



# UGC-NET

## Paper - 2

NATIONAL TESTING AGENCY (NTA)

# POLITICAL SCIENCE

Paper 2 – Volume 1



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## Unit-1

### #Political theory

The word theory refers to a body of logically collected and analysed body of knowledge and Politics as we know is about many things including relationships among individuals and groups and classes and the state, and state institutions like the judiciary, bureaucracy etc. So one definition of Political Theory given by David Held sees political theory as a network of concepts and generalisations about political life involving ideas, assumptions and statements about the nature, purpose and key features of government, state and society, and about the political capabilities of human beings'. Andrew Hacker defines it as 'a combination of a disinterested search for the principles of good state and good society on the one hand, and a disinterested search for knowledge of political and social reality on the other'.

### What is political theory?

A rather comprehensive definition has been given by Gould and Kolb who defined political theory as a sub-field of political science which includes: (i) political philosophy—a moral theory of politics and a historical study of political ideas, (ii) a scientific criterion, (iii) a linguistic analysis of political ideas, (iv) the discovery and systematic development of generalisations about political behaviour. We can conclude that political theory is concerned basically with the study of the phenomenon of the state both in philosophy as well as empirical terms. An attempt is made to provide explanations, descriptions and prescriptions regarding the state and political institutions. Also of course there is an underlying theme of studying the moral philosophical purpose. The thinker Weinstein had put it very succinctly when he had suggested that political theory is basically an activity, which involves posing questions, developing responses to those questions and creating imaginative perspectives on the public life of human beings. The questions that are asked are like what is the nature and purpose of the state and why should we prefer one form of state over another; how do we judge the ends, aims and methods of political organisation; what is and should be the relationship between the state and the individual. Throughout history political theory has been answering these questions. It has been regarded as important because the fate of man is dependent on the kind of system of rulers and the ruled that is achieved and whether it leads to united action for the common good.

### Political Theory and Political Thought

Political theory is sometimes synonymously regarded with political thought but it is important to understand they don't necessarily mean the same thing. Political thought is a generalized term which comprises all thoughts, theories and values of a person or a group of persons or a community on state and questions related to the state.

Any person expressing his views whether he is a professor, journalist, writer, novelist, poet etc. and of course if he is a politician that has a bearing on our lives and that is about state and governance and related questions then he is engaging in political thought. His thoughts may or may not comprise a theory if it is not a systematic logical hypothesis advanced to explain historical and political phenomenon related to political rule of the state and governance etc. Political thought thus is always of persons or groups while political theory is a self-contained and self-standing explanation or speculation or theory attempting to answer questions and explain history and the predict likely events in the future. Of course this theory is always some individual thinker's creation. Barker had commented that while political thought is the immanent philosophy of a whole age, political theory is the speculation of a particular thinker.

## Political Theory and Political Philosophy

Philosophy is all thinking really on anything and everything in search of the truth and wisdom. When this search is on political topics we call it political philosophy. Hence it may not necessarily have a theory to propose and that is the distinction between political philosophy and political thought. So while political theory is a part of political philosophy mostly political philosophy is much wider and need not necessarily be comprised of any theories.

Thus we can say political philosophy is the study of fundamental questions about the state, government, politics, liberty, justice, property, rights, law and the enforcement of a legal code by authority etc.: what they are, why (or even if) they are needed, what makes a government legitimate, what rights and freedoms it should protect and why, what form it should take and why, what the law is, and what duties citizens owe to a legitimate government, if any, and when it may be legitimately overthrown or not. We often refer "political philosophy" to mean a general view, or specific ethic, belief or attitude, about politics that does not necessarily belong to the whole technical discipline of philosophy.

Political philosophy is often not concerned with contemporary issues but with the more universal issues in the political life of man. But a political theorist is looking at contemporary political life mostly and while he is interested in explaining the nature and purpose of the state and general questions like that he is also looking to describe and understand the realities of political behaviour, the actual relations between state and citizens, and the role of power in the society.

While studying political science one gets the feeling political theory has to be supplemented by political philosophy. Otherwise it appears barren and irrelevant.

## Political Theory and Political Science

Political Science is a comprehensive subject or field of study of which political theory is only a sub-field. Political Science includes everything: political thought, political theory, political philosophy, political ideology, institutional or structural framework, comparative politics, public administration, international law and organisation etc. Some thinkers have stressed on the science aspect of political science and they suggest when political science is studied as a science with scientific methods political theory to the extent it is a part of political philosophy can not be regarded as political science because whereas there is no room for abstract intuitive conclusions or speculations in political science, political philosophy relies on exactly those un-exact methods. Political theory is neither pure thought, nor pure philosophy, nor pure science.

