
UNIT 1 NATURE, SCOPE AND UTILITY OF COMPARATIVE STUDY OF POLITICS

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1.0 OBJECTIVES

In this unit we shall focus on the **nature, scope and utility** of a comparative study of politics. Through these you will be able to look for answers to questions like, (a) **what is the nature** of comparative politics i.e., what is it that gives comparative political analysis its specificity: its characteristics, elements, constituents, perspective, purpose/aims, and the ideological/structural/contextual framework within which these are realised, (b) **what constitutes its scope** i.e., the range, field, or area of activity that it encompasses and, (c) **its utility** i.e., its usefulness and relevance for enhancing our understanding of political reality, or how does comparative study help us understand this reality better. It should be pointed out, however, that these aspects cannot be studied in isolation of each other in a compartmentalised form. For a proper understanding of the nature, scope and utility of a comparative study of politics, one has to look at the latter's development historically and see how its attributes evolved with changing contexts and concerns.

The unit is divided into different sections which take up in some detail the above outlined themes. Each section is followed by questions based on the section. Towards the end of the unit is provided a list of readings which can be used to supplement this unit. A set of questions follow the readings which will help you assess your understanding. All terms which have specific meanings in comparative political analysis have been explained in the section on keywords.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

As the term itself points out, comparative politics is about comparing political phenomena. The emphasis is on both the *method* of inquiry i.e., comparative, and the *substance* into which inquiry is directed i.e., *political* phenomena. As will be pointed out in Unit 2 *Comparative Method and Methods of Comparison*, the comparative method is not the sole prerogative of comparative politics, and is

used with equal ease in other disciplines as well e.g., Psychology and Sociology. It is the substance of comparative politics i.e., its subject matter, vocabulary and perspective, which gives comparative politics its distinctiveness both as a method and as a specific field of study.

The nature and scope of comparative politics has been determined historically by changes in the above mentioned features i.e., (a) subject matter (b) vocabulary and (c) political perspective. To understand *where*, *why* and *how* these changes took place we have to look at what is the focus of study at a particular historical period, what are the *tools*, *languages* or *concepts* being used for the study and what is the *vantage point*, *perspective* and *purpose* of enquiry. Thus in the sections which follow, we shall look at the manner in which comparative politics has evolved, the continuities and discontinuities which have informed this evolution, the ways in which this evolution has been determined in and by the specific historical contexts and socio-economic and political forces, and how in the context of late twentieth century viz, *globalisation*, radical changes have been brought about in the manner in which the field of comparative politics has so far been envisaged.

1.2 COMPARATIVE STUDY OF POLITICS: NATURE AND SCOPE

We mentioned in the previous section that the comparative method is commonly used in other disciplines as well. We also know from the earlier section, that comparative politics is distinguished from other disciplines which also use the comparative method, by its specific subject matter, language and perspective. In that case, we might well ask the question, is there at all a distinct field of *comparative political analysis* or is it a *sub-discipline subsumed within the larger discipline of Political Science*. The three aspects of subject matter, language, vocabulary, and perspective, we must remember, are inadequate in establishing the distinctiveness of comparative politics within the broad discipline of Political Science, largely because *comparative politics shares the subject matter and concerns of Political Science*, i.e. democracy, constitutions, political parties, social movements etc. Within the discipline of Political Science thus the specificity of comparative political analysis is marked out by its *conscious use of the comparative method to answer questions which might be of general interest to political scientists*.

1.2.1 Comparisons: Identification of Relationships

This stress on the *comparative method* as defining the character and scope of comparative political analysis has been maintained by some scholars in order to dispel frequent misconceptions about comparative politics as involving the study of 'foreign countries' i.e., countries other than your own. Under such an understanding, if you were studying a country other than your own, (e.g., an American studying the politics of Brazil or an Indian studying that of Sri Lanka) you would be called a **comparativist**. More often than not, this misconception implies merely the gathering of information about individual countries with little or at the most implicit comparison involved. The distinctiveness of comparative politics, most comparativists would argue, lies in a *conscious and systematic* use of comparisons to study two or more countries with the purpose of *identifying*, and eventually *explaining differences* or *similarities* between them with respect to the particular phenomena being analysed. For a long time comparative politics appeared merely to look for similarities and differences, and directed this towards classifying, dichotomising or polarising political phenomena. Comparative political analysis is however, not simply about identifying similarities and differences. The

