

# CSS TARGET

## Short notes for CSS Students **Political Science**



*CSS Time*  
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# Evolution of the State

## Stateless Societies of the Primitive times:

- (ii) Tribal Kingdoms: Patriarchal
- (iii) The Oriental Empires: River Nile, Sindh (Pharaoh)
- (iv) The Greek City states: (titled)
- (v) The Roman Empire: two classes = Fiefs - Serfs
- (vi) Feudal states: From the ashes of Roman Empire.  
- The Nobles & Princes of Germanic tribe.
- (v) Nation - state:

## \* Attitude towards the state:

- worshipped As Divine
- Contract between the Ruler and the Ruled.
- 19th Century  $\Rightarrow$  A necessary Evil (Liberals)

## \* Theory of the Origin of the state:

"Origins are always Obscure"

### (i) Theory of Divine Rights:

- King James - I, Sir Robert Filmer
- State is created by God, Kings are divinely appointed. To disobey king is not only a crime but a sin.

Criticism: Justifies oppression, misrule. Ignore Human reason and efforts. Explain Monarchy. Ignore succession of King.

### (ii) Theory of Force:

- Leacock
- Child of Force - Conquest

Criticism: survival of the fittest is for savages. not Humans. Authority of state must be based on 'consent' otherwise Revolution (Chinese, French) will occur.

### (iii) Theory of social Contract:

- Hobbes, Lock, Rousseau

- Sir Henry Maine
- Permanent Marriage System
- Descent was traced through the Male

Criticism: Authority of Father - Natural decreases

### (5) Matriarchal theory:

- Packs - Sex was allowed for a certain period
- Decent was traced through Mother -

Criticism: Not explain much about state.

### (6) Evolutionary/ sociological theory:

- Kinship - based on Family System - Command and obedience.
- Magic & Religion
- Property & the Rise of Economic Interests - Economically dominant class became politically dominant.
- War & Force:

## Islamic Concept of the state:

Nature: No secularism, Khilafat, God's sovereignty

- Govt by Consultation, Equality, Tauheed.
- payment of Zakat, Dhimmis, Amr - bil maroof.

## The Nature of State:

- Three kinds of views:

(1) Pluralistic: State → composite body → distinct and independent character of individuals, which does not depend on state for survival. (Anarchism, guild socialism)

(2) Dualistic view: Individual has separate existence but at the same time merged in state.

- Individual has dependence on state (lessez faire, Utilitarianism)

(3) Monistic view: No separate existence of individuals

“The individual is fleeting, the state is ever-lasting, the leaves wither, the tree stands.”

- Further divided into 3 theories:

## (i) Organic or Organismic Theory: (2)

- state and organism have same characteristics.
- state is organism → personifies the state
- individual exists in the state and state exists in individual
- Individuals are cells in a state like an organism.
- Herbert Spencer

Criticism: Individual can exist without state.

- Individual has consciousness.
- state has no process of birth, growth & decay
- state is abstract
- denies freedom of individual
- Promotes fatalism and passivity

## (ii) The Idealist theory:

- Plato, Hegel, Rousseau
- state is a perfected rationality and ends in itself.
- state is a 'person'. state has will.
- Deify the state "March of God on Earth".
- State is temple, Ruler is idol & people worships.

Criticism: Abstract, state & society are mixed  
- Govt and state are confounded.

## (iii) Juristic Personality:

- Maitland, Gierke, Bluntschli
- state is a legal personality, that can own property, have rights & duties, enter into contract.

Criticism: Corporate nature of a state is a fact, but state is a social fact, Historical Evolution, & political institutions.

## Sovereignty:

- Austin:
- Willoughby: Supreme will of the state.

### Characteristics

#### (i) Absoluteness & untrammelledness

- sovereignty is supremacy. No supremacy No sovereignty

(i) Indivisibility:

(ii) All comprehensiveness & Universality:

(iii) Permanence: The King is dead; long live the King.

(iv) Exclusiveness: There can't be two Kings.

(v) Inalienability:

(vi) Imprescribibility: It does not lost, if it is not exercised by its beholder.

- Sovereignty may be defacto or Dejure, Titular or Actual

### Kinds of sovereignty

#### Legal

making laws  
unlimited power  
Rights are created by him & no rights against him.  
- Hobbes

#### political

- Legal is supreme but not omni-potent.  
- Body is politically sovereign, whose will is obeyed.  
- Political sovereign is legally unknown yet legal ~~best~~ to him. (Public opinion)

#### popular

- Lock & Rousseau  
- supreme power resides with people.  
- Govt should be based on consent of the people.

### Theories of sovereignty

#### monist

Austin & Hobbes  
legally unlimited power  
History does not support Absolutism.

#### pluralist (Noam Chomsky)

- Federalist, Anarchist  
- state functions changed radically & technological development flourished this theory after WW-2  
- Abolished the state  
- reaction to monists

#### Islamic

- Quran & Sunnah  
- Islamic law & Constitution by Maududi  
- Concept of Emir

Law: something fixed - [ Physical Sciences

#### Analysis of law:

- Uniformity, Universality, Externality [Not on thought]
- Formulation: Through a body
- Content: Rights & duties
- Sanctions:

social sciences

objective {demand & supply  
subjective

Sources of law: Custom, Religion, (Hindu shastra), Judicial decisions, Legislation (SC, HC)

## \* Fascism (1924 - 1944)

- After WW-1 Italy was hoping to get colonies (3)
- But it did not happen.
- In 1922, Benito Mussolini was called upon by the King and appointed as PM. But he overthrew the King in 1924. And Political parties were dissolved.
- Repudiated democracy. Leader is infallible.
- War is to man, what maternity to woman. - (Mussolini)

## \* Nazism (1933 - 1945)

- Na → National, Zi = Socialism
- One Fuhrer (Leader), One Reich (State), Volk (Nation)
- "If men wish to live, they are forced to kill others" - (Hitler)

## \* Political Socialization

- People are not born with Political Ideas nor do they manufacture it; People <sup>learn</sup> them through a process called Political Socialization.

### Agents of Political Socialization:

① Family:

② Schools: Through Curriculum (Civic Education)

③ Peers: Friends and acquaintances

④ Religion:

⑤ Political Parties:

⑥ Social and Political Marginalization:

⑦ Govt: Through making Curriculum

⑧ Media:

⑨ Key Events: Urdu-Hindi Controversy, Congress ministries (1925)

Plato: His whole system of education is for political socialization.

"voting behaviour can be determined through political socialization"

## \*. Pressure Group

- A group of individuals promoting special economic or some other interests by influencing the govt. (Interest group)

- Lobby is pressure group, working within Parliament.

