# COMPARATIVE PUBLIC LAW

FOREWORD BY

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### First Volume

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# 13. The Concept of Separation of Powers in Changing Time

Dr. Prachi Motiyani<sup>397</sup>

### Abstract

"The Concept of Separation of Powers in Changing Times" explores the enduring principle of separation of powers in the context of evolving sociopolitical landscapes and challenges of the 21st century. This chapter delves the fundamental importance in democratic governance, and its adaptation to contemporary complexities. It discusses the ongoing debate regarding the practical application of the separation of powers, the significance of checks and balances, and the need for flexibility and cooperation among branches of government. By examining the concept's resilience and relevance in the face of globalization, technological advancements, and political polarization, this chapter underscores the enduring strength of this foundational principle in guiding democratic governance through changing times.

**Keywords:** Separation of Powers, Democracy, Governance, Contemporary Challenges

### I. Introduction

In the Indian context, a nation characterized by a complex and diverse political history, the idea of the separation of powers has adapted to accommodate the country's distinct socio-political circumstances, challenges, and ambitions. India has historically prioritized a separation of functions over a strict division of powers. Unlike the United States, India does not rigidly adhere to the concept of the separation of powers. Instead, a system of checks and balances has been established, granting the judiciary the authority to invalidate any unconstitutional laws passed by the legislature.

Today, most constitutional systems, India included, do not strictly enforce a traditional separation of powers among different government branches because such a strict demarcation often proves impractical. In the subsequent

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>397</sup> Assistant Professor, University School of Law, Gujarat University, Ahmedabad

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sections, we will delve into the existing system in India, clarify the relationships among each governmental entity, and scrutinize the relevant constitutional provisions<sup>398</sup>.

### II. Concept of Separation of Powers

The concept of Separation of Powers entails the division of the governance system into three distinct branches: The Legislature, The Executive, and The Judiciary. While different scholars may offer various definitions, this doctrine generally embodies three key features:

- 1. Distinct Personnel: Each branch should consist of individuals who exclusively serve in that particular branch, without simultaneous roles in other branches. In other words, a person responsible for one branch's function should not hold a position in another branch.
- 2. Non-Interference: Each branch should refrain from interfering in the operations of the other branches. This means that one branch should not intrude upon the functions and responsibilities of the other branches.
- 3. Preservation of Mandate: Each branch should adhere to its designated functions and responsibilities, without encroaching upon the domains of other branches. They should operate within the boundaries of their specific mandate

### III. Importance of the Doctrine

The doctrine of the separation of powers holds significant importance in the functioning of a democratic state. Its significance lies in several key aspects:

- 1. Curbing Autocracy: Concentrating power in a single authority significantly raises the risk of mismanagement, corruption, favouritism, and the misuse of authority. The separation of powers acts as a safeguard against these autocratic tendencies within a democratic framework. It establishes a system where power is spread across different branches, diminishing the potential for unchecked domination.
- 2. Protecting Individual Freedoms: By distributing government functions among distinct branches, the separation of powers serves as a shield for the rights and freedoms of individuals. It guarantees that no one branch can

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>398</sup> Soni Komal. "Separation of Power in India", *available at* https://www.legalserviceindia.com/legal/article-6034-separation-of-powers-in-india.html (last visited on October 21, 2023).

wield unrestricted control over citizens, thereby shielding individual liberties from arbitrary government actions.

- 3. Enhancing Administrative Efficiency: This doctrine contributes to the establishment of an efficient administration. Each government branch is responsible for specific functions, allowing for specialization and expertise in those domains. This specialization can lead to more effective and streamlined governance<sup>399</sup>.
- 4. Preserving Judicial Autonomy: The separation of powers plays a crucial role in preserving the independence of the judiciary. When the judiciary operates without political influence or interference from the executive or legislative branches, it can make impartial and just decisions, ensuring the delivery of justice.
- 5. Preventing Unjust Laws: By dispersing powers and responsibilities, the doctrine serves as a barrier against the legislature enacting unfair or unconstitutional laws. The system of checks and balances ensures that proposed laws undergo scrutiny and assessment to ascertain their compliance with the constitution and alignment with principles of fairness and equity.