purpose of using comparisons, it is felt by several scholars, is going beyond 'identifying similarities and differences' or the 'compare and contrast approach', to ultimately study political phenomena in a larger framework of relationships. This, it is felt, would help deepen our understanding and broaden the levels of answering and explaining political phenomena. (See Manoranjan Mohanty, 'Comparative Political Theory and Third World Sensitivity', *Teaching Politics*, Nos.1 & 2, 1975).

1.2.2 Comparative Politics and Comparative Government

The often encountered notion that comparative politics involves a study of governments arises, asserts Ronald Chilcote, from 'conceptual confusion'. Unlike comparative government whose field is limited to comparative study of governments, comparative politics is concerned with the study of all forms of political activity, governmental as well as nongovernmental. The field of comparative politics has an 'all encompassing' nature and comparative politics specialists tend to view it as the study of everything political. Any lesser conception of comparative politics would obscure the criteria for the selection and exclusion of what may be studied under this field. (Ronald Chilcote, *Introduction, Theories of Comparative Politics*, p.4)

It may, however, be pointed out that for long comparative politics concerned itself with the study of governments and regime types, and confined itself to studying western countries. The process of decolonisation especially in the wake of the second World War, generated interest in the study of 'new nations'. The increase in numbers and diversity of units/cases that could be brought into the gamut of comparison, was accompanied also by the urge to formulate abstract universal models, which could explain political phenomena and processes in all the units. Simultaneous to the increase and diversification of cases to be studied was also an expansion in the sphere of politics so as to allow the examination of politics as a total system, including not merely the state and its institutions but also individuals, social groupings, political parties, interest groups, social movements etc. Certain aspects of institutions and political process were especially in focus for what was seen as their usefulness in explaining political processes, e.g., political socialisation, patterns of political culture, techniques of interest articulation and interest aggregation, styles of political recruitment, extent of political efficacy and political apathy, ruling elites etc. These systemic studies were often built around the concern with nation-building i.e., providing a politico-cultural identity to a population, state-building i.e., providing institutional structure and processes for politics and modernisation i.e., to initiate a process of change along the western path of development. The presence of divergent ideological poles in world politics (Western capitalism and Soviet socialism), the rejection of western imperialism by most newly liberated countries, the concern with maintaining their distinct identity in the form of the non-aligned movement and the sympathy among most countries with a socialist path of development, gradually led to the irrelevance of most modernisation models for purposes of global/large level comparisons. Whereas the fifties and sixties were the period where attempts to explain political reality were made through the construction of large scale models, the seventies saw the assertion of Third World-ism and the rolling back of these models. The Eighties saw the constriction of the levels of comparison with studies based on regions or smaller numbers of units became prevalent. With globalisation, however, the imperatives for large level comparisons increased and the field of comparisons has diversified with the proliferation of non-state, non-governmental actors and the increased interconnections between nations with economic linkages and information technology revolution.

In the section which follows we shall take up these developments in comparative political analysis, emphasising in each case, the changes in the character and field of enquiry.

1.3 COMPARATIVE POLITICS: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The nature and scope of comparative politics has varied according to the changes which have occurred historically in its subject matter. The subject matter of comparative politics has been determined both by the *geographical space* (i.e. countries, regions) which has constituted its field as well as the *dominant ideas* concerning social reality and change which shaped the approaches to comparative studies (capitalist, socialist, mixed and indigenous). Likewise, at different historical junctures the thrust or the primary concern of the studies kept changing.

1.3.1 The Origins of Comparative Study of Politics

In its earliest incarnation, the comparative study of politics comes to us in the form of studies done by the Greek philosopher Aristotle. Aristotle studied the constitutions of 150 states and *classified* them into a *typology of regimes*. His classification was presented in terms of both descriptive and normative categories i.e., he not only *described* and *classified* regimes and political systems in terms of their types e.g., democracy, aristocracy, monarchy etc., he also distinguished them on the basis of certain *norms of good governance*. On the basis of this comparison he divided regimes into good and bad - ideal and perverted. These Aristotelian categories were acknowledged and taken up by Romans such as Polybius (201-120 B.C.) and Cicero (106-43 B.C.) who considered them in formal and legalistic terms. Concern with comparative study of regime types reappeared in the 15th century with Machiavelli (1469-1527).