### - Form of Pressure Group:

#### (1) Refusal of cooperation:

- British steel industry against Nationalization Policy of labor just after WW-2

#### (2) Strikes:

(3) Electioneering: Candidate - Favoring - Election

#### (4) National Publicity Campaign:

## \*. Propaganda

- Technique of influencing Public Opinion
- The term was 1st used by Catholic against Protestant
- Germans were not defeated on the field but on allies propaganda, WW-1.
- Nazi propaganda minister = Goebbels.
- Khomeni Revolution was through Cassettes.
- Psychological weapon

### Principles:

- (1) Simplicity
- (2) Repetition
- (3) Credibility

## \*. Political Parties

### Elements: 5 elements

- (1) Leadership
- (2) members
- (3) Program
- (4) Principles
- (5) Power (Crux)

- It came into existence in England.

- Political parties exist due to the fact that Men tends to disagree. (Laski)

### Theories about Origin of Parties

① Human Nature: [ conservatism (old people)  
progressivism (youth)

② Ideological Motivation: Hold beliefs, ideas etc.

③ Economic Class: haves & haves not (Marx)

# \* Female Franchise

## Against Female Franchise:

- ① Feminine nature is unfit for Politics
- ② Fatwa of Al-Azhar university - 1952 on the ground of Emotional Nature.
- ③ Would unsex Woman
- ④ Create discord in Family life - disagreement over vote

## Pro - Female Franchise:

- ① Imperfect without female participation
- ② Bring decency & purity.
- ③ Divorced and widows are oftentimes ~~ones~~ bread winners of their families. So why not Politics
- ④ Women are custodian of culture and Civilization & the Future of every state depends upon their active and equal participation.

## Public Opinion

- Expression is necessary for an unexpressed Idea
- An opinion of a person can get currency (1937 Ch. Rehm AEU)

## Characteristics:

- ① Living issues of Politics
- ② Non-Identifiable group
- ③ Public opinion is necessarily majority opinion
- ④ Intensity of opinion (Expressed opinion)

## Conditions for sound Public opinion:

- ① Education
- ② Free Press / Discussions
- ③ Social Harmony (not divided on race)
- ④ Economic Security

## Agencies Influencing Public Opinion:

- ① Family & Environment → Subconscious
- ② Educational Institutions
- ③ media
- ④ Political Parties



# Federation (Bundes - staat)

## Essential Conditions of Federation:

- (1) Geographical Contiguity: British Commonwealth Can't become Federation
- (2) Desire for Union: US → 13 Colonies
- (3) Common Economic Interest: German States = 19th
- (4) Cultural & Religious Interests: Pakistan

## Salient Features:

- (1) Supremacy of the Constitution
- (2) Distribution of Powers
- (3) Bicameral Legislature

## Problems:

- (1) Protection of smaller states
- (2) Satisfactory distribution of powers
- (3) Secession
- (4) Expensive

## Merits:

- (1) Combines unity with diversity.
  - (2) Experimentation is possible
  - (3) It creates new states by peaceful incorporation.
- It suits large states or small states with diversity.

## Parliamentary Government:

- It is classified on the basis of relations between the legislature and the executive. In this, the executive and legislature are closely connected.

## Presidential Government

- Executive and legislative departments are distinct

## Merits:

- (i) Stable govt, Continuation of Policies
- (ii) Certainty of policies
- (iii) Services of the experts
- (iv) Free from Party rifts

Demerits: Encourage Autocracy, Rigid, Lead to conflict between legislature & Executive. Govt of persons (Principles)

# Democracy

Full (Canada)

semi (India)

Pseudo (China)

## Three Aspects:

- (1) social : Islamic Polity
- (2) Political : Right to vote etc
- (3) Economic : Communistic societies

## Pre-requisite for the success of democracy

- (1) Enlightened Citizenship
- (2) Character & Ability
- (3) Tolerance
- (4) Organization & leadership
- (5) Fundamental Rights
- (6) Liberty & Equality

## Defects of democracy:

- (1) Impracticable: (Landlords are sovereign)
- (2) Rule of Ignorance: 1 wise man for 9 fools (Carlyle)
- (3) Based on False principles: one man one vote  
- Rule of the majority, Territorial representation instead of functional.
- (4) Enemy of freedom: Poisoning of Socrates
- (5) Hostile to cultural & scientific progress:
- (6) Modern democracies are imperialistic
- (7) Not a stable form of government:
- (8) Weak in times of war:  
- Democracy is two years behind dictatorship. (Baldwin)

## Defence of Democracy:

- (1) Based on Equality:
- (2) Educative value
- (3) Efficient form of govt: The weaver knows where the shoe pinches.
- (4) Ensure stable govt: WW-2 democracy won
- (5) optimistic view of Human Nature
- (6) Not based on Psychology of Fear
- (7) Upholds Liberty & Fraternity:

# Rights And Duties

- Right is claim, from society, within society and accepted by society.

## Theories of Rights

Natural Rights  
(social contract)

Legal Rights  
[State create rights not  
mere recognize it]

Social-Welfare theory  
(Bentham & Mill)

- Rights may be moral or legal & legal is further divided into civil (life etc) and political.

## Fundamental Rights in Islam

### Sources:

- (1) Quraan (2) Ahadith (3) Pious Caliph
- Charter*  
(Hujjat-ul-wida)  
↑

### Rights of Muslims

- (1) Right to property: Life & property are as sacred as this day of 9 Zil-Hajj.
- (2) Right to Inheritance:
- (3) Riba abolishment: Abbas's riba was cancelled.
- (4) Right to safeguard of life: Ignorance blood-shed would not be avenged.
- (5) Right of wives protected:
- (6) Right of Equality: Arab + Non-Arab = Equal
- (7) Brotherhood:

### Rights of Non-Muslims

- If you over-power the non-Muslims then they pay Kharaj under a treaty, then don't take an extra penny. Hazrat Umar (R.A) old Jerusalem occupation.

4) Freedom of Religion: There is no compulsion in Din. (Baqara). Those people who worship other God do not curse them (Al-Anam).

(2) Exemption from military services:

Duties: Muslims will pay Zakat whereas Non-Muslims will pay Jizya.

# Three School of Jurisprudence

- (1) Positivist: Force is the essence of law
- (2) Sociological: Law come from society
- (3) Historical: Law is the result of long historic growth

Sharia: Perfection & Comprehensiveness, spiritual loftiness, stability and development.