### IV. Doctrine of Separation of Power and Indian Constitution

While our Constitution doesn't strictly adhere to the concept of Separation of Powers in an absolute sense, it does effectively differentiate the functions of various government branches. As a result, our Constitution does not envision one part or organ of the state assuming functions that rightfully belong to another 400.

Specifically, the Executive is empowered to wield the authority of departmental or subordinate legislation when delegated such powers by the legislature. Furthermore, when granted the appropriate authority, the Executive can engage in limited judicial functions<sup>401</sup>.

According to Article 162 of the Indian Constitution, a state government is prohibited from exercising its executive powers in violation of the law 402.

<sup>401</sup> M.V. Siva Prasad V. Government of Andhra Pradesh and others, 2010

<sup>402</sup> P.Rajaji V. State of Tamilnadu, 2009 AIR 389 (Mad)

<sup>399</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>400</sup> Takwani C.K, "Constitutional Law of India", Whytes & Co. (4<sup>th</sup> Edition), P. 679



### Article 50

Article 50 is a directive principle enshrined in the Indian Constitution, which is a non-justiciable provision. It states: "The State shall take steps to separate the judiciary from the executive in the public services of the State. 40311 In simpler terms, Article 50 emphasizes the importance of maintaining a clear separation between the executive (government) and the judiciary (courts) in the functioning of the state. The primary objective is to ensure the independence of the judiciary and to prevent undue influence or control of the executive over the judicial branch. This separation is considered essential for upholding the rule of law and ensuring that justice is dispensed fairly and impartially.

### Separation of Judiciary from Executive

This separation of powers between the judiciary, the executive, and the legislature is a cornerstone of the Constitution. Before independence, the executive had direct control over the criminal magistracy, which led to public protests and demands for judicial independence. Article 50 aimed to rectify this situation and establish a judiciary that was immune from executive influence<sup>404</sup>.

Over time, the Constitution has been amended to strengthen and preserve judicial independence. The Supreme Court has played a crucial role in enhancing the prestige and dignity of the subordinate judiciary. It has ruled that only judicial magistrates can be promoted to the position of District Judge, and executive magistrates cannot. The Constitution also contains provisions concerning the higher judiciary, namely the Supreme Court and High Courts. Through various legal cases, the Court has interpreted and reinforced these provisions to further safeguard the independence and integrity of the judiciary.

While Article 50 allows some flexibility, it is essential to ensure that its principles are not compromised. For example, appointing a municipal officer as a magistrate for sanitation-related offenses 405, or merging judicial and executive functions in village panchayats, may not be unconstitutional<sup>406</sup> as long as they are structured in a manner that upholds the principle of Article 50, which is vital for the rule of law. The Supreme Court has declared that the independence of the judiciary is a fundamental aspect of the Constitution's basic structure<sup>407</sup>. In the case of Ram Jawaya Kapur v. State of Punjab<sup>408</sup>, the Supreme Court

emphasized that while the Indian Constitution does not rigidly adhere to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>403</sup> V.D. Mahajan, *Constitutional Law of India* 322 (Eastern Book Company, 8<sup>th</sup> Edition).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>404</sup> M.P. Jain, *Indian Constitutional Law* 1498-1499 (Lexis Nexis, Eighth Edition)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>405</sup> Balchand v. Mandsaur Municipality, AIR 1964 MP 20

<sup>406</sup> Gurdial Singh v. State of Punjab, AIR 1957 Punj 149 407 Supra note 403

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>408</sup> AIR 1955 SC 549



doctrine of the separation of powers, it does clearly distinguish the functions of various branches of government. As a result, it can be asserted that the Constitution does not permit one branch or organ of the State to assume functions that inherently belong to another.

In the case of *Nixon and Joseph v. Union of India*<sup>409</sup>, the Kerala High Court raised a significant issue concerning the independence of the judiciary through a week-long petition filed in the form of a Public Interest Litigation. This petition, known as the said Petition, sought to impose a ban on retired High Court and Supreme Court judges from participating in legislative elections and accepting appointments to serve on commissions of inquiry. The concern was that such engagements might compromise their independence, a matter of utmost importance to the High Court. Over time, the judiciary has earned the trust of the people as a robust institution capable of effectively combating corruption and nepotism within high-ranking positions. It holds a crucial role in the public perception as the guardian of democracy.

