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QUESTION

Assignment: (Term paper)

N.B: Don't exceed 15 pages

- 1. How can a Lebanese retain or lose his or her newly acquired Nigerian citizenship.
- 2. Social Contract Theory explains the evolution of states, what other theories explain the same, and their strengths.

# **CITIZENSHIP**

Citizenship is the status of a person recognized under the custom or law as being a legal member of a sovereign state or belonging to a nation. The idea of citizenship has been defined as the capacity of individuals to defend their rights in front of the governmental authority. Individual states and nations recognize citizenship of persons according to their own policies, regulations and criteria as to who is entitled to its citizenship.

A person may have multiple citizenships. A person who does not have citizenship of any state is said to be stateless, while one who lives on state borders whose territorial status is uncertain is a border-lander.

Citizenship is based upon the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, dated 1989. (UKC-Commonwealth Nation). Those born before or on the date of independence, October 1, 1960, whose parents or grandparents were born in Nigeria and who were legally residing in Nigeria at the time, are considered citizens of Nigeria. Citizenship can be acquired:

By Birth: Birth within the territory of Nigeria does not automatically confer citizenship.

**By Descent:** A child with at least one of the parents as a citizen of Nigeria, regardless of the child's country of birth.

**By Registration:** The following persons are eligible to become citizens through registration: A foreign woman who marries a citizen of Nigeria. Person who is of adult age (17), born outside Nigeria, any of whose grandparents is or was a citizen of Nigeria. A foreign child adopted by Nigerian parents.

**By Naturalization:** Nigerian citizenship may be acquired upon fulfilment of the following conditions: Person is of full age (17), has resided in Nigeria for at least 15 years, is of good character, plans to remain in Nigeria, is familiar with Nigerian language and customs, has a viable means of support, and has renounced previous citizenship.

# HOW A LEBANESE (FOREIGNER) CAN LOOSE HIS OR HER NEWLY ACQUIRED NIGERIAN CITIZENSHIP

Loss of citizenship, also referred to as loss of nationality, is the event of ceasing to be a citizen of a country under the nationality law of that country. There are generally two categories of grounds for loss of citizenship. Voluntary renunciation of citizenship as well as, involuntary loss of citizenship, such as through denaturalization.

# **VOLUNTARY:**

"Voluntary loss", often called "relinquishment" or "renunciation", is initiated by the citizen.

Voluntary renunciation of Nigerian citizenship is permitted by law. The right to renounce Nigerian citizenship is established in § 29 of the 1999 Constitution of Nigeria, which states that "any citizen of Nigeria of full age who wishes to renounce his/her Nigerian citizenship shall make a declaration in the prescribed manner for the renunciation."

# CHAPTER III ARTICLE NUMBER 29 OF THE GENERAL PROVISION OF THE CONSITUTION OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA 1999 AS AMMENDED

29. (1) Any citizen of Nigeria of full age who wishes to renounce his Nigerian citizenship shall make a declaration in the prescribed manner for the renunciation.

(2) The President shall cause the declaration made under subsection (1) of this section to be registered and upon such registration, the person who made the declaration shall cease to be a citizen of Nigeria.

#### Conditions/procedure for renunciation

# Eligibility

- Such person must be aged 18 years and above (exception to a married woman below age 18 (S. 29 (4)(b))
- Such person must be of a sound mind
- Such person must have acquired or would likely be granted citizenship in another country
- Such person has no criminal or financial liability to the state

# The procedure for renunciation of citizenship in Nigeria

- Visit to the appropriate authority i.e. the Ministry of interior, Nigerian immigration service or the Nigerian embassy in the country where the person resides.
- Fill the application form with complete information which must be signed and certified before a magistrate, notary public, justice of peace or commissioner of oath Submit the application form(s) with the following documents:
- 1. Copy of the foreign passport
- 2. Copy of the foreign citizenship certificate or copy of confirmation that the applicant will become the citizen of a foreign country
- 3. Birth certificate
- 4. Citizenship certificate (if any)
- 5. National Identity card (if any)
- 6. Passport-sized photograph of the applicant
- 7. Nigerian passport or other traveling document
- 8. Marriage document (for female applicant below age 18)

Proof of acquisition of citizenship in another country

Note: The president reserves the power to withhold the registration of any declaration and renunciation of citizenship during war in which Nigeria is physically involved and where it is in his opinion that such declaration will be contrary to public policy. As stated in S. 29 (3) (a) (b) of the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as amended.

