can be a source of weakness for any nation. The USA, Russia and India have almost equal coal and iron resources, but some weakness industrial capacity in India has been responsible for her comparatively less powerful position. Since her independence, India has been trying conceitedly to develop her industrial capacity and technology for increasing her power and role in international relations.

The modern warfare has made industrial capacity a significant factor of military power of a nation. The agricultural production of a country can be increased only through industrialized farming. Increased industrial capacity increases the agricultural capacity and the power of a nation.

Thus, economic development and industrial capacity are important elements of national power. However, like other elements these two are also closely related to other elements, particularly, raw materials, technology, skilled human power, scientific talent and research, economic resources and the like. Their role as elements of power has to be analyzed in relation with other factors and not independently.

5. TECHNOLOGY:

Technology is the application of knowledge of science for promoting human welfare. It is the ability to use scientific inventions for the promotion of human welfare. Progress in engineering and industrial production is directly related to the nature and level of technology. It has been the advanced technological ability that has largely contributed to the prosperity and power of the developed countries.

In fact the level of technological advancement determines the power-status of a nation. A nation backed by highly developed and advanced technology alone can be recognized as a developed nation. The USA and other developed countries are technologically advanced nations and this fact has been a major source of their power. Now nuclear technology has emerged as an important source of power and influence in international relations.

Initially, monopoly over atomic secret was sought to be used by the USA for maintaining her power superiority in relation with the erstwhile USSR. The success in acquiring the nuclear technology in early 1950s, however, made it possible for the erstwhile USSR to successfully compete with the US power in international relations.

The overkill capacity achieved by the nuclear powers, resulting from the huge stockpiling of nuclear weapons of mass destruction, has been a source of limitation for other nations. The nuclear technology, missile technology, space technology and information technology have given a big boost to the power of some of the states. It has decidedly been a source of power for India.

The capacity of a nation to develop is greatly related to the capacity for technological advancement. Industrial development, development of means of transport and communication, military preparedness and all-round economic and social development can be really possible only when a nation has access to advanced technology.

The ability to achieve this through self-efforts is a bigger source of strength than the capacity to import know-how. The inability to register self-development makes a nation dependent upon technologically advanced nations and hence it limits its national power.

The technological development secured by the Indian scientists in various spheres has been a source of power for India. However, the continued dependence upon advanced nations for the import of highly advanced technology in respect of certain vital spheres has been acting as a source of limitation on India's national power. Many developing or lowly developed countries have not been in a position to fully use their natural resources because of the low levels of their technological development.

The role of technology as a factor of national power can be judged from the fact that today technological aid or assistance, weapon-technology, nuclear technology, information technology, communication technology, dual use technology, and space technology are elements of international relations and all these have been influencing the foreign policies of both the developed and under-developed countries.

However, here again it must be pointed out that the importance of this factor stands linked up with several other factors, like scientific and industrial capacity, raw materials, government policies and educational facilities.

6. MILITARY PREPAREDNESS:

Military power is a vitally important part of national power of a state. The importance of military factor as an element of national power can be judged from the fact that many persons regard these synonymous. Military power is not national power, nevertheless it is an important part of national power which contributes to its strength and effectiveness.

Military preparedness is a background factor for the success of a foreign policy and it is a tangible factor capable of supporting the foreign policy and promoting national interest." It influences the level of success of foreign policy. The super powers and other major powers of our times have been big military powers. By virtue of being a major military power, India, besides other factors, is considered to be a major power having a potential to be a super power in the next 20 years or so.

While evaluating military preparedness as a factor of national power, we have to take into account three factors:

- (i) War technology or technological innovations,
- (ii) Military leadership, and
- (iii) Quantity and Quality of soldiers.

(a) War Technology:

War technology refers to the nature and type of weapon system that is available with the army of the state. Modern warfare is a sophisticated technological warfare. The quantity and technical quality of weapons and military equipment is a major factor that determines the level of military power of a nation. Advanced military technology is always a source of strength and strategic advantage.

(b) Quality of Military Leadership:

War technology is an important factor but it can be fruitful only when backed by efficient planning and systematic and effective use. This brings into focus the role of military leadership. Military planning is a valuable factor of military action in a war. Skilled, trained, experienced, dedicated, energetic and disciplined military leadership alone can make the best use of available weapons, equipment and manpower. A war victory can be possible only under effective and efficient military leadership.

(c) Quantity and Quality of Soldiers:

In a war weapons and equipment play a key role but their role and effectiveness is dependent upon the quantity and quality of soldiers. Military equipment and weapon-system is important, but not as much as the soldiers who actually use these weapons and equipment. The number, skill, training, discipline, dedication and morale of the soldiers are essential factors which can make possible an effective and successful use of military weapons and machines.

Pakistan had a superior weapon system, tanks and aircrafts in both the 1965 and 1971 wars with India. However, it failed to use this to its advantage because of inadequately trained and less skilled men behind these machines. Indian soldiers could provide a decisive and befitting answer to Pakistani aggressions because of their superior qualities. Kargil Victory was also the outcome of the qualities of discipline, training and dedication of Indians Officers and Jawans.

We have to take into account these three factors for judging the level of military preparedness as an element of national power. However, military preparedness is directly dependent upon such factors as technology, industrial capacity, economic development, state of economy, policies of the government, and strategic factors. Hence it is not an independent determinant of national power.

7. IDEOLOGY:

Ideology is an intangible element of national power. It can be a source of both friendship and enmity in international relations. "Ideas and ideologies are elements of the power of a state." Pen is mightier than sword or at least pen has a might which can be a source of strength for a nation. The ideology that a government upholds can be a source of unity and support of the people at home and abroad. The ideology of communism served as a big source of strength for the communist states between 1917-90 period.

Ideology helps a nation to influence the exercise of its power. It serves as a source of unity and strength both at home and abroad. The adoption of the ideology of democratic socialism helped India to establish friendly and cooperative relations with the democratic west and the socialist east. It also acted as a source of popular support for the Government of India.

However, a choice of wrong ideology can be a source of weakness. Nazism weakened Hitler's Germany and Fascism did the same to Mussolini's Italy. Further, ideological differences within a nation, as well as among different nations can be a source of weakness.

Capitalism Vs. Communism paved the way for the emergence of a cold war between the West and the East. It kept the powers of two super powers conditioned and limited. The ability of the nation to use several ideological principles (particular ideologies) always determines its national power.

While evaluating the role of ideology as an element of national power, we must also take into account the means which a state has at its disposal for advertising and propagating the ideology. The propaganda and publicity facilities available to a state also act as a factor of national power.

8. LEADERSHIP:

Leadership of a nation is an important human element of national power. The utilization of man power resources, natural resources, raw materials, technology, industrial capacity, military power and ideology for strengthening the national power of a state is dependent upon the qualities of the leadership that runs the government of the state.

Civil and Military planning is a function of the political leaders. To make and implement foreign policy is the responsibility of the leadership, the decision-makers of the state, in particular. National Power is basically the power of the leaders, statesmen and diplomats of the nation to act strongly in international relations.

The quality of leadership determines the nature and extent of power that a nation can use for securing its national interests. Efficient, devoted and mature leadership can be a source of national power in the sense that a judicious use of power can surely increase the national power and its operational effectiveness. National Power really means the ability of national leaders and decision-makers.

9. ORGANISATION AND QUALITY OF GOVERNMENT:

The mere possession of material and human resources cannot lead to national power if the agency for steering and coordination of human efforts, that is, the government of the state is not well organised, efficient and effective. It is the business of government to coordinate direct, control men and material resources for securing power for fulfilling goals of national interest.

There are many examples which highlight the importance of this factor of national power. For decades China (Before 1949) remained a weak power because, among other reasons, the central government lacked effective control over major portions of the country. Similar was the case of France. Until De Gaulle took control in France in the year 1958, political power remained divided among a number of political parties.

This not only brought repeated crisis to the polity but also made it difficult for the French government to pursue policies on an enduring basis. Such a situation acted as a serious limitation on French power in international relations. As such, effectiveness of governmental organization and administration within the state is very essential for a nation to become powerful.

Frequent and big changes in Pakistan's leadership have been an element of its national power. It has tended to weaken Pakistan. Only a well-organised and well-functioning democratic government can be an enduring and helpful factor of national power.