In this context, the High Court underlines the principle of judicial integrity as a matter of paramount significance. The High Court asserts that the post-retirement pursuits of judges for personal career advancement may not align with, or be in the best interests of, an independent judiciary. Nevertheless, the Court refrained from making a final decision and deferred the matter to the central government for consideration, recognizing its critical implications and its status as a matter of national importance.

In the case of *Union of India v. Delhi High Court Bar Association*<sup>410</sup>, the Delhi High Court had ruled that the Recovery of Debts due to Banks and Financial Institutions Act of 1993 was unconstitutional. The reason cited was that the Act seemed to undermine the independence of the judiciary by limiting the jurisdiction of civil courts. Additionally, the Act excluded the High Court from any role in appointing presiding officers for the tribunals established under the Act.

In response, the Supreme Court disagreed with the Delhi High Court's decision. The Supreme Court emphasized that there was no reason to assume that the tribunals created under Article 323 A and 323 B of the Constitution would lack independence. This was especially so because the Act required presiding officers of these tribunals to have qualifications equivalent to that of judges, and all their decisions were subject to judicial review. Therefore, the Supreme Court contended that the independence of the judiciary was not compromised, and the tribunals could function effectively under the law.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>409</sup> AIR 1998 Ker 385

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>410</sup> AIR 2002SC 1479



### Article 123

Article 123 grants the President of India the power to issue ordinances when Parliament (the legislative branch) is not in session. An ordinance has the same force and effect as an Act of Parliament but is temporary in nature. The President can issue ordinances on matters that fall within the legislative authority of Parliament, as outlined in the Union List of the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution. However, these ordinances must be approved by Parliament within six weeks of its reassembly. In the context of Article 123, the power to issue ordinances is an executive function. However, it involves a temporary exercise of legislative power by the executive branch. This power, while essential in addressing urgent situations when Parliament is not in session, is subject to parliamentary oversight and approval, thus preserving the checks and balances in the system.

### Article 121 and Article 211

Articles 121 and 211 of the Indian Constitution are directly related to the separation of powers and play a crucial role in maintaining the independence of the legislature (Parliament) and the judiciary.

### Article 121:

Article 121 of the Indian Constitution pertains to the restriction on discussions in the Parliament with respect to the conduct of judges of the Supreme Court and High Courts. It states that no discussion shall take place in Parliament on the conduct of judges except when an impeachment motion against a judge is being considered. Impeachment of a judge requires a specific and well-defined process, including the support of a substantial number of members of Parliament.

### Article 211:

Article 211 deals with the restrictions on discussions in the state legislatures (legislative bodies of the states) regarding the conduct of judges of High Courts. Similar to Article 121, it prohibits discussions in state legislatures concerning the conduct of judges except when an impeachment motion is being considered.

Articles 121 and 211 are in line with the separation of powers by safeguarding the independence of the judiciary, a key component of this separation. These articles prohibit unwarranted discussions or criticisms of



judges' conduct in the legislative bodies. This is essential for the following reasons:

- Preserving Judicial Independence: By restricting discussions about judges' conduct in Parliament and state legislatures, the Constitution ensures that judges are not subject to political pressure or influence from the legislative branch. This is crucial for maintaining the independence and impartiality of the judiciary.
- Impeachment as a Carefully Regulated Process: The Constitution provides a specific mechanism for addressing misconduct by judges through the impeachment process. This process is carefully regulated and involves a high threshold, requiring a substantial level of support from the legislative branch, thus preventing frivolous or politically motivated attempts to interfere with judicial independence.

### Article 361

Article 361 of the Indian Constitution deals with the protection of the President and the Governors from legal proceedings during their terms in office. This article is related to the concept of separation of powers by establishing certain immunities for the executive branch, specifically the President and Governors, to shield them from undue interference from the judiciary.