### Some Basic Characteristic of Political Theory

1. A political theory is generally the creation on individual thinker based on his moral and intellectual position and when propounding his theory he is looking explain the events, phenomenon and the mysteries generally of mankind's political life. The theory may or may not be accepted as true but it always can be regarded as one more theory. Generally we find the political theory of an individual thinker is put forward in a classic work of the thinker like Plato did in his Republic or Rawls in A Theory of Justice.
2. A political theory attempts to provide explanations on questions relating to mankind, the societies he formed and history and historical events generally. It also suggests ways of resolving conflicts and sometimes even advocates revolutions. There are also often predictions made about the future.
3. Political theory, thus, is also sometimes not only providing explanations and predictions but also sometimes actively influencing and E participating in historical events particularly when they propose political action of a particular kind and that line of action is widely adopted. The great positive liberal thinker Harold Laski had commented that the task of political theorists is not merely of description but also of prescription on what ought to be.
4. Political theory is also usually discipline based and thought. The subject of study remains the same for the theorist might be a philosopher, historian, economist, theologian or a sociologist etc.
5. Political theories are often also the basis for a whole ideology. The liberal theories became the basis for liberalism and Marx's theory became the basis for Marxian socialist ideology. A political theorist proposed by a thinker is usually always reflecting the political ideology of the thinker too. That is also the reason why when there are conflicts between ideologies it leads to debates about the theories underlying those ideologies.

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## Issues in Political Theory

The issues that have held prominence in political theory have changed over time. Classical and early political theory was mainly concerned with the search for a morally perfect political order and focused on questions like the nature and purpose of the state, the basis on which political authority should be used and the problem of political disobedience. The rise of the modern-nation state and changes in the economic structure and the industrial revolution gave rise to new priorities and the focus shifted to individualism and liberty of the individual and his relationship to society and the state. Issues like rights, duties, liberty, equality, and property became more important. Gradually it also became important to explain the inter relation between one concept and the other such as liberty and equality or, justice and liberty or, equality and property. After the Second World War a new kind of empirical political theory emerged which studied the political behaviour of man and believed in making theoretical conclusions on that basis. Also the behavioural scholars created new issues for study often borrowed from other disciplines. Some of these issues are political culture and legitimacy, political system, elites, groups, parties etc. In the last two decades a number of different issues have emerged like identity, gender, environmentalism, ecology and community etc. Also there has been a resurgence of value-based political theory with a new focus on the basic issues of freedom, equality and justice. The traditional twin ways of looking at issues—liberal and marxist—therefore is also changing.

## Relevance of Political Theory

We humans as social beings live together and societies where we share the resources, jobs and rewards. We are also individuals needing some basic human rights. The process of organising state and society therefore becomes important to maximize harmony and prosperity and to allow the circumstances for individual self-realisation. So to facilitate the unity and integrity of human societies or the collective needs of society political theory becomes important it tries to study and find solutions to problems in this process. The relevance lies in evolving various approaches regarding the nature and purpose of the state, the basis of political authority and the best form of government to practice, relations between the state and the individual in the context of his basic rights. Apart from this political theory also seeks to establish the moral criterion for judging the ethical worth of a political state and to suggest alternative political arrangements and practices. To sum up in brief the relevance of political theory lies in the following:

- (a) In providing an explanation and description of political phenomenon,
- (b) Helping select the political goals and actions for a community and
- (c) Helps in providing the basis for making moral judgments.

Also it has to be remembered increasingly at least in contemporary times states face challenges of poverty, corruption, over-population and ethnic and racial tensions, environment pollution etc. This is not to mention international problems like conflicts etc. Political Theory seeks to study the present and future problems of political life of the society and to suggest solutions for dealing with those problems. David Held has commented that the task of the political theorist is very great in its complexity because in the absence of systematic study, there is a danger that politics will be left to the ignorant and self-seeking people who are in pursuit of power.

Thus, if one has to systematically think about the nature and purpose of the state and the problems of government while looking at the socio-political reality and keeping in mind the ideals and political philosophy, then one has to take the route of theoretically studying the problem. Thus political theory is relevant. Also studying political theory at an individual level makes one aware of one's rights and duties and helps one understand and appreciate the socio-political realities and problems like poverty, violence, corruption etc. Political theory is also important because it can go forward basing itself on the theories and propose the means and directions for changing society to establish an ideal society. Marxist theory for instance is an example of a theory which not only proposes the direction but also goes so far as to advocate a revolution for establishing an egalitarian state. If the political theory is sound and it can be transmitted and communicated to people then it can become a very powerful force or the advancement of society and mankind.