10. NATIONAL CHARACTER AND MORALE:

(i) National Character:

An important but intangible element of national power is national character. National character is a collective name for referring to the traits of the people, their attitude and aptitude towards work and national needs. National character undoubtedly influences national power as it manifests qualitative make up of the people in their actual behaviour.

Scholars tell us that Russians are known for their sturdiness, elementary force and persistence. Americans for their inventiveness, initiative and spirit of adventure. Britishers for their un-dogmatic common sense, and Germans for discipline and industriousness, Japanese for their nationalism, Indians for their tolerance, idealism and faith in rich cultural traditions and Chinese for their cosmic un-changeability. Traits of national character definitely influence the national power of a nation.

(ii) National Morale:

Along with national character, national morale is also an element of national power. National morale, in the context of national power, refers to 'the degree of determination with which a nation supports the foreign policy of its government in peace and war, it permeates all activities of a nation, its agriculture and industrial productions as well as its military establishments and diplomatic service.' (Morgenthau).

High morale means a healthy frame of mind characterised by fidelity to cause and it depends upon a combination of circumstances and the quality of leadership, and can be subject to frequent and sometimes sudden fluctuations. Indian morale became quite low after severe reverses in Sino- Indian War of 1962.

The success in 1965 and 1971 wars, the successful green revolution and the entry into nuclear club through a peaceful nuclear explosion in May 1974, followed by 1998 nuclear explosions gave vital strength and reinvigorated Indian national morale. Development of IT sector and steady economic development have how increased the morale of the people of India as well as India's credibility in the world.

A high and healthy national morale can be a big source of power which can lead to successful use of power for securing the national interest. The high morale of Indian army was a factor in the victories in 1971 Bangladesh war and 1999 Kargil war with Pakistan.

National character and morale are elements of national power but their role can be positive or negative. Further, their evaluation as factors of national power must be done with reference to other human and material factors. The intangibility of these factors particularly, national character must also be kept in mind.

11. DIPLOMACY:

Diplomacy is another important element of national power. Hans J. Morgenthau regards it as the most important, though unstable element of national power. Diplomacy is the means of foreign policy and as

such helps it to achieve better results through judicious hard work and persuasion in international relations. Success of foreign policy of a nation largely depends upon the quality of Diplomacy that takes it to foreign capitals.

Diplomacy of high quality can bring the ends and means of foreign policy into harmony with the available resources of national power. It can trap the hidden sources of national strength and transform these fully and squarely into political realities.

British diplomacy has been instrumental in projecting Britain as a major power in world politics, even after the loss of its status as a mighty imperial power. During the inter-war period, the USA was politically and militarily very strong but it played a minor role in world politics because of its weak diplomacy. At times, weak diplomacy has acted as a source of weakness for India.

The role of diplomacy as an element of national power has undergone a big change in contemporary times. The emergence of new diplomacy—open and conference diplomacy, has somewhat limited its role as a factor of national power. We cannot accept Morgenthau's thesis that diplomacy is the most important of all the elements of national power. Nevertheless, we cannot deny that diplomacy is an important factor of national power. A diplomacy of high quality can effectively contribute towards an effective and successful exercise of national power.

LIMITATIONS ON NATIONAL POWER

1. Balance of Power:

Balance of Power is a device of both power management and limitation of power. Its underlying principle is that the power of several equally powerful actors can be a source of limitation on their powers. The major actors should maintain a sort of balance in their power positions.

No state should try to become unduly powerful as can endanger the balance. If a state becomes or tries to become unduly powerful, another state or states should collectively pool their powers and create a preponderance of power against the offending state. Through use of force or coercion or other devices, these states should act to reduce the power of the threatening state and restore the balance.

No state should be eliminated completely but the power of the state should be kept under control in the name of 'balance'. Balance of power places restraints upon the states by preventing all attempts at an unjustified increase of power on the part of any member of the balance of power system.

This concept was used in the 19th century by the major European states for adjusting their relations. This system was successful in preventing the outbreak of any major war during 1815-1914 period. Currently the device of Balance of Power is used only at the regional or sub-regional level. At the global level it has lost much of its relevance and applicability.

2. International Law:

International Law is the body of rules that the nation-states accept as binding upon them, and which regulates their behaviour in international relations. It is an important limitation on the power of a nation. It directs and controls the behaviour of the nations engaged in international relations.

International law constitutes a legal framework for the orderly conduct of international relations both in times of peace and war. Backed by common consent, natural law, international morality, world public opinion and its utility, International law acts as a major limitation on the misuse of power by the states. It enunciates the do's and don'ts for the states.

It declares war as an illegal means for the promotion of interests. It lays down rules for the establishment and conduct of diplomatic relations. Violations of International Law can invoke sanctions against the violating states.

However, International Law is a weak law. It is not backed by force. It is also subject to different interpretations. It often fails to meet the pressure exerted by a powerful nation pursuing aggressive nationalism. Its objective is to secure international peace, security and development, by securing orderly international relations through the prevention of use of force, war and violence. However, its weakness as a law, rather half-law, and half-morality, tends to limit its role as a limiting factor of national power.

3. International Morality:

Just as human behaviour in a society is regulated by a set of moral norms or rules, likewise behaviour of states in the international environment is limited by International Morality. International community accepts certain values—peace, order, equality, goodness, mutual help, respect for life and liberty of all, and respect for Human Rights of all, as right and good values which must be accepted and followed by all states.

International Morality is “a generally accepted moral code of conduct which nations usually follow in international relations”. It acts as a limitation on the national power of each state. It has played a role in strengthening human consciousness against war i.e. against misuse of national power.

4. World Public Opinion:

The democratization of foreign policy and the coming of communications and IT revolutions have together made possible the rise of organised and strong World Public Opinion in contemporary international relations.

It has emerged as an important factor of international relations. The presence of strong global peace movements, strong movements in favour of Nuclear Arms Control and Disarmament, a very strong and healthy global movement for the preservation of Earth’s ecological balance, the environment protection movements, Human Rights protection movements and several other such movements clearly show the presence of a strong World Public Opinion.

It is now fast emerging as a big limitation on national power. Fear of adverse world public opinion often forces a nation either not to follow a particular policy or to take a decision or even to pursue a particular goal or decision. Strong world public opinion in favour of Arms Control and Disarmament has been a factor behind the INF Treaty, the START-I, START-II, the Chemical Weapons Elimination Treaty and the continued talks on the issue of disarmament, nuclear disarmament and arms control in international relations.

Moreover, in contemporary times, the widespread support of World Public Opinion for the protection of Human Rights and Freedoms of all by all the countries has been a source or big influence on the role of national power in international relations. However, World Public Opinion is a limiting factor in itself. It often fails to neutralize or forcefully control strong and aggressive nationalism. It has failed to prevent the US war against Iraq.

5. International Organisations:

Since 1919, the world has been living with a world organisation, except for the years of the Second World War. Since 1945, the United Nations has been functioning as a global organisation of all the members of the international community. Its Charter specifies certain aims and objectives which its members are committed to follow.

It specifies certain means for pacific settlement of disputes among the member states. It provides for collective security of peace in times of war and aggression. The United Nations constitutes a global platform for the conduct of international relations in a peaceful and orderly manner. Nations are bound by the UN Charter and they are expected to use their powers only in accordance with the dictates of the UN Charter.

Along with the multipurpose United Nations, there have emerged several well organised international and regional organisations like UNESCO, WHO, ILO, UNICEF, which guide, direct and control the actions of their member states in various spheres of activity. Some Regional Organisations also act as a source of limitation on the national power of each member state.

Living in this age of international interdependence which is characterised by the existence of several powerful non-state actors, the modern nation-state very often finds its power limited. This fact has also been a source a big limitation, or check against the misuse of power by the states. However, the continued love and respect for sovereignty and nationalism continues to keep the role of international organisation and non-state actors limited.

6. Collective Security:

It is a device of power-management which also acts as a limitation on national power. The system of Collective Security is based on the principle that international peace and security is the common objective to be secured by all the states through collective action against any violation by any state or states. It is a device of power management and its purpose is to maintain international peace and security by the collective efforts of all the states.

As such, the power of a state which violates or seeks to violate the freedom, sovereignty or territorial integrity of any other state is limited by the fear that any aggression or any such act committed by it will be met by the collective power of all other states. In this way collective security is considered to be a deterrent against war and aggression i.e. against the misuse of power by any state.