# **INVOLUNTARY:**

"Involuntary loss" may occur due to either automatic lapse of citizenship from the citizen for failure to take some action to retain citizenship, or active withdrawal of citizenship by the country.

# CHAPTER III ARTICLE NUMBER 28 AND 29 OF THE GENERAL PROVISION OF THE CONTITUTION OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA 1999 AS AMMENDED

28. (1) Subject to the other provisions of this section, a person shall forfeit forthwith his Nigerian citizenship if, not being a citizen of Nigeria by birth, he acquires or retains the citizenship or nationality of a country, other than Nigeria, of which he is not a citizen by birth.

30. (1) The President may deprive a person, other than a person who is a citizen of Nigeria by birth or by registration, of his citizenship, if he is satisfied that such a person has, within a period of seven years after becoming naturalized, been sentenced to imprisonment for a term of not less than three years.

(2) The President shall deprive a person, other than a person who is citizen of Nigeria by birth, of his citizenship, if he is satisfied from the records of proceedings of a court of law or other tribunal or after due inquiry in accordance with regulations made by him, that -

(a) The person has shown himself by act or speech to be disloyal towards the Federal Republic of Nigeria; or

(b) The person has, during any war in which Nigeria was engaged, unlawfully traded with the enemy or been engaged in or associated with any business that was in the opinion of the president carried on in such a manner as to assist the enemy of Nigeria in that war, or unlawfully communicated with such enemy to the detriment of or with intent to cause damage to the interest of Nigeria.

# **THE EVOLUTION/ ORIGIN OF STATES**

Political thinkers and philosophers have tried and attempted to trace out and explain the origin of the state in various methods, according to the nature and the social condition prevalent at the time of their thinking. However, there is no valid answer to "what is the origin of the state?" There were many contradictions in the thesis on what the origin of States. Nowhere in the history has it been recorded when the state came into existence. Some believe that the origin of the state lie in the hands of God whereas others believe that they are based on social contract and some trust on single force, the family or the process of evolution. The research anthropology ethnology and comparative philosophy had tried to focus on the origin of the state but it was not adequate.

As a result some political thinkers/ scientists and historical researchers propounded theories as to what they regarded in their own perspectives as the correct explanation for the evolution of states. These theories are:

- 1. The theory of Divine Origin
- 2. Patriarchal Theory
- 3. Matriarchal Theory
- 4. Force Theory
- 5. Historical or Evolutionary Theory
- 6. Marxist Theory.
- 7. Social Contract Theory

The examination and comparison of elements of truth in these thesis shall pave way for finding out the secret in the origin of the state and its generally accepted explanations.

Here we are to explain the other theories which like social contract theory was created in order to explain the evolution of states and say the validity of which it holds.

#### THE THEORY OF DIVINE ORIGIN

This theory is said to be the oldest theory propounded for the basis of the evolution of the states. This theory can also be called the theory of divine rights of kings. Here we are made to believe that God created the state and appointed the King to rule over the state. The King here is made accountable to God alone, his subordinates have no right to question his authority or rule. They are expected to follow his every command as obedience to him is seen as an ordinance unto God while disobedience is sin as a sin unto God. The King is a supreme ruler who is not subject to the law. The influence of the church and religion at large influenced this theory to a great extent. This theory is of divine origin and can be seen in the Old Testament as spoken by Paul "Let every soul be subject unto higher powers; for there is no power but of God; the powers that be, are ordained by God. Whosoever resist the power, resisted the ordinance of God and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation."

In 1680 Sir Robert Filmer wrote a book "The Law of the Free Monarchies" where he stated that Adam was the First King on earth. This is because in the beginning of creation of the world God put Adam in charge of the creatures of the earth and the whole earth itself.

The King as seen according to this theory was both the political and religious head. In ancient India the kings ruled under the injunction of Dharma. In Christianity the Pope was seen as a semi-God, to the Muslims Caliph was a priest king. Both the church and the state in their mutual rivalry used the theory of the divine origin in the medieval age. The European kings used this theory to justify their dictatorship. As time went on this theory began to decline because humans were now seen to have been the ones responsible for the creation of the state and not God.