## Principles:

- (1) Submission to Allah
- (2) Social ethics
- (3) Adl - wa - Ihsan (Meezan)

## Sources:

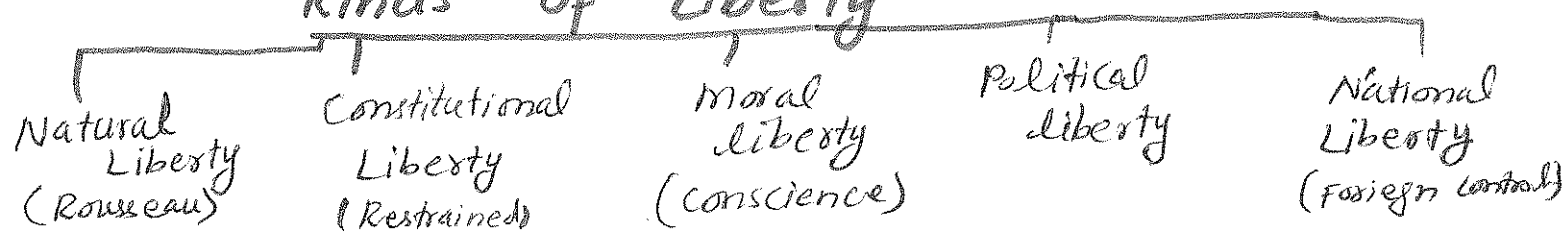
Quraan, sunnah, Ijmaah, Qiyas, Ijtihad, Istislah, Urf

## Liberty And Equality

- It is very difficult to consolidate liberty of the individual & the state's Authority. It gave birth two concepts:

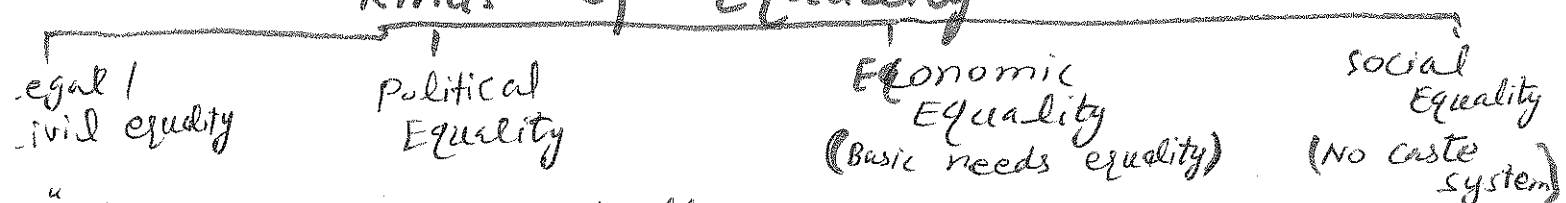
- (i) "State is an end & individual is a mean."
- (ii) Individual is an end & state is a mean.

### Kinds of Liberty



- Liberty develop the personality of individuals. While Law is a safeguard to liberty.

### Kinds of Equality



- "Liberty would be hollow without some measure of Equality And Equality would be meaningless without Liberty." Liberty & Equality are complementary

# \* Violence And Terrorism in Politics

## Terrorism

### Regime of Terror

- Terrorism in service of the existing order. (Rohingya)
- Beef-ban Killing in India
- No media coverage
- Enforcement terror

Seige of Terror  
- Agitational terror

- Terrorism in the service of the revolutionary movements.
- Highlighted more by media.

### \* Authoritarian Regime

- The regime of terror always over authoritarianism.

### \* Women Empowerment: [Women day = 8 march]

- It refers to increasing the spiritual, social or economic strength of women. It often involves the empower confidence in their own capacities.

- Create her own defn of 'self' rather than accept others' definition of her.
- Women are complete Human.

### Hurdles: ① Political

② Legal

③ Socio-economical

### Way Forward: BSP = 2008

- Local bodies = 33% (17% = NA)

- Khushali Bank & Women bank

- Protection against harassment of women at work-place Bill = 2009, signed = 2010

- Two additional bills = 2012 = Criminalizing the primitive practices of Varni, Watta-satta, marriage with Quran, Life imprisonment

for Acid throwing.

- EDAW (Elimination of all forms of discrimination against Women)

# \* Social Change

change can be brought through concrete measures (Plato)

- Alteration in social order of the society.
- Philosophical Idea that society moves forward by dialectical or evolutionary means.
- Pragmatic Change  $\Rightarrow$  Feudalism changed to Capitalism
  - $\Rightarrow$  Civil Rights movement
  - $\Rightarrow$  Women's Suffrage

inevitability of social change

## Theories of Social Change:

- ① Hegelian: Thesis  $\rightarrow$  Antithesis  $\rightarrow$  Synthesis
- ② Marxist: Fundamental struggle between social classes.
- ③ Kuhnian: People continue to utilize an apparently unworkable paradigm unless new paradigm is accepted.
- ④ Daoist: Change is like flow of river; smooth.

# \* Al-Farabi (870-950)

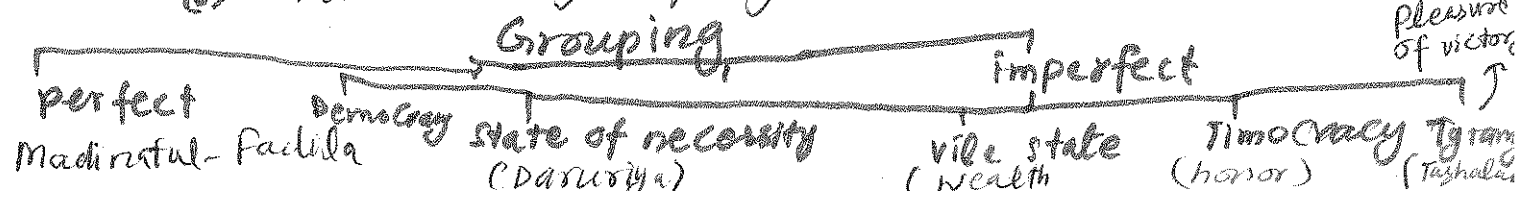
- Born in Wasit, studied in Baghdad (Iraq)
- Great expositor of Aristotle logic (2nd Teacher)
- Reconciliation of philosophy & Religion.
- Philosopher of Islam (Madina-tul-Fadilah)
- He presented 12 Attributes of sovereignty (S).

## Political Philosophy:

- Political Science with the help of metaphysics tries to solve the eternal problems of human life
- Man has three powers:
  - (1) Power of feeling: 5 senses
  - (2) Power of Contention: Renunciation
  - (3) Power of Reason: Right & Wrong demarcation

Human grouping: It is the cause of the above three powers / faculties.

- (1) It created family
- (2) Stronger has given up certain rights to weak
- (3) Human grouping came into existence



# \* Political Philosophy of Greece

- Systematic political thoughts in Europe = Greek

## Pre-platonic thoughts:

- 5th Century BCA → started with Persian War & ended with Peloponnesian War.

① Sophists: Protagoras; "Man is the measure of things".

(i) Relativism: Truth is relative (subjective)

(ii) Rhetoric: Persuade others to one's own concept of truth.

(iii) Conventions: Present institutions are based on traditions & it must be discarded, such as slavery.

② Socrates (469 - 399 BCE):

(i) Knowledge is virtue:

(ii) Actual Knowledge: Opinion, insecure foundation and changeable [customary morality]

(iii) Real Knowledge: Philosophical goodness, permanent. Teachable and communicable.

"Knowledge meant the realization of goodness, truth, morality & virtue".