## **The Important Schools of Political Theory**

The most important schools of political thought that have lasted in importance and have stood the test of time so to say are as follows:

1. Classical Political Theory
2. Liberal Political Theory
3. Marxist Political Theory
4. Empirical Scientific Political Theory
5. Contemporary Political Theory

## **Classical Political Theory**

The political theories that emerged starting from the 6th century B.C. and evolved through the Greeks, Romans and early European Christian thinkers and philosophers is referred to as Classical Political Theories. Among the Greeks, Plato and Aristotle are the two thinkers who are studied and who have great influence till today. Classical political theory was deeply dominated by philosophy and the whole focus was on taking a holistic gaze searching for the most general of truths. So there was no clear distinction between philosophical, theological and political issues and political science or thought was not separately recognised as a discipline as such. Political



theory was concerned with probing into issues, asking important questions and serving as a sort of conscience keeper of politics. The underlying quest was to arrive at the best possible form of government. The state and government were also viewed as a tool for realising the moral goals of man and society and for promoting the good. Thus the state was to serve as some sort of promoter to foster high moral standards among the members of the community. There had some debate about whether the individual good should be the priority or the common good. The common good was required as more complete than the private good of the individual. The classical tradition also sought to search ways for an ideal state and a stable system. The main questions that the classical tradition was asked was what is the best form of government? And who should rule and why? Also how should conflict situations be resolved.

## Liberal Political Theory

With the historical period referred to as Renaissance and Reformation in Europe which was followed by the Industrial Revolution, the dominance of the classical tradition came to an end. This new philosophical wave was led by thinkers like Hobbes, Locke, Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine, Jeremy Bentham, J.S. Mill, Herbert Spencer and a host of other writers. The main thrust of the liberal tradition was the individual's rights and the state was merely regarded as a contract between individuals to benefit from the conflict resolution mechanism that a system of rule of law provides. The main aim of the state in the liberal tradition is to help individuals realise their fundamental inalienable rights. In fact the liberal thinkers went so far as to propose that when the basic contractual relationship between the individual and the state is violated, the individuals have not only the right but the responsibility to revolt and establish a new government. Social control is best secured by law. The new liberal theories also dismissed the idea of common good and an organic community and instead advocated that the government should govern as less as possible for individual rights to reign supreme and free him from political, social and economic restraints as far as possible.

## Marxist Political Theory

The fundamental changes that industrial revolution brought about caused inequality and a large class of impoverished industrial workers emerged. The basic liberal position that supported total economic freedom was challenged by Karl Marx and Engles and their followers who in the later half of the nineteenth century proposed what they called 'scientific socialism'. Socialism predated the theory of Marx but he gave it a strong theoretical foundation. Marx offered a new way of looking at the history up to that time and suggested that the task of knowledge is not just to understand the world but also to change the social life of mankind for the better. For that he suggested a revolutionary path. He suggested that to win the basics of life for their

emancipation the working class has to takeover the means of production and the means of production should be controlled by the state. This takeover will need to happen via a revolution he suggested because the upper classes will use the power of the state to crush any attempts for liberation and emancipation of the lower classes.

Marx saw societies that liberal capitalism helped create as fundamentally unequal as a consequence of property concentration with a few families of fortune. Hence he wanted to create a society where "man shall not be exploited by man" and where each individual will have the full opportunity to develop his or her personality and potential. He also was the first major thinker to stress on the historical exploitation of the female gender and the need for women's liberation. The most important themes of Marxist political theory are class division, class struggle, property relations, modes of production, state as an instrument of class domination and revolution by the proletariat. Marxism also suggests that rights, liberty, equality, justice and democracy in a capitalist liberal democracy are really only enjoyed by the rich and properties classes because the state is controlled by the upper classes who use the institutions of the state as a tool for class exploitation. He believed real liberty and equality can only be achieved in a classless and stateless society. Thus whereas Liberal theory provided the theoretical basis for a capitalist free market system, Marxist political theory provided the basis for the establishment of a socialist state through revolutionary action.