7. Disarmament and Arms Control:

Since military power is a formidable dimension of national power and armaments form a formidable part of military power, Arms Control and Disarmament are regarded as devices of limiting the national power. Arms Control refers to the control over and limitation or reduction or control of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, through internationally agreed decisions, policies and plans. Disarmament refers to the liquidation, gradually or in one stroke, of the huge stockpiles of arms and ammunition which the nation-states have come to possess till today.

Both Arms Control and Disarmament are based on the belief that by eliminating or reducing the possession and production of weapons, the military power of a nation i.e. the national power of the state can be limited. Any success towards Arms Control and Disarmament can be a source of limitation upon the national power of the states. The decision to adopt arms control and limited disarmament due to internal economic necessities has decidedly limited the role of power in contemporary international relations.

All these factors act as limitations on National Power. Several scholars, however, advocate that an effective and powerful limitation on the National Power can be the creation of a permanently organised world powers—a world government or a world state.

Well so long this does not happen; the devices discussed above can be used for keeping the national power under check as well as for keeping contained the struggle for power among nations. At least these can help the humankind to keep on avoiding a Third World War as well as to keep on working for ensuring some order in international relations.

UNIT - V

BALANCE OF POWER

The 'balance of power' can be seen as the primary mechanism for ordering the international system and keeping it in equilibrium. Simply put, states act to offset an accumulation of power by one or more states by joining up with like-minded states. This coalition strategy is both descriptive – it reflects the historical conduct of states in Europe – and normative – it can be taken as a foreign policy imperative for maintaining international peace. The idea of a balance of power has exercised considerable influence over foreign policy making though, due to its underlying assumptions of systemic anarchy, some have suggested that it fosters the very sense of instability which it purports to alleviate. In spite of the problem of determining exactly the basis of national interest, it is clear that virtually all states of the world subscribe by necessity to maintaining territorial integrity and economic prosperity as central preoccupations of the government of the day in their international dealings. Moreover, historically states have frequently used the balance of power approach to maintaining order and stability within the international system. What is open to dispute is whether these aims are best achieved through the pursuit of short-term strategies based on limited provisions for cooperation or whether states gain more through adopting long term strategies that emphasise cooperative institution building. Britain's Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston, articulated the former posture in the mid-nineteenth century when he said that England had 'no permanent friends or permanent enemies; only permanent interests'.

DEVICES AND METHODS

With the passage of time the balance of power has developed certain means and methods, techniques and devices through which it can be achieved and maintained. The same are as follows:

1. Armament and Disarmament

The main device of achieving balance is to arm. Whenever one nation increases its strength, its rival has no other alternative but to enter an arms' race. If the first nation can preserve its strength, the balance of power will be upset, but if its opponents can also consolidate their power through arming themselves, the balance of power is preserved. Armament race between the United States and the Soviet Union in the post-war period was perhaps the greatest of all armament races. To maintain local balance of power India and Pakistan also indulge in arms race. Like armaments, disarmament can destroy or restore a balance of power. The states concerned may agree on proportionate reduction in their arms so that balance of power among them may be stabilised. But in practice, disarmament is sparingly utilised, except on defeated powers on the conclusion of a general war. Though at times it is resorted to by victor powers to maintain a favourable balance of power yet its overall role has been disappointing. However, after 1987 and especially after the end of the cold war, the US and Russia have taken certain disarmament measures.

2. Alliances and Counter-Alliances

The balance of power has often been maintained by the method of alliances and counter-alliances. Alliances have been the most convenient institutional device to increase one's insufficient power. Nations have always endeavoured to make, abandon and remake alliances depending upon their interests. Several security pacts are clearly designed to improve the military power position. Alliances can be offensive as well as defensive. Offensive alliances, however, must be condemned as they breed counter coalitions and the outcome is generally war. The triple alliance of 1882 was countered by the Triple Entente in 1907. Similarly the Axis formed in 1936 was a counterweight against the alliance between France and East European nations. The strange Alliance of the Second World War was a reaction against the Axis powers. It was, however, formed with a defensive purpose. In the post Second World War era, the US with its allies formed NATO, SEATO, CENTO etc. and the USSR countered them with the Warsaw Pact.

3. Compensation and Partition

A state enhances its power by acquiring new territories and thus tilts balance in its favour. When such thing happens the other side also takes immediate steps to increase its own power in compensation in order to preserve the balance. When some powerful nations, occupies the territories of small nations, the powerful rival nations cannot tolerate this Act. They place 3 condition either to share its prey with them or to allow them to compensate themselves elsewhere. Under such conditions the powerful rival nations divide small nations and swallow their share of the prey. The partition of Poland and later on its division between Russia, Prussia and Austria is a well known example of compensation and partition. After the Second World War, Germany, Korea and Vietnam were partitioned in a similar way. This method involves the redistribution of territory in such a way that international balance of power is not affected. Each Great Power becomes a beneficiary and a weak state their victim. Generally the question of such redistribution arises at the conclusion of war yet it may also be needed during the peace time.

4. Intervention and Non-intervention

Intervention is another commonly used device of keeping balance. It is quite possible that the allies may shift their loyalty from one side to another. Under such circumstances, it is quite usual for a big nation to regain a lost ally by intervening in its domestic affairs and establishing a friendly government there. Non-intervention suggests neutrality or guarantee of neutrality for certain states, or efforts to localise war or to protect the rights of neutrals in time of war. At times neutrality also plays the role of keeping the balance of power. Before the end of World War II, Britain intervened in Greece to see that it did not fall into the hands of local communists. After World War II, the United States intervened in Guatemala, Cuba, Lebanon, Laos, Kuwait etc. and the Soviet Union in North Korea, North Vietnam, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Afghanistan etc.

5. Divide and Rule

It is a time honoured policy as well as technique. This method keeps the competitors weak by dividing them or keeping them divided, and thereby maintain a balance of power. It was adopted by the Romans to keep their control over scattered peoples. Britain often used it to keep her large empire under control. She has been a notorious practitioner of this policy. It has been her cardinal policy towards Europe. Now this policy has become a device of the balance of power. Both the super powers had endeavoured to create divisions in the opposite camp. If the Soviet Union was interested in the disintegration of Western Europe, the USA was interested in creating rift in the East European camp led by the Soviet Union.

6. Buffer States

The setting up of a buffer state has also operated as another device of the balance of power. Such a state is usually a weak one. It is situated between two powerful neighbours. It always keeps them safely apart, and thereby contributes to the peace and stability, and maintains the balance of power. There have been various instances of buffer states in history. Afghanistan had been a traditional buffer state between the Imperial Russia and British India, as Tibet was a buffer state between the Imperial China and the British India. In Europe, Belgium and Holland had served as buffer states between France and Germany. In the post-Second World War period, various lines, as the 38th Parallel in Korea or the 17th Parallel in Vietnam, on partitioned countries, and the cease-fire zones are indirectly serving the cause of buffer states in a new world situation. They are also designed to prevent a direct confrontation of Super powers, and thereby preserve a balance of power.

7. Domestic Methods

If a state feels that the balance has been tilted in favour of the rival, it will also like to become more powerful. It can do so only by improving elements of power domestically. The state concerned would try not merely to acquire more powerful weapons, but also to develop related industries and other aspects of science and economy whose total effect would make it stronger and help it in restoring the balance. Domestic measures needed for this purpose may also entail introduction of compulsory military training and allotment of more money in the defence budget. It may also include development of indigenous capability to manufacture sophisticated weapons and related military hardware including ICBMs.

COLD WAR.

The Second World War, like the First World War significantly altered the international scene. For the first time in the history of international relations, a non-European in the history of international relations, a non-European power - the USA became a decisive factor in international politics. Both the USA and the USSR emerged as powerful states. these two states are considered as super powers 'as they have the capacity to intervene, interface and move the armed forces in any part of the world. the world was divided into two blocs under the leadership of the USA and the USSR. The conflict between these two groups for strengthening their own blocs and taking steps to see that the other bloc is weakened without entering into direct war is called 'East and West Conflict' and the same is known as 'Cold War'.

The term 'Cold War' was first used by Bernard Baruch, an American statesman who in a speech to South Carolina Legislature on April 16, 1947 said, "Let us not be deceived, we are today in the midst of a Cold War." Walter Lipman picked up the term 'Cold War' and popularised it in 1947 with his little book by the same name wherein he described the situation that had arisen between the western powers and the Soviet Union. The 'Cold War' has been defined by Florence Elliott and Michael Summerskill in a Dictionary of Politics as "a state of tension between countries in which each side adopts policies designed to strengthen itself and weaken the other, line following short of actual hot war." Joseph Frankel says, "The Cold War may be regarded as a sparring match between the the giant states, a succession of moves and of counter-moves.