1.3.2 The Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

The preoccupation with philosophical and speculative questions concerning the 'good order' or the 'ideal state' and the use, in the process, of abstract and normative vocabulary, persisted in comparative studies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries signified the period when *liberalism* was the reigning ideology and European countries enjoyed dominance in world politics. The 'rest of the world' of Asia, Africa and Latin America were either European colonies or under their sphere of influence as ex-colonies. Comparative studies during this period (James Bryce's *Modern Democracies* (1921), Herman Finer's *Theory and Practice of Modern Governments* (1932) and Carl J. Friedrich's *Constitutional Government and Democracy* (1937), Roberto Michels, *Political Parties* (1915) and M. Duverger, *Political Parties* (1950)) were largely concerned with a comparative study of institutions, the distribution of power, and the relationship between the different layers of government. These studies were eurocentric i.e. confined to the study of institutions, governments and regime types in European countries like Britain, France and Germany. It may thus be said that these studies were in fact not genuinely comparative in the sense that they excluded from their analysis a large number of countries. Any generalisation derived from a study confined to a few countries could not legitimately claim having validity for the rest of the world. It may be emphasised here that exclusion of the rest of the world was symptomatic of the dominance of Europe in world politics - a dominance - which however, was on the wane, and shifting gradually to North America. All contemporary history had Europe at its centre, obliterating the rest of the world (colonised or liberated from colonisation) (a) as 'people without histories' or (b) whose histories

were bound with and destined to follow the trajectories already followed by the advanced countries of the West. Thus the above mentioned works manifest their rootedness in the normative values of western liberal democracies which carried with it the baggage of racial and civilisational superiority, and assumed a prescriptive character for the colonies/former colonies.

1.3.3 The Second World War and After

In the nineteen thirties the political and economic situation of the world changed. The **Bolshevik Revolution** in Russia in 1917, brought into world politics, Socialism, as an ideology of the oppressed and, as a critical alternative to western liberalism and capitalism. With the end of the second World War a number of significant developments had taken place, including the waning of European (British) hegemony, the emergence and entrenchment of United States of America as the new hegemon in world politics and economy, and the bifurcation of the world into two ideological camps viz. (western) capitalism and (eastern) socialism. The majority of the 'rest of the world' had, by the time the second World War ended, liberated itself from European imperialism. For a period after decolonisation the notions of development, modernisation, nation-building, state-building etc., evinced a degree of legitimacy and even popularity as 'national slogans' among the political elite of the 'new nations'. Ideologically, however, these 'new nations', were no longer compelled to tow the western capitalist path of development. While socialism had its share of sympathisers among the new ruling elite of the Asia, America and Latin America, quite a number of newly independent countries made a conscious decision to distance themselves from both the power blocs, remaining non-aligned to either. A number of them evolved their own specific path of development akin to the socialist, as in the case of Ujamaa in Tanzania, and the mixed-economy model in India which was a blend of both capitalism and socialism.

It may be worth remembering that the comparative study of governments till the 1940s was predominantly the *study of institutions*, the legal-constitutional principles regulating them, and the manner in which they functioned in western (European) liberal-democracies. In the context of the above stated developments, a powerful critique of the institutional approach emerged in the middle of 1950s. The critique had its roots in behaviouralism which had emerged as a new movement in the discipline of politics aiming to provide scientific rigour to the discipline and develop a **science of politics**. Known as the **behavioural movement**, it was concerned with developing an enquiry which was quantitative, based on survey techniques involving the examination of empirical facts separated from values, to provide value-neutral, non-prescriptive, objective observations and explanations. The behaviouralists attempted to study social reality by seeking answers to questions like 'why people behave politically as they do, and why as a result, political processes and systems function as they do'. It is these 'why questions' regarding *differences in people's behaviours* and their implications for *political processes* and *political systems*, which changed the focus of comparative study from the legal-formal aspects of institutions. Thus in 1955 Roy Macridis criticised the existing comparative studies for privileging formal institutions over non-formal political processes, for being descriptive rather than analytical, and case-study oriented rather than genuinely comparative. (Roy Macridis, *The Study of Comparative Government*, New York, Random House, 1955). Harry Eckstein points out that the changes in the nature and scope of comparative politics in this period show a sensitivity to the changing world politics urging the need to reconceptualise the notion of politics and develop paradigms for large-scale comparisons. (Harry Eckstein, 'A Perspective on Comparative Politics, Past and Present' in Harry Eckstein and David Apter eds., *Comparative Politics: A Reader*, New York, Free Press, 1963.) Rejecting the then traditional