### V. Role of Judiciary in Upholding Doctrine of Separation of Powers

The doctrine of the separation of powers has been essential in maintaining a balanced and effective governance system in India. Throughout the past six decades, the judiciary has faced significant challenges in upholding this doctrine, but it has also delivered landmark judgments that emphasize the independence of the judiciary and highlight its success in India.

One of the first key judgments that played a pivotal role in shaping the understanding of the separation of powers in India was the case of *Ram Jawaya* v. State of *Punjab*<sup>411</sup>. In this case, the court addressed the concept of the separation of powers, and it was observed that this doctrine was not adopted in an absolute, rigid sense within the Indian context. Justice Mukherjea's perspective further underscores that the doctrine, as traditionally defined, may not be fully embraced in India. He noted:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>411</sup> AIR 1955 SC 549



"While the Indian constitution may not rigidly adhere to the doctrine of an absolute separation of powers, it does distinguish and allocate functions among the different branches of government. Hence, it can be concluded that our constitution does not intend for one organ or part of the state to assume functions that inherently belong to another."

In essence, this judgment suggests that while India's constitution does not strictly adhere to a rigid separation of powers, it effectively distinguishes and assigns specific functions to different branches of the government. This approach ensures that one branch or organ of the state does not encroach upon the functions reserved for another 412.

The *Kesavananda Bharati v. State of Kerela*<sup>413</sup>, a landmark legal case in India, is intricately connected to the principle of the separation of powers within the Indian constitutional framework. The case primarily revolved around the interpretation of the Indian Constitution, particularly regarding the power of the Parliament to amend the Constitution.

In the Kesavananda Bharati case, which was heard by the Supreme Court of India in 1973, the petitioner, Swami Kesavananda Bharati, challenged the constitutional validity of the 24th Amendment Act of 1971. This amendment was part of a series of amendments that the Indian Parliament had made to the Constitution. The key issue at stake was whether the Parliament's amending power under Article 368 was absolute or whether there were inherent limitations on this power. The Kesavananda Bharati case affirmed the principle of judicial review in India. The Supreme Court declared that while Parliament had the power to amend the Constitution, it did not have the power to destroy or damage its basic structure. It illustrated the importance of the judiciary in resolving conflicts between the legislative and executive branches. It demonstrated that the judiciary could act as a check on the legislative power, ensuring that Parliament did not overstep its authority or violate the Constitution's basic structure.

S. R. Bommai v. Union of India <sup>414</sup> had significant implications for the separation of powers in India by ensuring that the dismissal of state governments by the central government through Article 356 could only occur under specific circumstances and subject to judicial review. It reaffirmed the federal structure of the Indian Constitution and the importance of a balanced

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>412</sup> Bani Mahajan, "Doctrine of Separation of Powers", *available at* https://www.lawetopus.com/academike/doctrine-of-separation-of-powers/#\_edn25 (last visited on October 21, 2023)

<sup>413</sup> AÍR 1973 SC 1461

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>414</sup> AIR 1994 SC 1918

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relationship between the center and the states, upholding the principles of federalism and the separation of powers.

The Supreme Court's judgment in the S.R. Bommai case established several important principles:

- 1. It held that the use of Article 356 was subject to judicial review. The court could examine whether there were valid reasons for the dismissal of a state government.
- 2. The court established that the power to dismiss a state government should be used sparingly and only in exceptional circumstances, such as when the constitutional machinery in a state has completely broken down.
- 3. The judgment reinforced the importance of federalism and the distribution of powers between the center and the states, emphasizing that the central government should not interfere with the functioning of state governments without justifiable reasons.

In the case of *State of Rajasthan v. Union of India*<sup>415</sup> the Supreme Court upheld the validity of the Election Symbols (Reservation and Allotment) Order, 1968. The court recognized the importance of the Election Commission's independence and its role in conducting free and fair elections, which are fundamental to India's democratic system. This decision reaffirmed the principle of the separation of powers by allowing independent constitutional authorities to carry out their functions without undue interference from other branches of government.