All evil acts are committed out of ignorance & hence involuntarily. Because of confusing virtue with vice. So the virtue of bravery can be distinguished from fool-hardiness. i.e. through Real Knowledge.

② Better to suffer injustice than do injustice

③ Plato (427 - 347) refuted sophists & existed institutions in Greece.

① Ideal is Real:

- Reality exists only in the Ideas of things.

- According to Plato, the permanent & eternal character of anything is Idea (Form).

(i) World of Becoming: Perception, dynamic, senses, particularities, Actual, [shadows in Allegory of Cave]

(ii) World of Being: Objective (truth), static, reason

(2) Ideal State: He deduced that the present institutions are Actual Bgo they are constant flux. So, He presented Ideal / real state.

(i) Analogy of state with Human: Reason, Spirit, Appetite.

(ii) Justice: non-interference, Functional specialisation, Three classes  
- paying debt & speaking truth. (Cephalus) <sup>Weapon to mark person</sup>  
- Doing good to friends & harm to enemies. (Polymachus)  
- Interest of the strongest (Govt). (Thrasymachus)  
- Good to be unjust & bad to suffer injustice. (Glaucon) <sup>Justice is not right.</sup>

(iii) Education: Realization of Justice proper environment is necessary.

(iv) Elementary Education: (1-17, 18)

- Arts, music & gymnastic, At 20 = Test

(v) Higher education: (20-35)

- science & philosophy. At = 30 = Test

Criticism: Graded, progressive, systematic, equality to women  
practical & theoretical, discard literature.

(vi) Functional Specialization:

(v) Philosopher ruler: Highest Knowledge = Highest virtue  
- Against democracy, studying of math, doesn't give qualities of administration. (Altruism).

(vi) Communism: Reason without communism would be impaired or overpowered by Appetite.

- For upper two classes.

- Property = common renunciation, (Barracks)

- Wife = common ownership (Common mess)

(vii) Feminism: Same characteristics of Reason, spirit & Appetite  
- Difference is of degree not of kind (Bitches & dogs)

(viii) Origin of state: Economic factor (to satiate multi-farious needs, Human form groupings... alike.

(ix) Democracy: Granting equality to equals & unequal

(x) Facism: Liberalism, & democracy (Not), Dictatorship, family  
Remix on Eugenic lines, State = Supreme reality.  
Against individualism -



# \* Aristotle (384 - 322 BCE)

## ① Views on state:

[Economic base]

① Origin: Economic needs and racial instincts.  
- State is the outgrowth of family

② Nature: Flower - Seed Analogy

③ Ends: Positive (promotion of good life) } **Telos**  
Negative (Punishing authority) }

④ Law: Dispassionate reason

⑤ Justice: Virtue in Action; Corrective Justice (sale etc.)  
- Distributive Justice [proper allocation to each person according to his worth]

⑥ Government: Monarchy  $\leftrightarrow$  Tyranny, Aristocracy  $\leftrightarrow$  oligarchy  
Polity  $\leftrightarrow$  Democracy

⑦ Best Constitution: Golden Mean (Polity)  
- Combination of wealth and liberty  
- It is characterized by constitutionalism i.e. sovereignty of law and by distributive Justice.

⑧ Revolution: may make oligarchic more oligarchic or less oligarchic.

- The causes of revolution are Equality, Abuse of governmental authority, clash of extreme ideologies, Absence of middle-class,  
- particular causes: Election intrigues, granting offices to disloyal persons, Neglect of small changes, disproportionate change in one part of the state.

- In oligarchy  $\Rightarrow$  Mutual rivalry  
- In democracy  $\Rightarrow$  Demagogues  
- In aristocracy  $\Rightarrow$  Jealousy

Prevention: spirit of obedience to law, check small changes in constitution, Not to devalue people, No class should feel that they can hold power, great political offices should be outside the reach of aliens, measure are political rather than legal

⑨ Tyrant: Employment of large number of employes, Military aggression abroad, promotion of hostilities, Attempt to destroy the intellectual

(x) Slavery: Natural, Good life is impossible without slaves any more than he can produce good music without instruments.  
- Natural inequality between man

(a) Slave by law: POW

(b) Slave by Nature: The intellect (Greek) Rule the physical (Black/slaves/races)  
- Beneficial to Both master & slave.

Criticism: Racial discrimination, women reduced to slaves, slaves can comprehend then he can develop intellect. Modern factory workers = slaves

(xi) Citizenship: Property & the Capacity to rule & be ruled in return.

These all eleven<sup>(11)</sup> attributes, depicts Aristotle Conservatism and Realism.

⇒ Concept of property: Property is necessary for house-hold management & wealth-getting.  
- It can be used for proper & improper.

① Proper Use: A thing usage, for which purpose it has been created.

② Improper use: Shop-keeper selling pen.

③ Abhorres usury:

④ Selling profession for money: Doctors = Earning money  
Teacher = " "

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For 23 years, He served as ambassador.  
 - In 1494, Medici was thrown out of Florence (Italy)  
 - He persuaded the 'Council of ten' to form the citizenry army. In 1512, the Medici re-establish their authority the citizenry Army fled with the first encounter.

Child of Environment: Causes:

- ① Conciliar movement: To introduce Constitutional government both in Church and the state, but it failed. (start of 16th century)
- ② Dichotomy between Church & State: State on the secular side and Church on religious side.
- ③ Turmoil in Italy: Due to struggle for power
- ④ Renaissance: The authority of Church was challenged, and the clerical point of view. Man instead of God, become chief entity.
- ⑤ Savonarola's beheading: Good and moral king
- ⑥ Cesar Borgia: Cunning and cruel.
- ⑦ Foreign Intervention in Italy: German

Consequences: He presented art of government & preservation of state.

- ① Human Nature: strange mixture of weakness of weakness, folly and knavery, fit only to be hoodwinked and lorded over.
  - man can easily be corrupted rather than reformed
  - They are good by necessity and are compelled to form society in order to live in security provided by the laws of society. Fear is the most dominated factor in humans. & power is the ultimate end.
- ② The Prince: It gives the technique of ruler-ship.
  - (i) state is the highest form of Association.
  - (ii) material pursuit is the most potent force in individual's & society Action.

- Machiavelli identifies state with the ruler. So Caesar must make himself worthy of worship by a ruthless and successful seizure of power.
- Power is virtue & things that brought power is also virtue. virtue → 18th century → qualities of a man.
- The Prince must combine in himself the rational & the brute. A judicious combination of Lion & Fox.
- The Prince should always consider his neighbour enemies.
- Prince should be a good dissembler. (Feared But not hated)
- Immune to emotional disturbances.
- The Prince should protect the state even at the expense of his soul. Dishonesty is the best policy.