and almost exclusive emphasis on the western world and the conceptual language which had been developed with such limited comparisons in mind, **Gabriel Almond** and his colleagues of the American Social Science Research Council's Committee on Comparative Politics (founded in 1954) sought to develop a theory and a methodology which could encompass and compare political systems of all kinds - primitive or advanced, democratic or non-democratic, western or non western.

The broadening of concerns in a geographic or territorial sense was also accompanied by a broadening of the sense of politics itself, and in particular, by a rejection of what was then perceived as the traditional and narrowly defined emphasis on the study of formal political institutions. The notion of politics was broadened by the emphasis on 'realism' or politics 'in practice' as distinguished from mere 'legalism'. This included in its scope the functioning of less formally structured agencies, behaviours and processes e.g. political parties, interest groups, elections, voting behaviour, attitudes etc. (Gabriel Almond, *Political Development*, Boston, 1970). With the deflection of attention from studies of formal institutions, there was simultaneously a decline in the centrality of the notion of the state itself. We had mentioned earlier that the emergence of a large number of countries on the world scene necessitated the development of frameworks which would facilitate comparisons on a large scale. This led to the emergence of inclusive and abstract notions like the *political system*. This notion of the 'system' replaced the notion of the state and enabled scholars to take into account the 'extra-legal', 'social' and 'cultural' institutions which were crucial to the understanding of non-western politics and had the added advantage of including in its scope 'pre-state'/'non-state' societies as well as roles and offices which were not seen as overtly connected with the state. Also, with the change of emphasis to actual practices and functions of institutions, the problems of research came to be defined not in terms of what legal powers these institutions had, but what they actually did, how they were related to one another, and what roles they played in the making and execution of public policy. This led to the emergence of *structural-functionalism*, in which certain functions were described as being necessary to all societies, and the execution and performance of these functions were then compared across a variety of different formal and informal structures. (Peter Mair, '*Comparative Politics: An Overview*', p.315)

While the universal frameworks of *systems* and *structures-functions* enabled western scholars to study a wide range of political systems, structures, and behaviours, within a single paradigm, the appearance of 'new nations' provided to western comparativists an opportunity to study what they perceived as economic and political change. **Wiarda** points out that it was in this period of the sixties that most contemporary scholars of comparative politics came of age. The 'new nations' became for most of these scholars [ironically] 'living laboratories' for the study of social and political change. Wiarda describes those 'exciting times' which offered unique opportunities to study political change, and saw the development of new methodologies and approaches to study them. It was during this period that some of the most innovative and exciting theoretical and conceptual approaches were advanced in the field of comparative politics: study of *political culture*, *political socialisation*, developmentalism, dependency and interdependency, corporatism, bureaucratic-authoritarianism and later transitions to democracy etc. (Howard J. Wiarda, 'Is Comparative Politics Dead? Rethinking the Field in the Post-Cold War Era', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol.19, no.5.)