## Empirical-Scientific Political Theory

In America a new kind of political theory was developed particularly in the post second world war period that suggested relying on the scientific method (instead of philosophical) and base theories upon facts (rather than on values). Political Scientists at the Chicago University (known as the Chicago School) such as Charles Merriam, Harold Lasswell, Gosnell, David Easton, Stuart Rice etc. focused on studying politics in the context of behaviour of individual human beings as members of a political community. The task of political theory according to this new school of thought is to formulate and systematize the concept of science of political behaviour in which emphasis is placed on empirical research than on political philosophy. The behavioural scientists suggested a political theorist should clarify and criticise systems of Concepts which have empirical relevance to political behaviour.

Behavioural schools differed fundamentally from all the previous schools because they suggested that the job of political theory is only to explain political phenomenon and extrapolate from that and predict the future. It is not to make philosophical and moral judgements. It is not at all to advocate revolutionary action. Thus political theory is not to question or propose who rules, should rule and why but rather who does rule

and how? Or in other words it should not question the basis of the state but should be happy with the status quo, stability, equilibrium and harmony in the society. It should focus attention on the study of political behaviour of man, group and institutions irrespective of their good or bad character. Practical political theory is not only concerned with study of the state but also with the political process.

## Contemporary Political Theory

Since the 1970 the sole focus of the empiricists and behavioural scholars on science, value-free politics and methods came under criticism and lost popularity because it failed to address pressing political and social issues. So there has been a revival of interest in political theory in USA, Europe and other parts of the world. Thinkers like John Rawls, Robert Nozick, and Habermas etc. made noteworthy contributions and took up basic issues like liberty, equality, and justice etc. again. Theory again regained the status of a legitimate form of knowledge and enquiry. Also on the question of what exactly is science there emerged many views that challenged the old notions. Further many scholars opined that social sciences throw up distinctive problems that cannot be grasped by scientific models. This is because perceptions and resulting actions of men vary and the same phenomenon can be viewed differently by different minds who may interpret the social issues differently. Hence, it is difficult to do an objective scientific analysis of social issues and events with scientific rigor.

The publication of John Rawls 1970 book A Theory of Justice was important because he examined basic issues like rights, duties and obligations with great brilliance and offered a justification of civil disobedience, and with an original enquiry into intergenerational justice. Scholars like Peter Laslett, John Pocock, Quentin Skinner and John Dunn were called the 'new historians' of political thought. Juergen Habermas and the Frankfurt School gave important theories and Ronald Dworkin focused on the philosophy of law. David Held has opined that contemporary political theory has four distinct tasks: Philosophical: to focus on the fundamental philosophical positions of the normative and conceptual framework; Empirical: to empirically understand and explain the concepts; Historical: to examine the important concepts in the historical context; and Strategic: to assess the feasibility of moving from where we are to where we might like to be.

## Nature and scope of political science

### 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 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. In this unit we discuss the nature of Political Science as a social science.

### 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, and 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. Whereas a formula in physics or chemistry is clear and universally accepted. e.g., The laws of gravity or the principles of arithmetic i.e., Two plus two equals four every where. 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 who are not under their control. Human behaviour is unpredictable and not always logical. Whereas physics and chemistry deal with matter or inanimate 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 so 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.

### **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. e.g., 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 e.g., 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.

## 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".

## 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 September 1948 at the UNESCO House decided the scope of Political Science.

1. **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.
2. **Political Institutions:** Study of Political Science includes the study of various constitutions, various systems of government and their merits, demerits etc. e.g., whether it is parliamentary, presidential, dictatorial, democratic, coalition form of government. Such a study helps us to reform out political institutions in order to realize our goals.
3. **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.

4. 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 more significant in the times of globalization.
5. 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 Organizations (NGOs), pressure groups, and 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.
6. 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 e.g.. 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".

7. Master Science: Aristotle called political science is 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.
  
8. 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.

## Decline and resurgence of political theory

The last one hundred fifty years till the Second World War have witnessed a steady decline, decay, and death of political theory. On account of several factors, it could not remain an innovative, integrative and invigorating enterprise. It stood as a passive or spineless spectator to the two world wars and failed to save humanity from senseless devastation.

These crises did not create any flutter in the hearts and minds of traditional political thinkers. Perhaps they were unable to react because of their old and anachronistic ideas or love of philosophic virtues to be realised in cloistered seclusion. It even did not cry against large-scale fratricide and senseless killings. They are still simply witnessing the events leading to a global war by nuclear weapons.

1. Easton has fervently analysed the causes behind this sad state of affairs and has subsumed them under the concept of 'historicism'. The latter term means a tendency to show that values and ideas are by-product of their milieu or prevailing circumstances. The writers adopt the role of historians and trace out history of values or institutions still surviving.