## Separation of Ethics And Religion From

- Politics : state is not an ethical institution which makes people happy. State is an end itself.
- There is a difference between public & individual morality. The end justifies the mean. (murder, lie)
  - Machiavelli agrees that chastity, fidelity, courage, sincerity are good but he says that it has nothing to do with state-affairs.
  - Church has place within states, neither beside nor above. He acquiesced that religion has public utility & it should be in the hands of the ruler.
  - Elected monarchy

## Doctrine of Aggrandisement :

- To Machiavelli, state must expand or expire.
- Machiavelli thought Roman policy of expansion is ideal.
- His doctrine was adopted by the Frederick the Great, Henry VIII of England.

Thomas Hobbes

- England - Civil war → Fled → France (monarchy) impressed
- Two school of thoughts in his time: Divine Rights (King), & Parliamentary system (popular sovereignty). He discarded both.
- state & society are artificial.

Human Nature:

- Hobbes regards mind as decaying matter or a kind of refined matter.
- Humans are born equal in their capacities of mind & body.
- Hobbes recognizes three principal causes of conflict i.e. Glory, diffidence & Competition.
- man is ego-centric.

State of Nature:

- Pre social, war of all against all. Life was brutish, short & nasty
- NO conception of Right & Wrong because of no common sense
- He enumerated 19 laws of Nature: Don't do what you don't want to happen to yourself.

Common-wealth:

"I authorize and give up the right of governing myself to this man or Assembly, on the condition that he will do his action in right manner." All rights were renounced except nature in life

Criticism:

- Unilateral, Irrevocable, social contract not a governmental contract, No right of revolution, No difference b/w state & society
- It is not Charter of Freedom but bandage of slavery.
- How the Egoist can renounce his powers.
- The sovereign retain the natural rights. (Mortal-god)

Liberty:

The liberty is given by the state. Intellectual liberty is there.

Individualism:

Hobbes does not believe on society. Society is just a sand heap of individuals.

Erastianism:

- The church should be under the sovereign. There are no objective truth of religion & the opinion of sovereign is final
- It should be used by the sovereign (Lambeth = 1651) to propagate.

"Render unto Caesar and unto God, whatever the Caesar commanded"

# John Locke (1632-1704)

- Glorious revolution 1688 → Bloodless revolution → overthrow of King James - II. He discarded the Filmer (Divine rights) & Hobbes' dark depiction of state of Nature, and Human nature.

## Human Nature:

- Man is rational and social creature. Altruistic, Tenderness

## State of Nature:

- Pre-political, Man lived in harmony due to reason. State of nature was of peace. There was equality of Freedom and liberty and Property. (Life - Liberty & estate = inalienable rights)
- Property came into existence when Human put their labors into it. So it became its possession because it is the extension of his personality.
- It became chaotic because there was no common law-giver.

## Social Contract:

- Contract came into existence among the members, which agreed to renounce their natural rights except that of property (Liberty, Life & estate).

(1) Government by consent: Each generation must give their consent tacitly or expressly.

(2) Separation of power:

(2) Revolution: "No taxation without Representation."

## Criticism: Obscure i.e. Created a state or government.

- Considered property something Anterior to society.
- Lock places his individual prior state.
- Tacit consent rationalize tyranny.
- Places individual over community
- Right of revolution is only extended to propertied class.

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## \* Montesquieu (1689 - 1755)

- French (Published anonymously his writings)
- Two things: Two things have influenced his writing
  - (i) His stay in UK: influenced his political writings.
  - (ii) Study of Roman History:
- Main theme; liberty:
  - Separation of powers, are to ensure liberty.
- Relativity of Human Institution:
  - In universe, there is both uniformity and diversity of behaviour. For example in inanimate world it is fixed. In Beast, it is fairly fixed. Whereas in human, it is relative due to free-will.
    - Uniformity = Self preservation & Natural impulses
    - Diversity = Culture & traditions.

## \* Hegel (1770 - 1831)

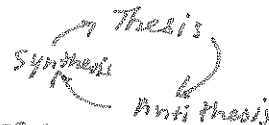
- Hegel Abhorred French Revolution.
- Everything has Geist (spirit, soul). In society, the Geist is reflected through its institutions. The Geist is intangible while the institutions are tangible.
- The general Intellectual, moral & cultural climate of an era is Zeitgeist.

### - Rational is Actual:

- We cannot alter the future, But we can only adapt with it. As our reason is too small to comprehend the God's reason.

### Dialectics of Hegel: (Idea within Idea) (War = Recognition)

- Family → Civil society → state (There is no world state) (Because of no Anti-thesis to it)
- The dialectic evolution of Idea is spiral.



- State is the highest embodiment of reason.
- He divided govt into three
  - Legislative (Democratic)
  - Administrative (Aristocratic)
  - Monarchy (Monarchical)
- Hegel is the father of totalitarian Ideologies.
- War is a necessity & peace is a stagnation.
- Father of totalitarian Ideologies.

# Rousseau (1712 - 1778)

- Chance brought Rousseau Immortality.
- "Has the progress of science & Arts contributed to corrupt or purify morals." → Essay Competition → Dijone
- France → divine rights Autocracy, demoralized & privileged nobility, corrupt Church.

## Human Nature:

- Essentially good. Two primary instincts. One is self love while the other is sympathy, gregariousness & mutual help. There is a possibility of clash between the two. But it can be countered developing a sentiment "Conscience", guided by reason. But the other opposing force is Ego, which is generated by the degenerate Arts.
- Rousseau natural man is Noble savage. He neither knew speech nor dress. He was free. There were no chains, no family.

## State of Nature:

- Non-social, paradise on Earth but the property (sexpert) entered and everything turned upside-down.

## Political Society:

- It ensure equality among all citizens. He loses to gain.
- Each citizen entered into two relations. As a member of the ~~Society~~<sup>Society</sup> → bound → Co-sovereign. & As a member of the state → bound → sovereign.
- Each one is giving himself to all, yet gives himself to none.

① Liberty: The individual is free in the society because he has surrendered his right to the community rather than outsider. One have obey the laws because it represent his will and liberty. man has to be forced to be free. Coercion is no coercion, if it is used to purge a man of his selfish impulses.

## ② Revolution:



## \* Jeremy Bentham (1748 - 1832) (3)

- He wrote Anonymously "The Fragment of government".
- He legislated for France, Russia, Mexico & Chile.
- Denied Contractual origin of state.
- He mentioned 14 simple pleasures.
- ~~Pain~~ Pain and Pleasure:
- Every Tradition was once innovation.
- A system that is never censured, never improved.

### Law:

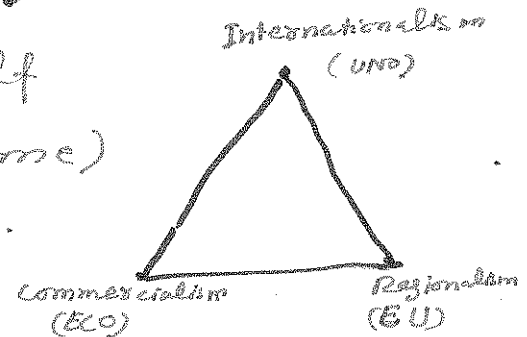
- Law is the greatest happiness of the greatest number.
- Rejected Natural law and Natural Rights.
- The subject has no legal right to resist the sovereign  
But he has the moral right.