This period saw the mushrooming of universalistic models like Easton's *political system*, Deutsch's *social mobilisation* and Shils's *centre and periphery*. The theories of modernisation by *Apter*, *Rokkan*, *Eisenstadt* and *Ward* and the theory of political development by Almond, Coleman, Pye and Verba also claimed

universal relevance. These theories were claimed to be applicable across cultural and ideological boundaries and to explain political process everywhere. The development of comparative political analysis in this phase coincided with the international involvement of the United States through military alliances and foreign aid. Most research in this period was not only funded by research foundations, it was also geared to the goals of US foreign policy. The most symbolic of these were the Project Camelot in Latin America and the Himalayan Project in India. This period was heralded by the appearance of works like Apter's study on Ghana. Published in 1960, *Politics of Developing Areas* by Almond and Coleman, sharply defined the character of the new 'Comparative Politics Movement'. The publication of a new journal in the US entitled *Comparative Politics* in 1969 reflected the height of this trend. (Manoranjan Mohanty, 'Comparative Politics and Third World Sensitivity', *Teaching Politics*, Nos., 1 & 2, 1975). 'Developmentalism' was perhaps the dominant conceptual paradigm of this time. To a considerable extent, the interest in developmentalism emanated from US foreign policy interests in 'developing' countries, to counter the appeals of Marxism-Leninism and steer them towards a non-communist way to development. (Howard J. Wiarda, 'Is Comparative Politics Dead? Rethinking the Field in the Post-Cold War Era', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol.19, no.5, p.937)

1.3.4 The 1970s and Challenges to Developmentalism

Towards the 1970s, developmentalism came to be criticised for favouring abstract models, which flattened out differences among specific political/social/cultural systems, in order to study them within a single universalistic framework. These criticisms emphasised the ethnocentrism of these models and focussed on the Third World in order to work out a theory of underdevelopment. They stressed the need to concentrate on solutions to the backwardness of developing countries. Two main challenges to developmentalism which arose in the early 1970s and gained widespread attention were (a) dependency and (b) corporatism. Dependency theory criticised the dominant model of developmentalism for ignoring (a) domestic class factors and (b) international market and power factors in development. It was particularly critical of US foreign policy and multinational corporations and suggested, contrary to what was held true in developmentalism, that the development of the already-industrialised nations and that of the developing ones could not go together. Instead, dependency theory argued, that the development of the West had come on the shoulders and at the cost of the non-West. The idea that the diffusion of capitalism promotes underdevelopment and not development in many parts of the world was embodied in Andre Gunde Frank's *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America* (1967), Walter Rodney's *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (1972) and Malcolm Caldwell's *The Wealth of Some Nations* (1979). Marxist critics of the dependency theory, however, pointed out that the nature of exploitation through surplus extraction should not be seen simply on national lines but, as part of a more complex pattern of alliances between the metropolitan bourgeoisie of the core/centre and the indigenous bourgeoisie of the periphery/satellite as they operated in a worldwide capitalist system. The corporatist approach criticised developmentalism for its Euro-American ethnocentrism and indicated that there were alternative organic, corporatist, often authoritarian ways to organise the state and state-society relations. (Ronald Chilcote, *Theories of Comparative Politics*, p.16)

1.3.5 The 1980s: The Return of the State

During the later 1970s and into the 1980s, still reflecting the backlash against developmentalism, a number of theories and subject matters emerged into the field of comparative politics. These included bureaucratic-authoritarianism, indigenous concepts of change, transitions to democracy, the politics of *structural*

adjustment, neoliberalism and privatisation. While some scholars saw these developments as undermining and breaking the unity of the field which was being dominated by developmentalism, others saw them as adding healthy diversity, providing alternative approaches and covering new subject areas. **Almond**, who had argued in the late 1950s that the notion of the state should be replaced by the political system, which was adaptable to scientific inquiry, and **Easton**, who undertook to construct the parameters and concepts of a political system, continued to argue well into the 1980s on the importance of political system as the core of political study. The state, however, received its share of attention in the 60s and 70s in the works of bureaucratic-authoritarianism in Latin America, especially in Argentina in the works of **Guillermo O'Donnell** e.g., **Economic Modernisation and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism** (1973). **Ralph Miliband's** *The State in Capitalist Society* (1969) had also kept the interest alive. With **Nicos Poulantzas's** *State, Power, Socialism* (1978), and political sociologists **Peter Evans**, **Theda Skocpol**, and others *Bringing the State Back In* (1985), focus was sought to be restored onto the state.