Cold War embraces all phenomena pertaining to the conflict between communism and democratic ideologies as well as the protagonists, the Soviet Union and the United States and the two blocks led by the Super Powers; nuclear deterrence is an important strategic aspect of the situation. As the term most aptly expresses, it is neither peace nor war, a conflict which cannot be easily ended by mutual compromise and accommodation or by the use of force, as conflicts were traditionally settled in the past. "An per K. P.S. Menon, "Cold War as the world has experienced was a war between two ideologies (Capitalism and Communism), two systems (bourgeois democracy and proletarian dictatorship), two blocs (NATO and Warsaw Pact), two states (the USA and the USSR) and two personalities (John Foster Dulles and Stalin). In fact, Cold War has been basically a war of nerves between the USA and the USSR but its effects have been so widespread that we can describe the post-war era of international relations as an era of Cold War. "As a concept of international relations, Cold War denotes a state of constant conflict and strife, maintained and perpetuated without a direct armed conflict between the antagonists.

It has also been defined as "a state of intensive competition, political, economic and ideological, which yet fall below the threshold of armed conflict between states." "The Cold War was a bipolar conflict in which both the sides attempted, without direct negotiations, to apply pressure by holding modern armaments on each other in order to dominate the other. Each such attempt was interpreted by the other side in the light of its own policy and led to retaliation, which in turn provoked further hostile responses from other side.

Characteristics of Cold War.

(1) Cold War was a complete breakdown of relations between former war-time allies, a breakdown so complete that although each responded and paralleled other's actions, there was no attempt to achieve a political dialogue and to reach settlement in the conflict.

(2) The Cold War was the development of a big arms race between the two blocs.

Because of the discovery of the atom bomb, nuclear weapons were acquired in huge numbers by both the blocs making the Cold War a very dangerous type of conflict in the world.

(3) The Cold War between the Super Powers did not confine itself to one particular region like Europe or Asia but extended to almost all parts of the world.

In their efforts to expand their spheres of influence for political or strategic, ideological and economic reasons, the USA and the USSR began to intervene in the conflict of other countries to gain whatever advantage they could.

Nature.

The nature of Cold War is the sharp diplomatic confrontation, propaganda war, economic warfare and war by proxy in the small areas without direct major military conflict. Cold War is a diplomatic war. In a Cold War peace time diplomatic relations are maintained while the hostilities continue at the same time. Cold War creates a feeling that at any time a hot war may burst out. Cold War was the result of the tension resulting from the formation of two blocs namely East and West. Cold War was neither peace nor war. It was an ideological war, a propaganda war, and a diplomatic war, but not a state of armed struggle.

Assumptions of Cold War.

The Cold War was based on a number of assumptions.

They are :

(1) The real threat to the world peace was posed by the military strength of Soviet Union.

(2) The inevitability of conflict between the socialist and capitalist states, which prompted the states of both the blocs to keep themselves in a condition of constant preparedness for a final show down.

(3) No cooperation is possible between states with different social systems.

(4) Western tendency to equate all socialist movements with subversion.

(5) The struggle between West and East is a struggle between freedom and tyranny.

Origin of Cold War.

"The emergence of Cold War", as per Desmond Domelly, was "due to the power struggle in the Central Asia between the rival imperialism of Britain and Russia in the 19th century." Some scholars place the Cold War as far back as the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917. Even Frederick L. Schuman opined that "At all events what we have long been the 'Cold War' did not begin in 1945." In a broader sense it began with the second Russian Revolution of 1917 within the months after Russia's October Revolution, Soviet Union and the West were at War. According to Phillip Windsor, "In a sense, indeed, the Cold War began in 1939, when the prospect of a war involving Germany and all the major European powers determined the Nazi-Soviet Pact. 'George Kennon, American Ambassador in Moscow, urged the United States to adopt a firm

policy towards the Soviet Union through a secret cablegram in February, 1946. Some official Soviet versions of the Cold War would attribute the origin of Cold War in Sir Winston Churchill's speech of March, 5, 1946, wherein he said "If the western democracies stand together in strict adherence to the principles of the United' Character, their for furthering those principles will immense and no one is likely to molest them. if however, they become divided or fail slip away -second world war phenomenon.

causes for the Emergence of Cold War .

The main factors which contributed to the rise of Cold War were as follows :.

- (1) Soviet Union tried to increase its influence in Eastern Europe in violation of the terms of Yalta Agreement.
- (2) In the Balkans also Soviet Union tried to establish communist governments despite of an understanding with Britain regarding their spheres of influence in the Balkans.
- (3) Russia extended support to the communists to pull down legally constituted government in Greece which soon engulfed the country in a Civil War.
- (4) Soviet Union brought undue pressure on Turkey to modify the Straits Convention and demanded certain territories.
- (5) The attitude adopted by Soviet Union towards Germany also greatly contributed to Cold War.
- (6) Refusal of the USA and Western Powers to accord recognition to the governments of Bulgaria and Rumania.
- (7) Frequent use of veto powers by the USSR during the initial years of the working of the United Nations.
- (8) The unnecessary obstacles put by Soviet Union in the way of conclusion of peace treaties.
- (9) Bitter criticism of the capitalist system and vociferous propaganda against the USA.
- (10) The unnecessary delay by the western powers in opening the second front during the Second World War and the consequential losses suffered by the USSR.
- (11) The secrecy of Atom Bomb possession by the USSR.
- (12) Abrupt termination of lend lease aid.
- (13) Refusal of Soviet Russia to call back her forces from Iran.
- (14) Declaration of Anti-Communist Policy by Churchill.
- (15) Formation of Cominform by Russia against American Marshall Plan.

The Cold War started in 1945 and ended in 1991 when the USSR was split into 15 independent nations.

All these nations have now adopted democracy and capitalism in place of communism. Privatization took place in state-owned enterprises in these states. Further, the Russian state proposed to join NATO in July, 1994 Thus East-West conflict came to an end with the collapse of the USSR at the end of 1991.

Impact or Effects or Implications of Cold War.

- (1) The phantom of Cold War had created an atmosphere of fear psychosis which generated a mad race for manufacturing of nuclear armaments. Both the blocs were viewing each other to be ahead of the other in acquiring more sophisticated nuclear armaments.
- (2) The Cold War has given rise to permanent types of alliances which are concluded much in advance of war. NATO, SEATO, CENTO and the Warsaw Pact were also formed in the wake of Cold War. This alignment system covers most countries of the world. Thus, Cold War had led to alignment system even during the peace times and constant efforts are made to strengthen them.
- (3) The Cold War has complicated the chances of achieving the objective of one world. The mutual rivalry between the Super Powers had reduced the United Nations to a simple forum of deliberations. It prevented certain countries to become members of UN.
- (4) The Cold War made both the Super Powers to spend huge amounts to acquire sophisticated nuclear weapons. This had led to diversion of money from national developmental plans to the building up armaments. In this process, both the countries are armed to the teeth.
- (5) The Cold War has affected the world economy as well. The smaller countries which are relatively poor and Possess limited resources cannot afford to enter the race for armaments.
- (6) It gave greater freedom of action to small and middle Powers. Each group tries to win them over. The influence which the Afro-Asian countries are able to exert in the UN is well know.

Causes for ending of Cold War.

The causes for the end of the Cold War are as follows .:

- (1) Establishment of trade relations between the states of the West Europe has become more essential. This was profitable to both sides.
- (2) Competition in nuclear weapons has become too heavy on economical undertaking.
- (3) The influence of the USA over western states had come down.

In this same way, Russian influence over eastern states had come down.

- (4) Differences which arose between Russia and China made the USSR weak morally.

NON-ALIGNMENT

Meaning of Non-Alignment.—M. Gandhi has used the term 'non-alignment' in his book 'India's Foreign Policy' which was published in 1951. Michael Brecher says that Krishna Menon claimed of having used this term for the first time in the U.N. in 1953-54. There is Yugoslav theory that the word 'non-alignment' first officially originated in 1956 at Colombo.