They vividly describe the conditions which produced a particular set of ideas. A 'historicist' political writer is little concerned with the problems of his times or finding out solutions or suggesting formulation of new values. He is, in brief, a prisoner of past, unable to peep into present or opine for a better future.

As described by Easton, the contemporary writers were:

- (i) Living parasitically on century-old ideas, and
- (ii) Remained unable to develop a new political synthesis.



They loved and believed in speculation which again was found to a by product of history. They concentrated their minds in analysing the meaning, logical consistency, and historical development of prevailing ideas. Easton puts them into four groups:

- (a) Institutionalists,
- (b) Interactionists,
- (c) Materialists, and
- (d) Value-writers.

Institutionalists, like McIlwain, go into the history of ideas for past rationalisation or justification of particular political interests and institutions. Interactionists, like Allen and sometimes Carlyle, analyse the interaction between ideas and institutions, and its impact on the process of social change. The materialists, such as Easton, Sabine and others look into cultural and historical milieu which produced the particular political thinking. The last group represented by Lindsay, take up specific values, say, democracy, nationalism or justice and trace out their genesis so as to provide a strong support.

2. In fact, Easton wants a political theory containing also reformulation of values suitable to the present age; and theorisation about political behaviour and institutions. Apart from historicism, forces of moral relativism, hyper factualism and lack of renovation have frustrated this goal. Moral Relativism indicates one's faith in the absence of universal principles of morality and believing in morality related to prevailing milieu. Hume, Max Weber, Comte, Marx and others had advocated its tenets. They detached values from facts, and regarded them merely as individual or group preferences.

These preferences were related, not with certain metaphysical or moral realities, but to one's own life experiences. Europe had evolved a common set of values like, capitalism, nationalism, and democracy, during the period of 1848-1918, and could afford 'moral relativism'. It continued to bask in the dreamland oblivious of the rise of a new value system in Russia, Fascism in Italy, and Nazism in Germany.

The concept of 'sociology of knowledge' also brought forward the view that ideas in man are products of his social milieu, and related to his times. In this manner knowledge could not have a purpose or goal. The question of 'knowledge for what?' was raised, but remained futile in view of prevailing notion of value free Political Science. Few cared for the problems of society, still less led knowledge to political goals or values. Lack of a proper value theory, historicism, and neglect of causal or empirical theory led to this decline. Excessive concentration on the study of facts, structures, processes, motives, and

attitudes etc., increased knowledge but not of ought, that is, destination and goals. Hyper-factualism or crude empiricism led to an avalanche of facts which was swaying away the whole discipline.

3. Alfred Cobban found the contemporary conditions similar to those prevailed during the Roman Empire. He looked at expansion of state power, bureaucracy, and huge military establishments as danger to the growth of political theory. The Communist world suffered from concentration of power and the party machine, whereas the western world failed to reform its democracy as a living tool'. Abstraction of state as an engine of power keeps moral values away from politics. All this has resulted in the consequential decline of political theory.
4. From the internal view of the discipline, Cobban opines that political thinking itself has become directionless, and lacks in the past, all great thinkers were passionately purpose. Worried about the fate of society, and seriously wanted to reform it through their creative ideas. They had full conviction in what they wrote or said. Now that passionate commitment, he complains, has been substituted by the teaching of historical approach and the scientific attitude. Historical approach led to power as standard of success. Blind adoption of scientific method, borrowed from natural sciences, resulted in the loss of criteria of judgement, and merely produced cold-blooded passionless scholars.
5. Dante Germino discovers 'ideological reductionism' as the cause of decline of political theory. By this he means reducing political theory to merely an ideology, such as, Marxism. The intellectual and political movements during the last one hundred and fifty years have contributed to its eclipse. Positivism of social science or a mad rat race to become 'science' and political upheavals of democracy, nationalism, imperialism etc.. have destroyed the environment necessary for the growth of political theory.

Destutt de Tracy the inventor of the term 'ideology', propounded it as 'science of determining the origin of ideas'. As usual, sense experience was the basis of his "ideology" or 'science of ideas'. Positivism of Auguste Comte gave birth to a 'science of society' or sociology by discovering laws governing human behaviour. It was patterned on natural sciences. Marx went a step further. He claimed that he had discovered the laws of human development. With such laws in hand or with Marxist ideology of society, the existing class could be transformed into a classless and stateless society. There is no other alternative. Theory, to him, is but a weapon in the hands of the working class. All that evaporated with the collapses of Soviet Union in 1990.