1.3.6 The Late Twentieth Century: Globalisation and Emerging Trends/ Possibilities

- a) **Scaling down of systems:** Much of the development of comparative political analysis in the period 1960s to 1980s can be seen as an ever widening range of countries being included as cases, with more variables being added to the models, such as policy, ideology, governing experience, and so on. With the 1980s, however, there has been a move away from general theory to emphasis on the relevance of context. In part, this tendency reflects the renewed influence of historical inquiry in the social sciences, and especially the emergence of a 'historical sociology' which tries to understand phenomena in the very broad or 'holistic' context within which they occur. (Theda Skocpol and M.Somers, 'The Use of Comparative History in Macro-social Inquiry', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, No.22, 1980 and P.Abrams, *Historical Sociology*, Ithaca, 1982). There has been a shying away from models to a more indepth understanding of particular countries and cases where more qualitative and contextualised data can be assessed and where account can be taken of specific institutional circumstances or particular political cultures. Hence we see a new emphasis on more culturally specific studies (e.g., English speaking countries, Islamic countries), and nationally specific countries (e.g., England, India), and even institutionally specific countries (e.g., India under a specific regime). While emphasis on 'grand systems' and model building diminished, the stress on specific contexts and cultures has meant that the scale of comparisons was brought down. Comparisons at the level of 'smaller systems' or regions, however, remained e.g., the Islamic world, Latin American countries, Sub-Saharan Africa, South Asia etc.
- b) **Civil Society and Democratisation Approach(es):** The disintegration of Soviet Union brought into currency the notion of the 'end of history'. In his article 'The End of History?' (1989), which was developed later into the book *The End of History and the Last Man* (1992), **Francis Fukuyama** argued that the history of ideas had ended with the recognition and triumph of liberal democracy as the 'final form of human government'. The 'end of history', invoked to stress the predominance of western liberal democracy, is in a way reminiscent of the 'end of ideology' debate of the 1950s which emerged at the height of the cold war and in the context of the decline of communism in the West. Western liberal scholars proposed that the economic advancement made in the industrialised societies of the west had resolved political problems, e.g., issues of freedom and state power, workers rights

etc., which are assumed to accompany industrialisation. The U.S. sociologist, Daniel Bell in particular, pointed in his work (*The End of Ideology?: On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the 1950s, 1960*), that in the light of this development there was an ideological consensus, or the suspension of a need for ideological differences over issues of political practice. In the nineteen eighties, the idea of the 'end of history' was coupled with another late nineteen eighties phenomenon - globalisation. Globalisation refers to a set of conditions, scientific, technological, economic and political, which have linked together the world in a manner so that occurrences in one part of the world are bound to affect or be affected by what is happening in another part. It may be pointed out that in this global world the focal point or the centre around which events move worldwide is still western capitalism. In the context of the so called triumph of capitalism, the approaches to the study of *civil society* and *democratisation* that have gained currency give importance to civil society defined in terms of protection of individual rights to enter the modern capitalist world.

There is, however, another significant trend in the approach which seeks to place questions of civil society and democratisation as its primary focus. If there are on one hand studies conforming to the contemporary interest of western capitalism seeking to develop market democracy, there are also a number of studies which take into account the resurgence of people's movements seeking autonomy, right to indigenous culture, movements of tribals, dalits, lower castes, and the women's movement and the environment movement. These movements reveal a terrain of contestation where the interests of capital are in conflict with peoples rights and represent the language of change and liberation in an era of global capital. Thus concerns with issues of identity, environment, ethnicity, gender, race, etc. have provided a new dimension to comparative political analysis. (See Manoranjan Mohanty, *Contemporary Indian Political Theory*, 2000).

- c) **Information collection and diffusion:** A significant aspect and determinant of globalisation has been the unprecedented developments in the field of information and communication technology viz., the Internet and World Wide Web. This has made the production, collection and analysis of data easier and also assured their faster and wider diffusion, worldwide. These developments have not only enhanced the availability of data, but also made possible the emergence of new issues and themes which extend beyond the confines of the nation-state. These new themes in turn form an important/influential aspect of the political environment of the contemporary globalised world. The global network of social movements organisations, the global network of activists is one such significant aspect. The diffusion of ideas of democratisation is an important outcome of such networking. The Zapatista rebellion in the southern Mexican state of Chiapas used the Internet and the global media to communicate their struggle for rights, social justice and democracy. The concern with issues regarding the promotion and protection of human rights which is dependent on the collection and dissemination of information has similarly become pertinent in the contemporary world.