# Causes of decline of the theory:

- 1. Emergence of better theories like the social contract theory which held the wishes of the people in high esteem.
- 2. The beginning of the Reformation Movement in 16<sup>th</sup> century in Europe which curbed the authority of the church and the pope. During this period the church was separated from the state. The post-reformation period is a period of non-religious politics.
- 3. Scientific and logical thinking of the renaissance and reformation enabled men to look into the theory of the origin of state.
- 4. The growth of scientific enquiry and materialistic view of political mechanism.
- 5. Democracy was a big blow for the autocratic dogma of mixing religion with politics. Modern theory of Thomas Hill Green that democracy i.e. the will of the people was the basis of the state, was the final nail to the coffin as regards divine origin theory.

# The theory of divine right origin was criticized by R.N Gilchrist on the basis that:

- 1. The state is not a creation of God but a human institution organized in an association by human agents.
- 2. It is unscientific as it doesn't support logic and reasoning.
- 3. It is undemocratic.
- 4. It goes against the universally accepted view that the state is as a result of historical evolution.
- 5. The claim of the Old Testament was overruled by the New Testament which separates religion from politics, "give to Caesar what belongs to Caesar and to God what belongs to God."
- 6. It is unrealistic: A bad ruler will continue to rule under the divine shield.
- 7. It leads to bad consequences

# Merits of divine origin theory:

- 1. It created moral responsibility of the rulers because they were cast with the divine injunction to rule to the perfect satisfaction of heaven.
- 2. It stimulated discipline and law abidingness among the subjects at that time.

Due to its many disadvantages and the fact that this theory is prone to produce an anarchical state the theory was hence rejected. All its validation as regards the evolution/ origin of the states were hence rendered invalid.

# PATRIARCHAL THEORY

The principal exponent of this theory is Sir Henry Maine, while the co exponent is Edward Jenks. It is stated here that patriarchal family is the most ancient organized social institution in the society.

Henry Main viewed the state as a conglomerate of families which developed under the control and authority of the eldest male member of the family. He painted a picture in which he stated that as a family grows and expand it gives birth to a gen (household), several gens come together to form a clan, a group of clans form a tribe which forms a commonwealth (state).

Edward Jenks is of the opinion that a state is brought about by: male kinship, permanent marriages, parental authority. He says that the family which in the long run makes up a state grew through the descent of the father as it is the male child which develops the population through marriage.

Aristotle also supported this view by stating that: men and women unit to form families, families unite to form villages, the union of many villages results into a state, which is a self-supporting unit

# This theory is criticised as follows:

- 1. The state which is a complex whole is made up of many factors: family, religion, force, political necessity etc. According to J. C Frazer "Human society is built up by a complex of causes". Thus it will be unwise to attribute just one of its many factors as the basis for its overall origin.
- 2. This theory was debased by Morgan, McLennan and Edward Jenkins who claimed that matriarch hall family and polyandry are the basis of evolution or origin of the state and not the patriarchal family. They also said that the primary social unit was the matriarchal family.
- 3. Jenks said that it is the tribe rather than the family which is the beginning of the state.
- 4. Henry Maine oversimplified the origin of the state by attributing it to the family alone.

This theory is thus rejected due to the opposing views and due to the fact that it is an oversimplified theory. It is also viewed that the authority of the father over his children is temporal but the authority of state over its population is perpetual. As such Maine's view point which is the foundation of this theory is debased due to this.

#### MATRIARCHAL THEORY

The foundation of this theory is attributed mainly to Morgan, McLennan and Edward Jenks. This theory is based on the claim that there never one existed a patriarchal family in primitive society. Patriarchal family came to be only when the system of permanent marriage was in vogue. There rather existed a sort of sex anarchy and due to this the mother was the head of the family and the kinship was thus through her. This system continued up until the advent of the pastor's age (permanent marriage). Instances of monarchical systems of life include: the Queen ruling over in Malabar, The princesses ruling in Maratha.

#### Criticism was laid upon this theory due to the fact that:

- 1. The state is made up of many factors: family, force, politics, religion, contract and they all contribute to the origin of the state. Thus as stated in the patriarchal theory it will be foolish to attribute only one of the factors present in the creation of state to justify the basis of the origin of the state as a whole.
- 2. It is mistaken here that the origin of family is the origin if state. They are different in essence, organisation, function and purpose.
- 3. Matriarchal family was not the only system at that time. Both matriarchal and patriarchal system prevailed side by side.

This theory like the patriarchal theory is therefore disregarded on the basis of attributing only one of the factors of the state to its origin as a whole. It is further debased by the statement of Stephen Leacock.