The western scholars like Hans. J. Morgenthau, George Liska and Lawrence W. Martian and others have preferred the term 'neutral' to 'non-alignment'. George Schwarzenberger refers to a number of terms like isolationism, non-commitment, neutrality, neutralisation, unilateralism and non-involvement which are often taken as synonymous with the non-alignment. However, Schwarzenberger says that 'non-alignment' and the above synonyms do not mean the same thing and they fundamentally differ.

Non-alignment is a policy of keeping out of alliances in general and military pacts in particular. The foreign policy followed by independent nations without joining the military alliances of western states

arranged by the USA or the military alliances of communist-states under the USSR, is known as the policy of non-alignment. The group of these nations is also called the 'Third World Group'.

Non-alignment means efforts to retain independence of thought, judgment and action under conditions of cold-war which generated military alliance and agreements of all sorts. Its purpose is to enlarge the areas of peace and cooperation. So essence of non-alignment lies in the freedom and independence of a country to judge each issue as it arises on its own merits, as it affects the national interests of the country concerned and the interest of peace in the world but not on the basis of a pre-determined attitude because of alignment with one great power or another. The policy of not aligning with any bloc, but at the same time being friendly to everyone, so that it might be possible to exercise in international relations a moderating influence, came to be known as non-alignment. Thus, the policy of non-alignment is based on the principles of detachment from military blocs and faith in the solution of international disputes through mutual cooperation. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru justifies this policy and says, "By aligning ourselves with any one power, you surrender your opinion, give up the policy you would normally pursue because somebody else wants you to pursue another policy. I do not think that it would be a right policy for us to adopt. If we did align ourselves we would only fall between two stools. We will neither be following the policy based on our ideals inherited from our past or the one indicated by our present nor will be able easily to adopt ourselves to the new policy consequent on such alignment."

Factors Responsible for or Reasons for Promoting the Non-Alignment

(1) Nationalism.—Many states of Asia, Africa and Latin America attained independence after hard struggle against the colonial and imperialist powers. Naturally they were very keen to preserve their newly won freedom and were over suspicious of any action which posed a threat to their independence. They wanted to preserve their sovereignty and independence. They were also keen to acquire a place in the world Council as free and equal members.

(2) Anti-Colonialism.—The anti-colonial feeling which persisted in the countries of Asia and Africa even after the attainment of freedom also largely contributed to the growth of policy of non-alignment. These powers were afraid that they may be again subjugated by the colonial powers and were, therefore, determined to keep-off from these colonial powers. This could be possible by avoiding membership of both the blocs and adopting an independent course of action by keeping out of all sorts of alliances.

(3) Under-development and Economic Aid.—Most of the countries of Asia and Africa who gained independence were poor and underdeveloped. Their immediate aim is to improve the standard of living of their people and promote systematic development of their country. For attainment of this objective they have to desist from arms production and concentrate on more productive industrial activities. It was also essential to keep off from the international tension. As they needed capital and financial assistance from the powers of both the blocs to achieve their objectives of development, they thought it proper to keep off from political alignments and pursue a policy of non-alignment.

(4) Racial and cultural aspects.—For a long time colonial powers had fed the Afro-Asian nations with the idea that they were racially as well as culturally backward and inferior. This feeling proved to be boon in disguise and evoked mutual sympathy among the people of the newly emerged states of Asia and Africa. Being victims of common economic exploitation and political domination by the European nations they felt a sense of affinity and decided to cooperate with the each other.

(5) Need of peace for development.—The newly independent states wanted peace in the world so that they could concentrate on their development. Consequently, they decided to keep off from the military alliances and the two power blocs.

(6) Strong leadership.—The presence of strong leadership in the newly independent states of Asia and Africa also played an important role in the growth of non-alignment. Leaders like Nehru, Naser, Tito, Sukarano, Nkrumah, Unu etc. have been associated with the independence struggle in their respective countries and came to occupy dominant position in their respective governments after independence. They were not willing to join hands with the former imperialist powers and preferred to become non-aligned.

(7) Presence of U.N.—The U.N. provided a forum to a large number of independent states, which emerged in the post-World War II period to express themselves on the various issues, on terms of equality with big powers. This made it possible for these states to adopt independent foreign policy.

Motives or Features of Non-alignment

(1) Concern for world peace.—

Non-alignment is concerned with the maintenance of peace in the world. They are of the view that war instead of solving problems, tends to aggregate them. They are against the use of force in settling international disputes.

(2) Against racial discrimination.—

The non-aligned nations have been opposed to the policy of racial discrimination by the imperialist powers and also condemned the racist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia.

(3) Faith in Socialism.—

Most of the non-aligned nations are underdeveloped, they believed in planning, nationalisation and government intervention with a view to overcome their backwardness. They are mostly for equal distribution of national income among the people. They favour some form of planning as a means to an expanding egalitarian economy.

(4) Revolutionary approach in domestic sphere.—

The non-aligned nations have adopted somewhat revolutionary approach to secure economic freedom to their people.

(5) Apathy to power balance system.—

As the Afro-Asian countries wanted to concentrate on their economic development they were naturally apathetic to the western nations of power balance with alliances etc.

(6) Great emphasis on defence.—

The non-aligned nations nourished a great fear of aggression from the former colonial powers and therefore spent enormous amounts on their defence.

(7) Dissociation from military alliances.—

Non-alignment stands for dissociation from military alliances that came into existence as a result of rivalry between the super-powers.

(8) Achievement of national interest.—

The non-aligned nations believe that the existence of a nation depends upon seeking its own national interest.

(9) Synthesis of national interest and internationalism.—

Promotion of national interest keeping in view the achievement of peace in the world means that non-alignment is a synthesis of nationalism and internationalism.

(10) Seeking economic assistance.—

All the nations of non-alignment were under-developed and they could develop their economy only through economic and technical assistance from the industrially developed countries.

(11) Independence of judgment on international issues.—

The most characteristic feature of the non-aligned is the independence of judgment which the non-aligned countries enjoy on international issues.

(12) Democratic approach in international relations.—

Non-aligned countries believe in a democratic approach to international relations by all the countries of the world.

(13) Establishment of new International Economic Order.—

The non-aligned countries plea for replacement of the existing old system by a New International Economic System for the development of the states of South.

DIPLOMACY

Diplomacy is a part and parcel of international relations. Foreign policy comes into action only through diplomacy.

Foreign Policy and Diplomacy

By making a foreign policy, government of every state participates in international politics and maintains interstate relations. One of the major instruments or techniques of executing foreign policy is diplomacy. Further the diplomats are the personnel or state officials who practise method or technique of diplomacy in day-to-day international affairs and in achieving foreign policy goals. Though the terms foreign policy and diplomacy are used interchangeably and are inter-dependent yet these are technically different. Foreign policy is the business of governments (top political leaders as policy makers such as head of government, cabinet ministers, parliament; and top foreign ministry bureaucrats and advisors) whereas diplomacy is the job of trained officials (diplomats such as envoys, ambassadors, high commissioners, charge d'affairs, counsellors, secretaries, attaches; consuls general, consuls, consular agents etc.). The former is substance, the latter is method. J.R. Childs has made a similar distinction between the two. In his words, the foreign policy of a state is "the substance of foreign relations" whereas "diplomacy proper is the process by which policy is carried out."¹

Notwithstanding the above distinction both are interdependent and complementary in this complex contemporary world. The foreign policy making is closely related to one important function of diplomacy that is reporting and negotiation. The feed-back and reports received from ambassadors by the home government as well as negotiations carried on simultaneously at different world capitals and the UNO greatly influence its foreign policy decisions. This way diplomacy plays important role in foreign policy decision-making process. On the other hand in these days politicians not only frame foreign policy but at times conduct negotiations, participate in summits and conferences and actively indulge in diplomacy of foreign visits. These functions of policy makers are akin to roles of diplomats. Moreover, the policy makers continue to monitor the progress of diplomats in respect of the accomplishment of objectives determined by them and give necessary help wanted by the latter.

Meaning and Definition

To achieve foreign policy objectives and to fulfil national interests, governments, communicate with those whose actions and behaviour they wish to deter, change or reinforce. No doubt very quick and sophisticated means of communication are available in this scientific world yet centuries old formal diplomatic channels are used by governments in addition to direct communication between foreign ministers and heads of state. That is why Frankel defines diplomacy as “the business of communicating between governments.”² Similarly Lerche and Said define diplomacy as “a technique of state action... whereby communications from one government go directly into the decision-making apparatus of another ... If the operational purpose of policy is to secure the agreement of other states to national designs, it is only by diplomatic means that such assent can be formally registered and communicated. In this sense, diplomacy, is the central technique of foreign policy.”