In the case, Samsher Singh<sup>416</sup> challenged the Punjab Security of Land Tenures Act, 1953, which aimed to regulate the rights of landowners and tenants in the state of Punjab. The primary issue was whether the legislation was in compliance with the fundamental rights guaranteed under the Indian Constitution, specifically Article 14 (right to equality) and Article 19 (freedoms of speech and expression, among others).

## VI. Evaluation of the Doctrine of the Separation of Powers in the Modern Context

The evaluation of the doctrine of the separation of powers in the modern context is a subject of ongoing debate and interpretation. While the concept is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>415</sup> AIR 1977 SC 1361

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>416</sup> AIR 1974 S C 2192



rooted in the works of political philosophers like Montesquieu and has been influential in shaping democratic systems worldwide, its strict application may not be feasible or practical in the functioning of contemporary governments. Here are some key points to consider:

- 1. Organic Unity of Government: The idea that government operates as an organic unity, rather than as three isolated branches with rigid boundaries, is a valid point. In practice, the executive, legislative, and judicial branches often interact and overlap in their functions to ensure effective governance. They cooperate and adjust their roles to address complex issues, make decisions, and implement policies efficiently.
- 2. Historical Perspective: History has shown that strict separation of powers can lead to government inefficiency and dysfunction. Checks and balances, along with some level of flexibility, are necessary to ensure the smooth functioning of government. In many democratic systems, the three branches collaborate to solve problems and maintain stability.
- **3. Cooperation and Mutual Adjustment:** Cooperation and mutual adjustment among the three branches of government are essential for good governance. In situations where they are strictly separated, decision-making processes can be hindered, leading to gridlock and inefficiency.
- 4. Practical Application: It is true that categorizing functions of the three branches on a mathematical basis is challenging. The separation of powers should not be seen as a rigid and inflexible structure. Instead, it should be viewed as a framework that accommodates cooperation and flexibility to address the dynamic challenges of governing a modern society.
- 5. Checks and Balances: The idea of "checks and balances" is integral to the doctrine of separation of powers. It ensures that no single branch usurps the core functions of others and that each branch acts as a check on the powers of the others. This principle is crucial in safeguarding against tyranny and maintaining accountability within government.
- **6. Separation of Functions, Not Personnel:** Professor Laski's point about separating functions, not personnel, is significant. It suggests that while the branches of government may have distinct functions, there can be individuals who serve in multiple capacities or collaborate across branches to fulfil their roles effectively<sup>417</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>417</sup> Supra note 411



### VII. Contemporary Challenges And Responses

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, India faces a range of contemporary challenges that test the resilience and effectiveness of the separation of powers. These challenges include:

- 1. Erosion of Parliamentary Oversight: The weakening of parliamentary oversight over the executive has been a concern. Parliament's role in scrutinizing government actions and holding the executive accountable has been at times undermined, leading to calls for strengthening legislative oversight mechanisms.
- 2. Executive-Legislative Relations: The close relationship between the executive and the legislature, particularly when the ruling party holds a majority in the Lok Sabha, has raised questions about the independence of the two branches. Strengthening the role of opposition parties and enhancing the functioning of parliamentary committees are proposed solutions.
- **3. Judicial Backlog:** The Indian judiciary faces a substantial backlog of cases, leading to delays in the delivery of justice. Reforms to streamline judicial processes, increase judicial capacity, and promote alternative dispute resolution mechanisms are under consideration.
- **4. Political Polarization:** Political polarization and confrontational politics can hinder the functioning of government institutions. Fostering a spirit of cooperation and consensus-building among political parties is seen as essential to maintain the separation of powers.
- **5. Challenges to Judicial Independence:** The independence of the judiciary has faced challenges from both the executive and the legislature in some instances. Ensuring the autonomy and integrity of the judiciary is crucial for upholding the separation of powers.
- 6. Security Concerns and Surveillance: Balancing national security concerns with the protection of civil liberties in the digital age remains a complex challenge. The judiciary is called upon to adjudicate cases related to surveillance and data privacy.