Stephen Leacock "Here it may be patriarchal family, there it may be matriarchal family, but there is no denying the fact that family is the basis of the state."

#### FORCE THEORY

This theory relies on the quote "war begot the king" as the basis behind the historical evolution of the state. The mentality of this theory is based on survival of the fittest, here might rule over right. The brain behind this theory is that aggression by some powerful tribes were the principle factors in the creation of a state.

According to this theory the strongest person in the tribe was made the leader. After establishing the state by subjugating the other people in the place, the chief uses his authority to maintain law and order and protect the people from external attack. Here it was said that small states fought against themselves and the successful ones made bigger states through conquest. Historical examples of states which were created based on this include: Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. The Normans established the kingdom of England by defeating the locals there in 11<sup>th</sup> century A.D. Spain emerged as a new state in 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D.

In support of this theory, Stephen Butler Leacock states that "the beginning of the state are to be sought in the capture and enslavement of man- by –man, in the conquest and subjugation acquired by superior physical force. The progressive growth from tribe to kingdom and from kingdom to empire is but a continuation from the same process."

Bernhardi also stated that "Might is supreme right, and the disputes as to what is right is decided by the arbitrement of war. War gives a biologically just decision since its decision rests on what the very nature of things."

# *History / supporting motions of the theory:*

- 1. The theory is based on survival of the fittest as since in the animal kingdom where the animals fight and prey on each other as a means of survival. This can also be likened to the human world in the area of conquest which is a method used in the ancient times in the creation of new states.
- 2. The clergy man condemns the authority of the state as one of force, thus given credit to the theory of force.
- 3. The socialist condemns the coercive power of the state in curbing and exploiting workers, thus given credit to the force theory.
- 4. This theory is supported by many German philosophers among the many are: Immanuel Kant, Friedrich Hegel, and John Bernhardi. They all claimed that force and war were the deciding factors needed for the formation of the state.

# The theory of force faced criticism due to the following factors:

1. Force is not the only factor which contributed in the origin of the state but one of the factors alongside family, religion, politics etc. As seen in the debased patriarchal and matriarchal theory it will be unwise to attribute on of the factors of the state as the sole claim of its origin or evolution.

This has been rightly pointed out by Stephen Butler Leacock- "The theory errs in magnifying what has been only one factor in the evolution of society into the sole controlling force." A state may be created by force temporarily. But to perpetuate it something more is essential.

2. This theory goes against the universally accepted maxim of Thomas Hill Green "Will not force is the basis of the state." No state can be permanent by bayonets and daggers. For the state to be created it must therefore have a generally voluntary acceptance by the people.

- 3. This theory is inconsistent with individual liberty. Force being the basis of the origin of the state doesn't permit the individuals in that state to exercise their freedom as they ought to and as such constrains individual liberty.
- 4. If the doctrine of survival of the fittest (the basis of force theory) was the order of the day then Mahatma Gandhi's non- violence triumph over the brute British imperialists would never have come to be.
- 5. Political consciousness is the origin of the state. Without political consciousness of the people the state cannot be created. This is because politics is one of the factors which contributes to the origin of the state and as such it is required before any state is to be created.

We may conclude with the words of R. N. Gilchrist- "The state, government and indeed all institutions are the result of man's consciousness, the creation of which have arisen from his appreciation of a moral end."

# This theory was advantageous in the following ways:

- 1. It gives credit to the fact that some states at some points in time were created by means of force.
- 2. It makes one conscious as to the need to build an adequate defence and army to protect the territorial integrity of the state.

Due to the criticism and the violation of the universally accepted maxim of Thomas Hill Green this theory was therefore disregarded and it was not all states which were created by means of force due to this realization the theory is therefore rendered invalid.

# MARXICIAN THEORY

This theory is propounded based on the view that the state is a creation by the class-struggle with the help of force. It is said that there were periods in the development of society when it did not exist, and as society develops, there would be a time when it would cease to exist.

Marxists explained this theory by painting a scenario which started from the primitive society in which there was no surplus wealth and as such no state. As the society grew, it split into hostile classes with conflicting interests. Class antagonism was said to be the root cause of the creation of the state. People learned agriculture as an art of culture and this brought about the development of private property. The insolvable opposition as a result of division of labour became so severe that no class could keep reconciled in the state and none could keep the quarrelling class under control.