The Oxford English Dictionary, offers the following definition of diplomacy: “the management of international relations by negotiation; the method by which these relations are adjusted and “ managed by ambassadors and envoys; the business or art of the diplomatist.” According to the Chamber’s Twentieth Century Dictionary, diplomacy is “the art of negotiation, especially of treaties between states; political skill.”

In the words of Panikkar, an Indian diplomat, “Diplomacy, used in relation to international politics is the art of forwarding one’s interests in relation to other countries.” In this art diplomat has “to yield as little and gain as much as possible”, in the interest of his country, “diplomacy involves a pitting of wits against each other.”

“Diplomacy” defines Sir Ernest Satow “is the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between the governments of independent states.”

Harold Nicolson, a great scholar and practitioner of diplomacy in the twentieth century explains five different meanings of the word diplomacy. These are (1) as a synonym for foreign policy, (2) as negotiation, (3) the machinery by which such negotiation is carried out, (4) as a branch of the foreign service, and (5) as “an abstract quality or gift, which, in its best sense, implies skill in the conduct of international negotiation; and, in its worst sense, implies the more guileful aspects of tact.”⁶ However, finally he also accepts the above mentioned definition given by the Oxford English Dictionary.

Quincy Wright explains at two levels. In the popular sense it means the tact, shrewdness, skill and intelligence with which negotiations are carried out; in the specific sense it means “the art of negotiation, in order to achieve the maximum of groups objectives with a minimum of costs, within a system of politics in which war is a possibility.”⁷

Nature and Characteristics of Diplomacy

From the above definitions it may be deduced that the nature of diplomacy consists of the following:

1. It is a technique of implementing foreign policy.
2. Diplomacy is a channel or business of communicating between governments.
3. It is a method of adjusting and managing inter-state relations.
4. It is the art of forwarding nation’s interests.
5. It is a quality or skill of international negotiation.
6. It is a bargaining game aiming at achieving maximum and giving minimum.

7. It requires tact, intelligence, shrewdness and wit.
8. It implies both compromise and threat, persuasion and penalty, reward and punishment, carrot and stick and so on.
9. It is workable and useful both in peace and war.
10. For successful and effective working it requires trained and professional diplomats.

CLASSIFICATION OF DIPLOMATS

In a technical and professional sense diplomacy includes two types of personnel: (i) diplomatic officers and (ii) consular officers.

(i) Diplomatic personnel. The Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (1961) divided the heads of diplomatic missions into three general categories. The first category comprises ambassadors and high commissioners; the second comprises Envoys extra-ordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary; and the third category is made of charges d'affaires. The diplomats of first two categories are accredited (officially presented) to the head of the host state whereas charges d'affaires are accredited to the foreign minister or secretary of the state of the host country.

A good number of diplomatic officials who work under the above in mission or embassy are (1) counsellors of embassy or legation who rank highest among diplomatic staff. (2) secretaries of an embassy or legation, usually ranked as first, second and third secretaries; and (3) attache's who may be junior career officers or noncareer persons serving on a temporary basis.

(ii) Consular personnel. Related to the diplomatic function is the consular function and services. Consular functions (codified in the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations, 1963) include processing and issuing entry and exit visas, facilitating commercial and other activities related to investment, processing ships' papers, and providing information about the home state to all interested parties. Consuls are divided into five classes: (1) Consul general; (2) Consuls; (3) Vice consuls of career; (4) Vice consuls not of career; and (5) Consular agents. Consular personnel enjoy less diplomatic privileges and immunities than diplomatic personnel in the host country.

Functions of Diplomacy

Owing to the revolution in communications and growing trend of direct diplomacy between Heads of State and politicians the traditional functions of diplomacy have changed and diminished. Despite this change diplomacy in contemporary times has assumed new role and significance in many ways. In addition to the main role of diplomats in bargaining and communicating information, they perform several other functions which are discussed below:

(1) Representation.

The diplomat represents his country abroad. This representation is of three types—symbolic, legal and political. As his country's symbolic representative he attends a number of ceremonies and functions such as Independence Day, Republic Day parades etc. As legal representative he casts his vote at international conferences on behalf of his government. As political representative, the diplomat is to sell the foreign policy of his country and project 'a favourable image of his country. "Whether in agriculture, medicine, music, physics, or military policies, if their government has some stake in a project, diplomats must symbolise that stake by their physical presence and continuing concern. In their symbolic capacity, ambassadors are concerned with the totality of relations—whether political or not—between their own country and the one to which they have been sent,"⁸ summarizes Holsti.

(2) Negotiation.

The second important function of diplomats is negotiating. It involves the transmission of messages between the foreign ministries of the home and the host states. Diplomats are mainly negotiators. Negotiation is the pursuit of agreement by compromise, bargaining and direct personal contact. Their function is to draft a wide variety of bilateral and multilateral agreements, treaties, conventions, protocols and other documents of a political, social and economic nature. Development in communication has reduced the role of the diplomat as negotiator, but the function of negotiation continues. Now mostly this role is performed by Heads of State/government and foreign ministers. As a negotiator diplomat is to bargain and strike a balance between 'giving what is asked and getting what is wanted.' Success in negotiation depends upon several factors such as preparation of agenda, maintenance of due secrecy, the spirit of compromise and the strength of military or economic power backing it. '

(3) Obtaining Information.

According to Holsti, "information and data are the raw materials of foreign policy, the gathering of information—by official acts, at cocktail parties, or by covert means—is the most important task of the diplomat aside from his or her bargaining activities. Precise information must be made available to those who formulate policy if there is to be a minimum discrepancy between the objective environment and the image of the environment held by policy makers."⁹ Only a resident diplomat can have the real feel of the political, economic, social and other conditions prevailing in the host foreign country.

(4) Reporting.

After gathering information next step is reporting the same to the home country. The way he interprets the obtained information and sends the same to home greatly helps his home country taking an effective decision. For instance, economic attache's will send reports to their home offices on balance of payments, growth rates, inflation and unemployment of the host state and trade and investment opportunities therein. Political officers usually report on the structures, processes and personalities of political movements and political parties in the host country. Relative electoral strength of different parties, their personalities, their friendliness or hostility towards the home state are also regularly reported. Military attache's send information regarding the host country's military force; the quality of its military leadership, military equipment, weapon system, strategic, military installations, tactical sites etc. Reports about religious activities, youth affairs, class structures, vital social statistics, ethnic, religious and social group activities are of great significance to political, economic and military analysis.

(5) Protection of Nationals and National Interest.

The diplomat has to protect the nationals of his country resident in the land in which he is stationed. He has to safeguard the interests of businessmen and other nationals who are living or travelling abroad and to prevent any sort of discrimination against them in foreign land. During catastrophes or civil disorders, the role of diplomat becomes more crucial. "Nationals have to be protected or evacuated, if necessary, they must be represented by legal counsel if jailed, and their property or other interests abroad must be protected if the local government does not provide such service,"¹⁰ explains Holsti. The diplomats has to look after national interests as interpreted by policy makers and according to treaties and principles of international law. To promote own country's interests diplomat usually seeks to strengthen relations with friendly countries and neutralizes force hostile to itself.

(6) Making Policies.

These days diplomats also provide advice to makers of foreign policy and occasionally take significant policy decisions themselves. "All diplomats serve in a sense as policy makers, because they provide a large portion of the information upon which policy is based. A principal contribution of diplomats in the policy-making process thus comes from their skill of interpretation and judgement about conditions in the country to which they are accredited," observes Holsti. But their advice or warnings are not always considered or heeded by the top politicians that matter in their home countries.

(7) The Substantive Functions.

In the opinion of Poullada, "there are both substantive and procedural aspects" of the functions of diplomacy.