## \* John Stuart Mill (1806 - 1873)

- Two Aspects of life of an individual
- ① Individual: Self-Regarding
- ② Social: Other-Regarding
- Liberty of thought, pursuit, taste, association, religion.

## \* Immanuel Kant (1724 - 1804)

- German Idealist
- Individual is an end in himself
- For Perpetual Peace (Book's name)
- Believed on social Contract.
- Basis of law is reason.



### State:

Three forms of state: Autocracy, Aristocracy, Democracy

Forms of govt: Republicanism & despotism.

World state: Individual, Family, society → State → world state

## \* Karl Marx (1818 - 1883)

### Surplus value:

- Fundamental of Marxism (Das Kapital)
- Value of a commodity can be determined by the useful labor put in it.
- Since the industrial revolution all the sources of production are in the hands of capitalists & create

Competative condition for labor.

- The labor is paid less value than he produces.
- Labor works = 10 hrs, paid = 6 hrs.
- Concentration of capital into fewer hands will further constrict the labor.

### Dialectic materialism: (Class struggle)

- Forces of production 

	animate (Labor) (Value)
	inanimate (natural resource) (No)
- Condition of production
- History is determined through economy & individual has no place in history but history is class struggle.
- Master  $\leftrightarrow$  slave, Feudalist  $\leftrightarrow$  Peasantry, Capitalist  $\leftrightarrow$  proletariat

### Lenin (1870 - 1924)

imperialism

- Lenin regard capitalism as highest form of
- Difference between Leninism & Marxism?

① Economic views: Revolution will be in developed states (Marx)  
- Brought revolution in Peasantry state. (Lenin)

② Theory & Practical: Theory = Marx, Practical = Lenin

③ Imperialism: Working class will bring change and alter the mode of imperialism. (Marx)  
- That it is due to working class that imperialism has reached to its zenith.

④ Party politics: Lenin was in favor of Party politics. So he made Bolshevik party while Marx was not.

⑤ Dictatorship: Proletariat (Marx), Lenin (Party)

⑥ views on state: Marx = stateless,  
- Lenin = state is necessary.

⑦ Society: Classless

# Al-mazadi (974 - 1058)

(5)

- Professor in Baghdad (Abbasid Era)
- His work is mainly concerned with politics & Adm.
- His theory of Imamatus is to rule out Fatimide.

## \* Theory of Imamatus (Leadership)

- The objective of state is the rule of Truth and Justice to bring peace to the subjects.
- The Institution is a requirement of sharia not of reason.
- Appointment through Elector College:
  - The electoral college comprised of people with certain qualifications. such as piety etc.
  - Election of the less qualified is legal in the presence of more qualified (Fatimide) (Qurayshite) <sup>descent</sup>
  - Franchise is only to the residents of capital city.
  - Two Imams = illegal

## - Succession:

- ① Nomination: Ruler → nominate → Umer (R.A)
- ② Appoint: Electoral college → Usman (R.A)
- ③ Appoint 2 or more successors: Battle of Muttah  
Zaid, Jaffar, Abdullah

## - Duties And Functions of Imam:

- ① Dispensation of Justice
- ② Protect the people
- ③ Law and order
- ④ Defend Religious principles
- ⑤ Wage War to prevail Islam
- ⑥ Impose Kharaj & Zakat

## - Deposition of Imam:

- ① Lacking of moral Justice
- ② Changes his faith
- ③ Loss of physical or intellectual abilities

## - Wazarat

- ① Wazarat of Execution (Honest etc) (Dhimmi)
- ② Wazarat of delegation

## - State Administration: Dewan

- ① The Army Board
- ② Board of Provincial boundaries
- ③ The Treasury
- ④ Board of Appointment & dismissal of officers

- Justice theory of Ibn Khaldun
- 7 pre-requisites (Male, honest, physically sound etc)
- Theory of Rebellion:

## \* Nizam-ul-Tulak Tusi (1017-1091)

- Seljuk ruler Era  $\Rightarrow$  studied History thoroughly

### - Theory of Kingship or Headship

- Served with many kings (Siyasat-Namah)
- Reconciliation between Khalifa & King

Selection/Election: By God  $\rightarrow$  Fate accomplish

- protecting Seljuk Alp-Arsalan

Functions: Consultation with wisest, appointment of Judges

- Tyrant King is due to sins of people. Impressed from Sassanid Ruler Noshervan (The Just). Espionage system

## Al-Ghazali (1058-1111)

### - Mundane and celestial Philosophy:

- (i) World is eternal (ii) No spirit (iii) No resurrection
- There is no divorce between spiritual and mundane life. As Mohammad (SAW) was a family man etc.

- Concept of state: Man can't live in isolation due to 2 reasons: Procreation & protection
- Family  $\rightarrow$  State

- Constitution, Law & Religion: Dual personality of Human is individual and indispensable part of society. State and Religion are twin sisters.

$\Rightarrow$  King = Heart, Magistrate = Desire, Minister = Common Sense  
Police officers = Anger (Anger & desire = not overpowered)

- Theory of Justice: Cardinal principle of state and should exhibit in Ad. of state. King should not indulge in luxuries. No harshness etc pride.

- Routine of King: ① Prayer ② state affairs, ③ Hunting ④ Food & rest.

- Administration: Provincial (Appointed by King), Head of Revenue

# Ibn-e-Khaldun (1332 - 1404 AD) Economy

- Father of the science of history, sociology, political

## Historical Approach:

① Mistakes of Historians: Partisan, over-confidence, Mal-observation, poetic exaggeration

② Geography: Determined the Physical & Mental Caliber

## Theory of Asabiya:

- Man is citizen by Nature.

- To translate will into reality Asabiya is necessary

## Ruler & Urban Life:

- Ruler life is a starting point of kinship (blood) (aided by Religion)

- 2nd stage retain the Badawa (Ruler life)

- 3rd generation forget (40 years)

- 4th generation lost Arabia (40 years)

## Stages in the development of the state

① The ruler and ruled tries to establish institution

② Convert into kingship - Solidarity converted to Army

③ Luxury (Imitation of the old cities)

④ Aggrandisement starts

⑤ Fifth stage = Old aged state = imposed taxes

## Theory of Political Economy

① Profit: Part of income obtained by a person through his own ~~profit~~ effort & strength. (value of labor)

② Sustenance: When the particular person spends it on needs and comfort.

③ Taxation Policy: Ruler must not indulge in commercial activities. (Friends of Ruler)

- money should flow from him to them & them to him.

④ Labor: It is the fundamental source of profit.