Check Your Progress 1

- Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.
ii) Check your progress with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Is it possible to say that comparative politics refers only to a method of studying governments?

- 2) The nature, field and scope of comparative politics has evolved in response to the changing socio-political concerns over different historical periods.
Comment.

1.4 COMPARATIVE STUDY OF POLITICS: UTILITY

The question of *utility* of comparative politics is concerned with its usefulness and relevance for enhancing our understanding of political reality. It seeks to know how a *comparative* study helps us understand this reality *better*.

First and foremost, we must bear in mind that political behaviour is common to all human beings and manifests itself in diverse ways and under diverse social and institutional set ups all over the world. It may be said that an understanding of these related and at the same time different political behaviours and patterns is an integral part of our understanding of politics itself. A sound and comprehensive understanding would commonly take the form of comparisons.

1.4.1 Comparing for Theoretical Formulation

While comparisons form an implicit part of all our reasoning and thinking, most comparativists would argue that a comparative study of politics seeks to make comparisons consciously to arrive at conclusions which can be generalised i.e. held true for a number of cases. To be able to make such generalisations with a degree of confidence, it is not sufficient to just collect information about countries. The stress in comparative political analysis, is on *theory-building* and *theory-testing* with the countries acting as units or cases. A lot of emphasis is therefore laid, and energies spent, on developing rules and standards about how comparative research should be carried out. A comparative study ensures that all generalisations are based on the observation of more than one phenomenon or observation of relationship between several phenomena. The broader the observed universe, the greater is the confidence in statements about relationship and sounder the theories.

1.4.2 Comparisons for Scientific Rigour

As will be explained in the next unit, the comparative method gives these theories scientific basis and rigour. Social scientists who emphasise scientific precision, validity and reliability, see comparisons as indispensable in the social sciences because they offer the unique opportunity of 'control' in the study of social phenomena. (Giovanni Sartori, 'Compare, Why and How' in Mattei Dogan and Ali Kazancigil eds., *Comparing Nations, Concepts, Strategies, Substance*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1994.)

1.4.3 Comparisons Leading to Explanations in Relationships

For a long time comparative politics appeared merely to look for similarities and differences, and directed this towards classifying, dichotomising or polarising political phenomena. Comparative political analysis is however, not simply about identifying similarities and differences. The purpose of using comparisons, it is felt by several scholars, is going beyond 'identifying similarities and differences' or the 'compare and contrast approach' as it is called, to ultimately study political phenomena in a larger framework of relationships. This, it is felt, would help deepen our understanding and broaden the levels of answering and explaining political phenomena. (See Manoranjan Mohanty, 'Comparative Political Theory and Third World Sensitivity', *Teaching Politics*, Nos.1 & 2, 1975)

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your progress with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

1) What according to you is the usefulness of a comparative study of politics?

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1.5 SUMMING UP

The nature and scope of comparative study of politics related to its subject matter, its field of study, the vantage point from which the study is carried out and the purposes towards which the study is directed. These have, however, not been static and have changed over time. While the earliest studies concerned themselves with observing and classifying governments and regimes, comparative politics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was concerned with studying the formal legal structures of institutions in western countries. Towards the end of the second World War, a number of 'new nations' emerged on the world scene having liberated themselves from colonial domination. The dominance of liberalism was challenged by the emergence of communism and the powerful presence of Soviet Union on the world scene. The concern among comparativists changed at this juncture to studying the diversity of political behaviours and processes which were thrown up, however, within a single overarching framework. The concept of 'systems' and 'structures-functions' came in vogue. These frameworks were used by western scholars particularly those in the United States to study phenomena like developmentalism, modernisation etc. While the political elite of the newly independent countries found concepts like development, nation-building and state building attractive, in many cases they evolved their own ideological stances and chose to remain non-aligned to either ideological blocs. In the late 1980s focus on studying politics comparatively within an overarching framework of 'system' declined and regional systemic studies assumed significance. The focus on state in these studies marked a resurgence of the study of power structures within civil society and its political forms, which had suffered a setback with the arrival of systems and structures-functions into comparative politics. The petering out of Soviet Union in the same period provoked western scholars to proclaim the 'end of history' marking the triumph of liberalism and capitalism. Globalisation of capital, a significant feature of the late