# VIII. Adaptation to Contemporary Challenges of Separation of Powers

Adapting the concept of separation of powers to contemporary challenges is essential to ensure its relevance in today's complex and rapidly changing

world. Here are some ways in which the principle of separation of powers can be adapted to address modern challenges:

### 1. Technology and Data Privacy:

- Incorporate mechanisms to safeguard citizens' data privacy and protect against government overreach in the digital age.
- Establish clear guidelines for how the executive can use technology for surveillance and data collection while respecting individual rights.

### 2. Environmental Concerns:

- Develop legislative and regulatory frameworks to address environmental issues, recognizing that they may require coordinated efforts from all branches of government.
- Ensure that environmental policies are consistent with international agreements and consider long-term sustainability.

### 3. Economic Development:

- Enable a collaborative approach between the legislature and the executive in shaping economic policies to promote growth, job creation, and social equity.
- Ensure that economic policies are subject to legislative oversight and judicial review to prevent misuse of power.

### 4. Crisis Management:

- Create legal frameworks that empower the executive to respond quickly to crises (e.g., public health emergencies) while maintaining legislative oversight.
- Define clear boundaries for executive powers during emergencies and establish a mechanism for reevaluating these powers when circumstances change.

### 5. Globalization:

- Recognize the global interconnectedness of issues and the need for international cooperation in various matters, such as trade and climate change.
- Ensure that international agreements and treaties are consistent with national laws and that their ratification requires legislative approval.

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### 6. Transparency and Accountability:

- Promote transparency through freedom of information laws, whistleblower protections, and open government initiatives.
- Strengthen oversight mechanisms within the legislature to hold the executive accountable for its actions and expenditures.

### 7. Public Engagement:

- Encourage citizen engagement and participation in government decisions through digital platforms and open forums.
- Promote a culture of civic education to help citizens better understand their roles in maintaining the integrity of the separation of powers.

### 8. Judicial Review:

- Ensure that the judiciary has the capacity to interpret and apply the law to emerging issues, such as technology, human rights, and environmental concerns.
- Develop judicial training programs to equip judges with the knowledge and skills required to address contemporary legal challenges.

### 9. Reform and Modernization:

- Periodically review and update constitutional and legal frameworks to address evolving challenges.
- Engage in comprehensive reform discussions that involve legal experts, policymakers, and the public to adapt the separation of powers to the needs of the time.

### IX. Future Scenario of Separation of Powers

The Indian Constitution was drafted 73 years ago, and in today's era of globalization and advanced technologies, it's natural to wonder whether it's still capable of effectively addressing contemporary challenges? The framers of our constitution, however, had a visionary perspective that transcends the temporal context. The enduring strength of our Constitution lies in its core principles, which are adaptable and relevant to the ever-evolving needs of our nation.

Key principles enshrined in our Constitution, such as republicanism, secularism, equality, fraternity, and the pursuit of social, economic, and political justice, provide a sturdy foundation that can sustain our system for the

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foreseeable future, perhaps the next 50 years or more. While these principles remain constant, their interpretation and application may need to evolve in response to changing circumstances.

For instance, the concept of "separation of powers" embedded in our Constitution will necessitate a more nuanced interpretation to effectively guide the three branches of government – the executive, legislative, and judiciary. As society transforms and new challenges arise, the framework of this principle should be robustly redefined to ensure that the equilibrium between these branches is maintained, allowing them to check and balance one another effectively<sup>418</sup>.

### X. Conclusion

The concept of the separation of powers in India has undergone a dynamic evolution in response to changing times and challenges. India's democratic journey, from colonial rule to a vibrant republic, has seen the adaptation and refinement of this principle to suit the nation's diverse and complex socio-political landscape. While there have been instances of tension and imbalance among the branches of government, the Indian Constitution provides a robust framework for checks and balances.

As India continues to evolve in the 21st century, it faces the imperative of preserving the integrity of its democratic institutions and safeguarding the principles of the separation of powers. This requires ongoing efforts to strengthen parliamentary oversight, ensure judicial independence, and foster cooperation among branches of government. Ultimately, the enduring success of India's democratic experiment depends on its ability to adapt the separation of powers to address contemporary challenges while remaining faithful to the principles enshrined in its constitution.

<sup>418</sup> Supra note 403

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