Five substantive functions of diplomacy, according to him are:

- i. conflict management,
- ii. problem solving,
- iii. cross-cultural interaction,
- iv. negotiation and bargaining, and
- v. program management. "

In order to perform these substantive functions the diplomat uses certain procedural arts and crafts such as the refinements of protocol, diplomatic drafting, press relations, yes, and even gastronomy,"

Instruments and Techniques of Diplomacy

There are number of instruments and techniques of diplomacy that may be employed to achieve the goals of foreign policy. Kautilya, the ancient Indian master of statecraft and diplomacy has given four instruments of diplomacy that may be employed singly or jointly in a given situation. These are sama-reconciliation or negotiation, dana - giving gift or concession, danda-punishment and Wzeda-creating dissension. Similarly many modern writers are of the opinion that states usually adopt three basic mode of behaviour to achieve diplomatic objectives—cooperation, accommodation and opposition. Lerche and Said have put forward the following four techniques of diplomacy:

1. Coercion.

Coercive moves made by other means are communicated diplomatically. In many cases, rupture of diplomatic relations has a coercive element, as does exclusion of the target state from international conferences or organizations. Coercion may also be applied in negotiation by an ultimatum, by establishment of a rigid time limit for the conclusion of an arrangement, or by the registration of a formal or informal protest or complaint.

2. Persuasion.

The advancement of arguments and the proffering of quid pro quo, both persuasive devices, are within the exclusive province of diplomatic technique. While the actual line between coercion and persuasion is very thin, and the two techniques of tenly mix with each other, there is a real difference in both motivation and atmosphere, and most diplomatic initiatives are at least initially cast in persuasive form.

3. Adjustment.

Diplomacy is an art of give and take. Adjustment is admirably suited to the task of enabling two states to modify their positions on an issue in order to reach a stable relationship. Its directions of communication, its potentially non-coercive nature, and its subtlety and flexibility all contribute to its usefulness. However, the adjustment function of diplomacy is effective only if both parties are amenable to negotiation and give and take; nothing in the diplomatic instrument can overcome a state's rigidity or unwillingness to change a policy.

4. Agreeinent.

Diplomacy is a technique for reaching agreement. Usually it is believed that diplomacy is the art of negotiating written agreements. Agreement may involve coercion, persuasion, or adjustment, and that no agreement is possible unless both parties wish it. Formal written agreements are the most binding structures on international commitment offered by international politics, and can be reached only by diplomatic means.

Good Diplomacy and Ideal Diplomat

Effectiveness and goodness of diplomacy depends upon the qualities and abilities of diplomats. A good number of scholars from ancient to present times have endeavoured to point out the qualities of an ideal diplomat. Indian ancient scholar Kautilya was of the opinion that an ideal diplomat should belong to a noble family and be skilful, possessed of a good memory, eloquent, honest and loyal to his own prince. Ottaviano Maggi in his work *De Legato* (1596) contended that an ambassador should be trained theologian, should be well versed in Aristotle and Plato, and should be able to solve the abstruse problems in correct dialectical form. Sometimes it was demanded that 'a handsome youngman with a good complexion', or 'a capacity for absorbing without derangement vast quantities of intoxicating liquor' was considered essential in an envoy. No doubt these qualities are now not considered essential.

In 1716 Monsieur de Callieres in his treatise on diplomacy gave a list of qualities of a good diplomat, which are recognized even today. Instead of deception, deceit and intrigue, de Callie' res stresses integrity, continuity, good faith, and confidential but honest negotiation by professional diplomats. Two hundreds years after Callie' res, M. Jules Camleon also expressed the similar opinion. According to Camleon essential qualifications of a diplomat are moral authority, personal credibility, genial personality, compromising ability and lack of hotheadedness. K. Anatoliev believes that circumspection and an ability to evoke and maintain confidence are perhaps the most important qualities that an ideal diplomat should possess. By circumspection he means not to display hastiness in the assessment of various phenomena, in the policy of a country.

An authority on diplomacy, Nicolson¹⁶ has enumerated the following seven qualities of an ideal diplomat which are widely acclaimed.

1. Truthfulness.

By this Nicolson means "not merely abstention from conscious misstatements, but a scrupulous care to avoid the suggestion of the false or the suppression of the true." It enhances an ambassador's long-range credibility and subsequent effectiveness.

2. Precision.

This means 'not merely intellectual accuracy but moral accuracy.' The diplomat should be accurate both in 'mind and soul.' Intellectual accuracy is the faithful description of the reality perceived by the ambassador. Moral accuracy is the ability of ambassadors to express their views boldly and to avoid providing the home office with ambiguous or politically agreeable reports.

3. Calm.

He should avoid “displaying irritation when confronted by the stupidity, dishonesty, brutality or conceit,” and eschew all personal animosities, predilections, prejudices and exaggerations.

4. Good Temper.

He should be able to keep his temper under complete control at all times. A display of anger, for example, is regarded as a betrayal of weakness.

5. Patience.

Nicolson considers it an indispensable quality for the successful negotiator, and he quotes the words of French Ambassador M. Jules Camleon, “the wind is bound to be contrary at times, and then one has to tack to get into port.”¹⁷

6. Modesty.

Modesty is a central quality. He should avoid variety and should not be flattered by or, worse, boast about their diplomatic victories and successes.

7. Loyalty.

loyalty that will prompt him to tell his government what it ought to know rather than what it wants to hear. And finally Nicolson reminds us the qualities of intelligence, charm, industry and courage and even tact.

UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION (UNO)

Origin of the UNO

The League of Nations did not prevent the outbreak of wars or the invasion of one country by another. While the Second World War was in full swing, the Allied powers, for political and psychological reasons, felt the necessity for creating a new international organisation better than the League of Nations for preventing the loss of property and lives and for establishing peace. The following efforts were made for the establishment of the United Nations Organisation (UNO).

Objectives of the UNO

The objectives of the United Nations are enshrined in the Preamble to the Charter. There are four major objectives :

- (1) To save the succeeding generations from the scourge of war.
- (2) To reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the work and dignity of human person and equal rights of men, women and nations large and small.
- (3) To establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained;
- (4) To promote social progress and better standard of life in larger freedom.

These objectives envisage a better and peaceful life to the people of the world through practising tolerance and living together in peace and harmony with one another. This spirit has facilitated the emergence of the concept of peaceful co-existence among the states despite political, economic and ideological differences prevailing between them. The Preamble envisages the principle of collective security to maintain international peace and security.

Purposes of the UNO

The purposes of the UNO are set forth in Article 1 of the Charter—These are :

- (i) Maintenance of international peace and security;
- (ii) Development of friendly relations among nations;
- (iii) International cooperation in solving problems of economic, social, cultural and humanitarian nature; promotion and encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; and
- (iv) To be a centre for harmonising the actions of nations to achieve the above ends.

Principles of the UNO

The UNO acts in accordance with the following principles as envisaged in Article 2 of the Charter in order to fulfill the purposes for which the UNO was established :

- (i.) The organisation is based on the principles of the sovereign equality of all its members;
- (ii) All members shall fulfil in good faith the obligation they have assumed under the Charter;
- (iii) They shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means;
- (iv) They shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of United Nations;
- (v) They shall give the United Nations every assistance with the Charter, and to refrain from giving assistance to any state against which the organisation is taking preventive or enforcement action;
- (vi) The United Nations is to ensure that non-member act in accordance with these principles so far as is necessary for maintaining international peace and solidarity;
- (vii) The organisation shall not intervene in matters essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state This provision shall not, however, prejudice the application of enforcement action with respect to threats to the peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression.

Membership:

there are two kinds of membership-original and new. According to Article 3 of the Charter, the original members of the U.N. shall be the states which having participated in the U.N. Conference on International Organisation at San Francisco, or having previously signed the Declaration by U.N. of January 1, 1942, sign the present Charter and ratify it in accordance with Article 110.

In all 51 states are regarded as original members. Article 4 of the Charter states that membership in the U.N. is open to all other peace-loving states (beside 51 signatories) which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organisation, are able and willing to carry out these obligation. The admission of any such state to membership in the U.N. will be affected by a decision of the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. Any prospective country desiring to become member must submit an application including a declaration that it accepts the obligations envisaged in the Charter. New members are admitted by two thirds vote of the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council. Membership becomes effective on the date the Assembly accepts the application. At present 192 states have membership in the UNO (in 2007).

Suspension and Expulsion of Membership

According to Article 5 of the Charter, a member of the U.N. against which preventive or enforcement action has been taken by the Security Council may be suspended from the exercise of the rights and privileges of membership by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. The exercise of these rights and privileges may be restored by the Security Council. Article 6 of the Charter states that a member of the United Nations which has persistently violated the principles contained in the present Charter may be expelled from the organisation by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. The Security Council recommends the admission of a state and the General Assembly decides to admit or refuse and also suspend or expel the members. The requirement of unanimity among the big five on the question of admission created hardships in the admission of new members due to cold war situation.