⑤ Salaries:

⑥ Livelihood (ma'ash): Productive (Medical, Musical etc)

← War: Two perspectives: Asabiya (sociological)

↳ What's obvious within: Jealous, envy, hostility, hatred (Psychological)

Jamal - ud - Din Mughani (1838 - 1897)

- Journal  $\Rightarrow$  Al-Urwathul-Uthqa (1884)

## ① Revivalism & Unification of the Muslim World:

- Sparks the Freedom Flame against the British.
- Arab's revolt in Egypt.

## ② Religious Reformation:

- science tally with Islam. He was against sultan Abdul-Hamid (Turkey)

## ③ Political Reformation:

- Consolidation of existing Muslim states.

Pan - Islamism: Initiated by Mohammad (P.B.U.H) at the charter of Madinah.  $\text{وَأَنَّ الْمَدِينَةَ لَنُؤْتِيَنَّكَ إِنْ شِئْتَ وَإِنَّ أَوَّلَ دِينٍ كُنْتُ عَلَىٰهَا نَبِيًّا}$

- British infiltration & Russian cultural Invasion
- symbol of unity of Muslim Ottoman (Sick-man)
- It was defensive (Political-Religious)
- M. Abduh, Iqbal & Sir Syed

## Causes of failure:

- ① sultan Abdul-Hamid distortion
- ② Arab against Ottoman
- ③ Muslim Ruler attitude
- ④ Failure of Khilafat movement
- ⑤ Abolition of Kaliphate

Allama Iqbal (1877 - 38)

## \* Salient Features:

① Indivisibility of life:

② Practicability of Islamic state:

③ Perfectability of man's hidden Capacities By constant Labor

④ Absurdity of western Concept of Nationalism: WWI product

⑤ Relationship of Individual with Society:

organic

- Aristotle, Locke, Smith, Bentham

- Individual is preferable

over society. society is

illusion. individual is reality

mechanistic

- Plato, Marx, Hobbs

- Falism, Hitlerism

and Communism

- social contract

Islamic

- Iqbal

- society & individual

are in consonance

rather than antagonism

- 58

# Requisite for an Ideal Society

(5)

- ① Tauheed: desert dwellers are changed
- ② Prophethood:
- ③ Code of guidance: Qur'an & Sunnah
- ④ Preservation of tradition: Don't forget history  
Sp culture but also don't worship it.

## Concept of Khudi

- Nietzsche, Fichte, Plato → self-Abnegation
- Iqbal's ego is self-reverence, self-knowledge and self-control.
- It is I-am-ness

## Steps for Attaining Khudi:

- Obedience ⇒ Allah's Will
- Control ⇒ Desires
- Vicegerancy ⇒ Achieved

## Helpers of Ego:

- ① Love ② Faqr ③ Kasb-e-Halal ④ Tolerance
- ⑤ Courage

## Factors which weaken the Ego

- ① Fear, ② Beggary ③ slavery ④ Nasb-pausti

## Ibn-e-Rushd (1126-1198)

- Refuted - Al-Ghazali by merging Plato and Aristotle ideas. (Father of secular thought)

## Rashid Rida (1865-1935) (Ottoman Syria)

- Magazine ⇒ Al-Manar, Advocated = Pan-Arabism
- Influenced from Al-Uswathul-Uthqa.
- He blamed Sufism, sectarianism for Muslim downfall
- He propagated Salafism.
- Caliphate - collection of states - supreme Mujtahid (Ruler)
- Critique of Free-masonaries / Zionism

Ibne-Thaimmiya (1263 - 1328)

- Troubled times of Mongol Invasion
- In third Invasion of Syria by Mongol, Ibne Thaimmiya issued an edict - Muslim should fight.
- Literalism: He refuted Ijma as a source of shari.
- Salafism: Mohammmad's companion, Tabiun, Tabi, Al-Tabiun.
- Purpose of state: Amr - bil - Maroof - wa - Nahi - Anil - Munkar.
- Jihad: Divided the world Dar-ul-Kufr, Muslim.
- Ruler: To kill Muslim ruler who does not impose shari.

Shah wali-ullah

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# Mill Modification of

## Bentham :-

Mill says that "I am a Peter who denied his master". This means that he modified Bentham to such an extent that almost to deny it. Mill has modified Bentham, just to save him from the allegations of immorality and ~~non~~ Hedonism. The modification of Bentham is as follows:

① Quantity and Quality Concept :-  
Bentham says that pleasure depends only on Quantity not in Quality. While <sup>Mill</sup> adds the factor of quality into the concept of pleasure.

② Depends on Source :-  
Bentham says that pleasure does not depend on source. On the contrary, Mill says that pleasure depends on source, too. For example :-  
For Bentham pushkin and pushpin gives the same pleasure, while to Mill the pleasure of pushkin is higher than pleasure of Pushpin.

### ③ Hedonism :-

Bentham's concept of utility is based on Hedonism. Hedonism is based on self-regard. While Mill adds the non-Hedonistic element, which is other-regard.

### ④ Human Nature :-

Bentham views human nature as selfish and egoistic while Mill views human nature as altruistic.

### ⑤ Liberty :-

Bentham says that <sup>wise</sup> end of a man is maximum happiness not maximum liberty. While Mill says that liberty is an end in itself, and it is a precious right of an individual.

### ⑥ Humanistic Concept :-

Bentham's concept of utility is mechanical while Mill's concept of utility is humanistic. Because Mill has added the factor of other-regard.

### ⑦ History and traditions :-

Bentham ignores history & tradition

4/31

institutions should be based on present utility. While Mill respects both the history and tradition.

(8) Will :-

Bentham holds that political institutions are based on utility not on will while Mill gives importance to the will, in the growth of institution.

(9) Voting suffrage :-

Bentham favors equal franchise which means one man and one vote. While Mill supports weighted suffrage which means the enlightened and educated will have plural votes.

(10) Second chamber :-

Bentham was against the 2nd chamber and Mill was in favour of 2nd chamber.

(11) Method of Voting :-

Bentham was in favour of voting by secret ballot while Mill

## (12) Lessize - Faire n

Bentham is in favour of pure competition and lessize faire in economic activities while Mill add cooperation to it.

## (13) Materialism :-

Bentham's concept of utility is based on materialism while Mill adds morality in his concept of utility.

## (14) Conclusion:

We can conclude the Mill's modification of Bentham in that epic sentence:

"It is better to be a human being dissatisfied than a pig satisfied; Better to be a Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied."

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# Marx And Hegel

## ① Evolutionary:-

Both Marx and Hegel believed in the evolutionary unfolding of History, for the enrichment to the World-spirit.

## ② Pre-determined :- ( $\text{प्रे-दुर्भुजित}$ )

Both Believed that world-spirit is pre-determined. To Marx, the ultimate end will be classless society and to Hegel the world-spirit is divine reason. (  $\text{दिव्य बुद्धि}$  )

## ③ Change :-

For Hegel change is brought through "Idea" and for Marx change can be brought through matter.

