Principles of Political Science
For Graduate and Postgraduate Students of Indian Universities and also useful for Competitive Examinations

Dr. ANUP CHAND KAPUR

S. CHAND
PREFACE TO THE 21ST REVISED EDITION

The Twentieth Edition of this book received as wide reception and within a short span of just about two years there was a rapid succession of reprints which necessitated to bring out a fresh edition consolidating the entire text and give it a logical shape.

I am grateful to the learned teachers, at all levels, for their wide patronage in recommending the book to their students. I am equally grateful to my Publishers for their cooperation.

GOKAL NIWAS

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

There are some admirable textbooks on Political Science, yet I have ventured to bring out another volume on the subject. India having become a Sovereign and Independent Republic, the study of Political Science has acquired an added importance for all of us, particularly for students. Our students must be familiar with the complexity of the national and international problems, and must also cultivate a scientific and unbiased approach to all such problems. Students of today are the statement and administrators of tomorrow and they will have to use their best talents for making India a great nation.

In writing this book I do not claim any originality. My aim throughout has been to give students an easily intelligible exposition of the origin of the State and forms and types of government, and I have taken special pains to present impartially the different aspects of every question. I have illustrated the text, wherever necessary, with the actual working of the political institutions in different countries of the world, with special emphasis on Indian Administration—past and present—embracing, too, the provisions of the Draft Constitution of India. While doing so I have not been oblivious of the fact that the book is primarily intended to cater to the needs of the students offering Political Science as one of their elective subjects for the degree examination of Indian universities. The course covered, however, is substantially that prescribed by the Punjab University from 1950.

I have tried to consult the best available sources of information in respect of the various subjects dealt within the book. I take this opportunity to acknowledge my indebtedness to the great masters from whom I have borrowed so profusely. I also express my respectful feelings of gratitude to my teachers, Principal G.D. Sondhi, I.E.S. (Retd.), Dr. C.J. Chacko, now Principal, Saint Andrew’s College, Gorakhpur, Dr. J.N. Khosala, sometime Head of the Department of Political Science, Punjab University, now a member of the Indian Foreign Service, and Principal Sri Ram Sharma, D.A.V. College, Shoplapur, who inspired me with zeal for the study of Political Science, and always gave me their unflinching support, guidance and encouragement. My grateful thanks are due to Professor Dinanath Kak of my college for his indefatigable and ungrudging assistance in reading the manuscript of the book and for offering many valuable suggestions. In fact, the book owes many improvements in expression to him.

My wife, as in case of almost everything which I have ever published, has helped me in reading the proofs.

KAPURTHALA
April 15, 1950

Author
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PART I

The Nature and Origin of the State
Nature and Scope of Political Science

Nature of Political Science. Aristotle tells us a simple truth when he says, “He who is unable to live in society, or who has no need because he is sufficient for himself, must be either a beast or god.” It means that man is a social animal. He is born in society and lives in society. This is obviously for two reasons. Man is a very gregarious animal. He is easily affected by sympathy and the desire for sympathy. He prefers company to solitude. He admires and imitates others, and he likes to be admired and imitated. These social impulses aside, necessity also compels man to live a social life. No man is self-sufficient, and nature has not created one. His needs are many and purposes numerous. For the satisfaction of his diverse needs and the fulfilment of his various purposes, he must associate with his fellows and seek their cooperation. Such is the testimony of history. Here and there an individual or a family has subsisted apart from the rest of the human race, but that is an exception rather than a rule. The general rule is that men live, and always have lived, in social groups.

If man is social by nature, he is selfish and quarrelsome too. This aspect of the nature of man, and the instinct of living together and cooperating with one another require adjustment of behaviour according to some accepted rules. These rules prescribe a course of conduct based upon men’s need for one another. The first and the most important rule of social conduct is: “To do unto others as you would have others do unto you.” It means, that I should provide for others the same conditions of life as I wish for myself. If I wish to grow and prosper, I owe it to others that they, too, should have the same conditions of life as I wish for myself. When I allow others what I wish for myself, I recognise my obligations to others, while establishing my claims on others. Realization of this fact is a way of regulating human conduct. But all conduct in society must conform to certain set rules of common behaviour. The rules governing a society may be few or many. They can range from a few primitive traditions, handed down orally, from one generation to another, or to the whole complex set of constitutional and governmental regulations which we associate with the modern State.

A prerequisite of such a society is that it must be properly organised. An unorganised society is more a mob than a society and the mob is subject to no restraint. An organised society must also be territorially settled. People do not develop a community of interests unless they live a settled life occupying a definite territory distinct from other communities.
similarly organised. Mutual adjustment and cooperation, a life to share common weal and woe, is the *sine qua non* of a common life on a common land. Then, an organised society requires the presence of some individuals to enforce rules of universal application for uniform behaviour and ensure their observance. In the absence of such an agency, there is neither cohesion nor unity of purposes for which men had organised themselves and settled down territorially.

The society, thus organised, is called the *State*, rules which determine social conduct are the *laws* of the State and the individuals who enforce the laws and see that they are equally observed by all constitute its *government*. The subject that deals with man in relation to the State and its government is called *Political Science*. Political Science may be defined, in its simplest form, as the study of man in the process of governing himself.

**Is man a political animal?** An elementary starting point for all political theory, therefore, is the existential fact that members of the human species live together, whatever may be the elements of instinct, habit, necessity or choice that induce people to form societies. If man is a social animal, is he then necessarily a political animal? Aristotle said he is, and it has remained a generally accepted truth until recently. But opinion now veers round the belief that man is neither instinctively nor by learning necessarily a political animal. Adherents of this point of view, who are now many, particularly in the United States of America, admit that few people ever live outside the State. They also admit that the advantages of living together far outweigh the disadvantages. “Nonetheless, though human beings must and do live in political systems and share the benefits of political life, they do not necessarily participate in political life; they are not necessarily interested in politics, nor do they always care what happens in politics; nor know much about political events, or share in making decisions.”¹ In fact, in most States “the political stratum is a minority of the adult population. Moreover, those who are highly interested, concerned, informed, and active are an even smaller minority, within the political stratum.”² Political systems, they argue, are developed simply because human beings are social and as they cannot live together without entering into relationships of influence, consequently, “Whenever these relationships become stable and repetitive, political systems exist.”³

But this is exactly not so. The practice of politics is necessarily as old as society itself. It is born when men began to speculate about the rules of conduct by which they should be governed and matured with the succeeding generations when they began to ask whether these rules by which their ancestors were governed ought to be accepted, or ought to have been accepted in the past, why some societies choose different rules from others, whether it is possible to discover general rules of conduct which could or should be applicable to all societies. In answering these questions they go into the basic questions of purposes for which human societies exist and their relation to the purposes of human life itself. It is obviously a quest for a just and happy life for men assembled together in a territorially integrated society and, as such, the best form of relationship manifested in their governance that can ensure such a life. This quest has been incessantly going on

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