The dominant class in charge of the means of production therefore created the state so as to have dominion over the other classes. The state here is now used as a means of exploitation and oppression of one class over the other. It ensured the right of the dominant class to exploit

the other classes. The state here is a coercive device in the service of the ruling class in a classdivided society. The state is said to be a creation of the society's internal development at a certain stage of development (according to Marxist Philosophy written by V.G Afanasyev). Economic factor was key in class struggle. It was said that as the dominant class changed so did the character of the state change as well.

The state is said to be independent yet the independent nature at the political level is deeply rooted in the balance of class forces and the struggles emanating from the principal contradictions within the state. Based on this the essential features of the state are: The state is a power, fund acquisition, state has boundaries that cannot be violated.

V.I. Lenin painted a scenario bringing the communist party as the dominant class namely the USSR, where the proletariat, the dominant class exploits the other classes. Here the proletariat used the element of force against the bourgeois, the state was a tool in their hands in which they used in oppression of the other classes.

Lenin stated that, "in an antagonistic class society the State is a political instrument, a machine for maintaining the rule of one class over another."

Antonio Gramsci said that the state is a creation of the political party that holds power. He terms the political party as the "modern prince."

Indeed, Marxists have argued that the State cannot be understood separately from the economic structure of society, and that the State emerges out of, and in a sense reflects the class system.

# **Basic Elements of Marxist Theory**

1. An important element of the Marxist theory of the State is the idea of the "withering away of the State."

According to Oladipo, the idea that the state will wither away at a certain stage of the development of society is based on the Marxist understanding of the origin and nature of the State; and since the state is a product of the division of society into antagonistic classes and because it exists for keeping the conflict between these classes in order, it will wither away when these classes cease to exist and we have a classless society. The state as a political power is not inevitable since it would eventually cease to exist. The state didn't exist in earlier periods of development of the society. Social relations were regulated by the force of habit, custom and tradition embodying common life and work.

2. Social division of labour and division of the society into two classes: masters and slaves or exploiters and exploited. This is as a result of the development in the means of production. As such human labour is required to provide more than necessary for its maintenance.

- 3. The need for public power to control the antagonistic struggle between classes. The state however becomes an instrument of oppression.
- 4. The nature of the socioeconomic formation of the state is determined by its character and the type of order it maintains in any given society.
- 5. The state seeks to regulate relations between members of the ruling class so that they can maintain their cohesion and protect the interest of the ruling class beyond its borders.
- 6. The welfare or Free State is illusionary because the organization of the ruling class for the maintenance of its interest cannot be free. It suppressed the interests of the oppressed class by protecting that of the politically and economically dominant class.

# Marxists believe that three major attributes of the State can be identified. These are:

- (a) It is a public power in contrast to the direct organisation of the armed people which existed in tribal society. A feature of the State is not its power of coercion in general which is to be found in some form in any society, but above all its public power, that is a power that does not coincide with the mass of population and is exercised by a special category of people;
- (b) The state organisation of society presupposes the levying of taxes that are needed for the upkeep of the apparatus of power. As internal and external contradictions become more intense and the State apparatus grows, its maintenance swallows up more and more of the resources of society;
- (c) The subjects of the state are divided not according to blood relationship but on the basis of territory. The power of the state is exercised directly over a certain territory and its population, and this territorial division of people effects the development of economic ties and the creation of political conditions for their regulation.

# The criticism of this theory is as follows:

- 1. Never in history was it stated that the state is linked with class struggles.
- 2. There might have been different interests but it is difficult to say that the classes were at war, in fact they cooperated with each other towards the development of the society.
- 3. Marxist theory is not original, it carries the already disregarded mentality of the force theory.
- 4. By identifying state with political party the Marxists have generalized communist state as an example for all other states.
- 5. Marxism theory is dangerous because it encourages totalitarianism of the worst type by identifying with the party.

6. The dogma of state being the creation of class is false as the state is a permanent structure and it has at no point in time died away for want of a class to back it.

Marxist theory was disregarded as the theory for the origin of state because of its criticism and the fact that it based its theory on a communist state which is not the case in all states. It only narrowed its view to one type of state and linked it to a party and this brings about totalitarianism.

# HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF STATE

This theory is propounded by J.W Burgess, and is a generally accepted theory on the origin of the state. This Evolutionary theory is also known as sociological or the correct theory of the origin of the state. This theory states that the state coming into existence is as a result of natural evolution.

J.W Burgess termed foundation of this theory as the gradual and continuous development of human society out of a grossly imperfect beginning through crude but improving forms of manifestations towards a perfect and universal organisation of mankind.