## ④ Conflict :-

Both believed that conflict brings development and progress.

## ⑤ Undermining individuals :-

For Hegel undermined the individual to the state while Marx undermined the individual

to the class.

⑥ Rational and Matter:- Just with Hegel, the Rational is Real and with Marx matter is Reality.

⑦ Hegel's Dialectics:- Both believe that social progress is brought through dialectic process.

⑧ Leadership:- Hegel talks of German leadership while Marx talks of proletariat leadership.

⑨ Warfare:- Just For Hegel, the mechanism of History was warfare between nations. For Marx, it was a Revolutionary struggle between classes.

Conclusion:-

Basically Marx has borrowed dialectic method from Hegel. Marx had just inverted (W)

(5)

Thomas Aquinas is a Christianized  
-ed Aristotle. In medieval  
Ages, there was scholasticism.  
The scholasticism was based  
on the dogma that there  
is no contradiction between  
Religion and philosophy. In  
these period, Thomas Aquinas  
came to the scenario. He  
combine the good things  
of Scholasticism and Hellenism.  
~~Hellenism~~ i.e Aristotle. So, Act-  
ually, he has not develope  
a new philosophy but only  
christianized Aristotelian  
philosophy. Some of the points  
that Aquinas has Christianized  
are as under.

### ① Human's End:-

According to Aristotle the  
Human end of an individual  
is material satisfaction but  
Aquinas holds that material  
satisfaction is the end of  
Human. But it is lower  
End. The higher End of  
Human is "Salvation".

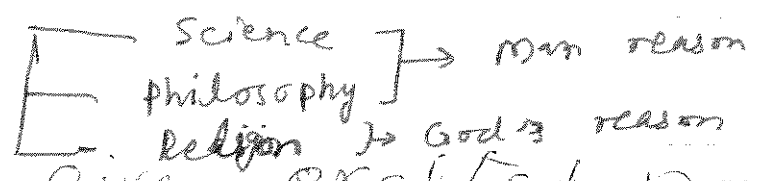
### ② Citizenship:-

Aristotle give citizenships  
to Greeks and Aquinas  
~~gives~~ add religions etc  
it and gives citizenship

③ State :-

Aristotle is of the opinion that state came into existence due to essential sociability of Human Being while Thomas Aquinas propounded that state also came into existence due to the sinful nature of Human Being. Aristotle holds that the "state will promote the good life" while Aquinas holds that state will promote the virtuous life.

④ Reason :-



Aristotle give exalted position to reason. Aquinas too, give exalted position to reason but the reason of Aquinas is not Human but divine. As Aquinas explained that the knowledge is a 3 storey - building. The philosophy and science are the lower two stories while the upper/top portion is Religion and it is divine reason. So, the two reasons i.e. Human, must be subordinated



21

(5) Classification of Govt  
Aquinas has classified the governments into six categories as of Aristotle. Monarchy, Tyranny, Aristocracy, Oligarchy, Polity and democracy. He is favouring monarchy as Aristotle did. He added one thing which is elective monarchy.

(6) On Law :-

Aristotle considered law as dispassionate reason. Aquinas too, holds that law is based on reason. But he supplemented that law should be under the Natural and divine law. Aquinas further describe his kinds of law, which was mainly derived from Nicomachean ethics, which is a book written by Aristotle. Aquinas classified 4 types of laws:

- (1) Eternal law
- (2) Natural law
- (3) Divine law
- (4) Human law

~~Aristotle's concept of the state:~~

(3) Concept of welfare state.

Preservation

1



(2)

\* Bentham was a reformer rather than philosopher:-

He was born in England in 1748 and died in 1832. His father was also an attorney. So he was also enrolled in Lincoln's Inn. There he listened to the lectures of Blackstone. Blackstone was the staunch supporter of British Constitution.

Which means that he was a supporter of British political system. So, Bentham was against Blackstone exaggerated eulogies of British Constitution. Bentham wrote an anonymous critical book on Blackstone and British Constitution. From that book Bentham started his journey of reformation. He ~~was~~ has not given any new philosophy or philosophical thoughts. But he was actually reforming the existing British laws. For that he has given his concept of utilitarianism

utility of any thing will be on present situation rather than past.

Bentham's major reforms:-

① Panopticon :-

Bentham was in favour of the reform of the criminal and the prisons, and suggested the building of his novel Panopticon, a wheel-shaped building. So, that the prison cells ~~should~~ should be monitored from the centre easily.

② Punishment :-

Bentham wants that punishment should not be severe, but it must be justifiable. It should be preventive rather than negative.

③ Government :-

Bentham was in favour of a democratic Govt. He disliked both the monarchy and the house of Lords in Britain. Bentham also in favour of free trade and laissez-faire.

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1/3

23

(4) Laws:- Bentham wants improvement in the laws and administration of laws in Britain (England).

He was for giving publicity to laws and was in favour of the freedom of the press. He prepared codes of international law, constitutional law, civil law and criminal. He wants separating jurisprudence from politics. Bentham believed that the ~~England~~ English criminal law was inhuman.

Wayper says that Bentham cannot be regarded as a great political thinker, although he tried to become Newton of the moral sciences.

He took his theory of knowledge from Locke and Hume, the theory of pain and pleasure from Helvetius, the notion of sympathy and anti-pathy from Hume and the idea of utility from

writers. Lacking originality and full of prejudice, he is contradictory. His contributions lack originality. That is why Allen has categorised him as political reformer rather than political thinker or political philosopher.

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# "General Will"

The General will is the sum-total or the synthesis of Real wills."

## ① Classification of will :-

Rousseau has classified the wills of individuals into Real and Actual will.

The Actual will is that will of individuals which is based on self-regard/self-interest. This is negative in character. While the Real will is the will of individuals based on other regard/selfless will. It is positive will.

## ② Generation of General Will:

First the Actual wills of individual, based on selfish interests appears. Then the selfish elements (pluses and minuses) cancel each other and transformed into Real wills. So, "the general will represents the synthesis of these real wills". The General will is not the pluses and minuses but it represent the higher type of will of the society.

### ③ Will of All :-

There is a difference between the general will and the will of All. The will of All is the aggregate (Total) of all the wills of individuals. It is the unorganized and hence also selfish will. While on the contrary, the General will is the aggregate will of All the moral persons. It is organized will and based on Altruistic motives. The will of all is just an aggregate of wills whereas the

### ④ Characteristics of General Will :-

It has following characteristics.

- ① Unity:- General will has unity because it is not self-contradictory.
- ② Indivisible:- It is not divisible. Because if it is divisible then it becomes sectional will rather than general will.
- ③ Permanant:- It is permanent because it is not based on impulses but based on reason.
- ④ Inalienable:- General will is not transferable.

⑤ unrepresentable:- This lead to the notion that democracy cannot commit. It leads to the notion of direct

General will is an organized unity.