Principal Organs of the United Nations Organisation

The United Nations may be simply defined as an organisation of independent States which have accepted the obligations contained in the United Nations Charter signed at San Francisco on June 26, 1945. There are six principal (main) organs of the UNO. They are :

- (i) General Assembly;
- (ii) Security Council;
- (iii) Economic Social Council-
- (iv) Trusteeship Council;
- (v) Secretariat; and
- (vi) International Court of Justice.

General Assembly

The chief organ of the UNO is the General Assembly. All states who are members of the UNO have membership in this Assembly. Each member sends upto five delegates to the General Assembly but only one has the right to vote based on the principle of equality of states. The General Assembly elects a President who, by convention does not belong to any permanent member state and Vice-Presidents every year. The President presides over the session and regulates debate. The Assembly meets once a year for three to four months starting from the third Tuesday in September every year. Extraordinary or special session can be convened on the request of a majority of states or by the Security Council. Emergency sessions can be convened to discuss any specified problem that may arise. The General Assembly decides its own international rules and regulations.

Security Council of the UNO Composition

Security Council is the most important organ of the U.N.O. It is called the 'Enforcement Wing' of the UNO. It is a much smaller body than the General Assembly. It consists of fifteen (originally eleven) members of the UNO. China, France, Russia, the U.K. and the USSR are the permanent Members of the Security Council. The General Assembly shall elect ten (originally six) other Members of the UNO to be non-permanent members of the Security Council for a term of two years. The non-permanent members are not eligible for immediate re-election. While electing, due regard being paid to the contribution of the members of the U.N. to the maintenance of international peace and security and to other purposes of the organisations and also to equitable geographical distribution. (Five from Afro-Asian nations,

one from Eastern Europe, two from Latin America and two from Western Countries as per Gentlemen's Agreement). Each member of the Security Council has one representative on the Council. Every month one member of the Security Council acts as President. Those act as Presidents every month based on the list of members arranged in alphabetical order in English while the Security Council is considering a matter pertaining to a particular state which is not a member of the Security Council its representative is permitted to participate in the proceedings of the Council but does not enjoy the right to vote. The Security Council does not have fixed sessions; it meets as and when necessary. Its organisation and powers are such that it must be able to take quick decisions and action. However, it meets periodically as well even without being requested by any member state. Every member state of Security Council has a permanent representative resident in New York. So many changes have been taken place since the inception of the UNO. The number of countries has increased. The USSR has been split into 15 countries. Japan, Germany, and India have become giant economic powers in the world. There is pressure on the UNO to increase the number of permanent members by including Japan Germany, India, Brazil etc. depending upon the population, economy, technology etc.

The Economic and Social Council of the UNO

Purpose of International Economic and Social Cooperation With a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well being which are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self determination of peoples, the U.N. shall promote : (a) higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development; (b) solutions of international economic, social health, and related problems and international cultural and educational cooperation; and (c) universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion. To discharge the economic and social functions of the UNO the organ, 'Economic and Social Council' has been constituted working under the authority of the General Assembly. The Economic and Social Council seeks to build a world of greater prosperity, stability and justice. It is this organ which directs and coordinates the economic and social works of the UN and related agencies.

The Trusteeship Council of the UNO

Mandatory system in the League of Nations has been converted into the Trusteeship Council of the UNO. The Trusteeship Council is constituted differently from the Mandates Commission, under the League of Nations. The Trusteeship Council is composed of Member States, whereas the Members of the Mandate Commission were expert appointed by the League of Nations and were representatives of their governments. The Trusteeship Council is a more vigorous body than the Mandates Commission, but it is also more political. Under the League the supervision of the Mandate System lay with the Council, assisted by the Permanent Mandates Commission, the deliberate decision was taken at San Francisco to set-up a special organ to deal with trusteeship and, moreover, an organ answerable to the Assembly rather than to the Security Council. The Trusteeship Council is answerable to the Security Council only to the extent that it assists the Security Council with functions relating to 'Strategic Areas'. The Trusteeship Council is created as a principal organ of the UN to administer some of the territories ruled by colonial powers to prepare these territories for self-government and independence. In all, eleven territories were placed under the system. The Trusteeship Council is placed under the authority of the General Body. The General Assembly decides upon the terms of trusteeship and the authority that ensues from these terms. The Trusteeship Council receives annual reports from the states entrusted with the administration of territories, receives petitions from individuals or groups in the trust territories and organises periodical visits to these territories. The Council in turn presents its reports to the General Assembly.

Secretariat of the U.N.O.

The Secretariat is the headquarters of the United Nations Organisation. The Article 7 of the Charter of U.N. has described the Secretariat as one of the 'principal organs' of the Organisation and Article 97 of the Charter of U.N. provides that "the Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary-General and such staff as the Organisation may require." The Secretary-General, as the head of the Secretariat, plays an important role both from the point of view of the day-to-day functioning of the organisation, and by virtue of his personal political action in international relations. The U.N. Secretariat now consists of more than ten thousand officials. The Secretariat services may be called an international civil service. The Secretary-General is the Chief administrative officer of the Secretariat. He shall be appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. This implies unanimity among the permanent members of the Security Council. As a matter of convention, the Secretary-General does not belong to the permanent member states of the Security Council. Though the General Assembly reserves the right to reject the name recommended by the Security Council it cannot make its own choice. In such a case the General Assembly has to wait until another candidate is recommended by the Security Council.

The International Court of Justice of the UNO

The International Court of Justice (ICJ) is the judicial arm of the UNO. It is one of the principal organs of the UNO. The statute of the International Court of Justice is based upon the statute of the Permanent Court of Justice of the League. The Statute of International Court of Justice is a part of the Charter of the UNO. All Members of the U.N. are *ipso facto* parties to the statute of International Court of Justice. A state which is not a member of the U.N. may become a party to the statute of International Court of Justice on condition to be determined in each case by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council. Each Member of the U.N. undertakes to comply with the decision of the International Court of Justice in any case to which it is a party. If any party to a case fails to perform the obligations incumbent upon it under judgment rendered by the Court, the other party may have recourse to the Security Council, which may, if it deems necessary, make recommendations or decide upon measures to be taken to give effect to the judgment. Nothing in the present Charter shall prevent members of the U.N. from entrusting the solution of their differences to other tribunals by virtue of agreements already in existence or which may be concluded in the future. In 1946, the ICJ succeeded the permanent Court of the League of Nations. The new court meets at the Hague in Netherlands in the same building as the old one and cites the judgments and opinions of its predecessor as readily as its own. Indeed two of the judges of the Permanent Court of Justice of League were elected to the new one.

The statute lays down that the Court shall consist of fifteen judges "elected regardless of their nationality from among persons of high moral character, who possess the qualifications required in their respective countries of appointment to the higher judicial offices, or are jurists, consultants of recognised competence in international law." Although the judges of the court are to be elected regardless of their nationality no two of them can be nationals of the same state. To ensure that no particular region dominates the court, it is provided that main forms of civilization and the principal legal system of the world shall be represented in the Court.

B.A. B.L. (HONS) DEGREE (SEMESTER) EXAMINATIONS
POLITICAL THEORY

Time : 2 1/2 Hours

Maximum: 70 Marks

Part – A

Answer any Two of the following in about 500 words each (2 X 2 = 24 marks)

1. Define Political Science, Discuss its, nature, scope and importance.
2. Critically analyse the social contract theory
3. What is National power and what are the limitations of national power

Part – B

Answer any Two of the following in about 300 words each (2 X 7 = 14 marks)

4. Examine the political ideas of Aristotle
5. Define State and its elements
6. Explain the merits and demerits of Monarchy

Part – C

Answer any five of the following (5 X 4 = 20 marks)

7. Explain Historical Approach
8. Enumerate the Patriarchal theory
9. List out the Rights and Duties of Citizen
10. Explain the Liberalism
11. What is Universal Adult Suffrage
12. Discuss the role of political parties
13. Economic Justice

Part – D

Answer any Six of the following very shortly (6 X 2 = 12 marks)

14. Aristotle
15. State of nature
16. Citizen
17. Political rights
18. Uni-cameral legislature
19. Marxism
20. Regional Party
21. Greek city-state