This theory explains that the state is the product of growth, a slow and steady evolution extending over a long period of time and ultimately shaping itself into the complex structure of a modern state. This theory is more scientific.

The state is neither the handiwork of God, nor the result of superior physical force, nor the creation of evolution or convention, nor a mere expansion of the family. The state is not a mere artificial mechanical creation but an institution of natural growth or historical evolution says Professor Garner.

There were a number of factors which helped the evolution of the state. They were kinship, religion, war, migration economic activities and political consciousness. No single factor alone was responsible for its origin. Sometimes all and sometimes many of them help the process by which uncivilized society was transformed into a state. Due to this the origin of the state cannot be traced to a particular period of time but is said to have evolved over time.

# The important factors which contributed to the growth of the state are:

- 1. Kinship
- 2. Religion/ common worship
- 3. Property and defence
- 4. War and Force
- 5. Political consciousness

# 1. Kinship

This is a said to be the first and strongest bond of unity. The family is said to be the first link in the evolution/ creation of a state. As families grow and multiply they become clans and soon turn into tribes. Kinship is said to be the only factor that bonds people together.

According to Professor Mac Iver, the magic of names

"reinforced the sense of kinship, as the course of generations enlarged the group. The blood bond of sonship changed imperceptibly into the social bond of the wider brotherhood. The authority of the father passes into the power of the chief once more under the aegis of kinship new forms arise which transcend it. Kinship creates the society and the society at length creates the state."

# 2. Religion/ common worship

Religion provided the bond of unity in early society. It also affected all walks of life. The worship of a common ancestor and common gods created a sense of social solidarity. There was fear in the hearts of men as far as religion was concerned. Even today we see religious practices, affairs and faith in uniting people. In the early days a number of races are united by religion and unity was essential for the creation of state.

In ancient times people were not civilized and advanced. So they did not understand the forces of nature. At that stage man was at the mercy of nature. So he tried to control them by different practices which later on got the name of magic. Some people tribes had the knowledge of these forces. So they acquired superiority over others and became their leaders. With the passage of time such men became the priest-kings.

# 3. War and force

War and force also played an important role in the development of the state. Wherever force is used there is a definite purpose for it. In the beginning force was used to capture animals, wealth and land of the neighbouring tribes. So we can say that the wars in the beginning were for economic purposes. War changed the tribes into political entity. As a result there came into being a permanent leadership. During the time of war the tribal chose their leaders who led them in the war. Since war became a permanent feature of tribal life, leadership also became permanent. With the passage of time a powerful tribal leader after many successful wars became the king. In this way a tribal state was changed into kingdoms and in this way the modern state came into being.

Force also played an important part in the evolution of the state. It was the use of physical force that was responsible for the growth of kingdoms and empires. When people go into war they gain territory by conquest and the original owners of the land are forced to be subjugated as a result and the conquerors become the rules and owners of the state.

#### 4. Property and defence

In the beginning people roamed from place to place in search of pasture and water. They did not know what agriculture was and how crops were cultivated. As a result of this they did not occupy a particular territory and lead a settled life. With the passage of time population increased and man was compelled to lead a settled life. This compelled them to occupy land with this there arose the need to have an authority to define and enforce the rights of the families or individuals within the territory of the settled community. This authority was also supposed to defend the wealth, which consisted mainly of land and domestic animals. In other words a common authority was needed to define property rights and property relations and to decide issues like inheritance, theft, exchange of goods etc. It is said where there is no property there can be no government. This means that the government and the state came into existence with the beginning of the private property and the division of the society with classes.

#### 5. Political consciousness

The last is political consciousness arising from the fundamental needs of life for protection and order. In the beginning there was the need for defence and protection of life, liberty and property, regulation of social relations etc. Political consciousness began in ancient times. It is a very slow process. It took a very long time for man to ask about the political authority. When the people settle down on a definite territory in pursuit of their, subsistence and a desire to secure it from encroachment by others. The need for regulating things and persons is felt imminently and this is the essence of political consciousness.

Five theories have been discussed in the explanation of the origin of the state, but no single theory offers an adequate explanation. The theory which explains and is now accepted as a convincing origin of the state, is the Historical or Evolutionary theory. This theory helps in understanding the forces and factors, which created the state and historical stage through which it passed. Of all the theories which seek to explain the origin of the states, the evolutionary theory is the most satisfactory.