nineteen eighties, which continues and makes itself manifest in technological, economic and information linkages among the countries of the world, has also tended to influence comparativists into adopting universalistic, homogenising expressions like 'transitions to democracy', the 'global market' and 'civil society'. Such expressions would have us believe that there do not in fact remain differences, uncertainties and contests which need to be explained in a comparative perspective. There is, however, another way to look at the phenomena and a number of scholars see the resurgence of civil society in terms of challenges to global capitalism which comes from popular movements and trade union activism throughout the world.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your progress with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What are the features that determine the nature and scope of comparative politics?

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- 2) Trace the development of Comparative Politics in the twentieth century bringing out (a) the specificities of the period before and after the second World War; (b) developmentalism and its critique; (c) late twentieth century developments.

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- 3) A comparative study of politics looks for explanations of political phenomenon in a framework of relationships. In the light of this statement comment on the developments in the field of comparative politics after the demise of colonial empires, through the cold war, upto the age of globalisation.

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1.6 KEY WORDS

Behaviouralism: The belief that social theories should be constructed only on the basis of observable behaviour, providing quantifiable data for research.

Civil society: The term has contested meanings. By and large it is understood as the realm of autonomous groups and associations, a private sphere independent from public authority.

Configurative: Refers to a combination of favourable conditions or aspects of any observed political phenomenon, e.g., the necessary and sufficient conditions for revolution, democratic participation etc..

Control: A regulation or check — an important part of experiments where a parallel experiment or group of subjects is set up (control group) - to provide a standard of comparison for other experiment. In an experiment set up to study the effect of visual aids in learning, the control group will not be introduced with the condition (visual aid) whose influence is to be studied.

Democratisation: Refers to processes indicating the promotion of democracy, implying in particular, the granting of basic freedoms, increase in popular participation and electoral choices.

Descriptive: Statements giving empirical facts, delineating characteristics and attributes.

Dichotomy: Division into two strongly contrasted groups or classes.

Eurocentric: Refers to the bias and distortions which emerge from the application of European values, beliefs and theories, to other cultures and groups.

Globalisation: Globalisation refers to a set of conditions, scientific, technological, economic and political, which have linked together the world in a manner so that occurrences in one part of the world are bound to affect or be affected by what is happening in another part.

Method: Methods are ways of organising theories for application to data, also called 'conceptual schemes'. Types of method comparative (using more than one case), configurative (using a single case study) and historical (using time and sequence). Method is more about 'thinking about thinking'.

Methodology: The study of different methods of research, including the identification of research questions, the formulation of theories to explain certain events and political outcomes, and the development of research design.

Model: In simple terms an intellectual construct which simplifies reality in order to emphasise the recurrent, the constant and the typical, which it presents in the form of clusters of traits or attributes. In other words, 'models' and 'types' are treated as synonyms.

Neoliberalism: An updated version of classical political economy, dedicated to market individualism and minimal statism.

Normative: The prescription of values and standards of conduct, dealing with questions pertaining to 'what should be' rather than 'what is'.

Postbehaviouralism: Refers to a period after 1970 and a methodology that accepts that observations and analysis of the political world are not free from certain theoretical and value biases, yet strives to make strong inferences through empirical analysis.

Privatisation: The transfer of state assets from the public to the private sector, reflecting a contraction of state responsibilities.

Systems theory: The theory that treats the political system as a self-regulating mechanism, responding to 'inputs' (demands and support) by issuing authoritative decisions or 'outputs' (policies).

Theory: a definitive and logical statement (or groups of statements) about how the world (or some key aspect of the world) 'works'. Known collectively as empirical theory (as opposed to normative theory), these statements make claims about relationships between variables that can be tested using systematic comparative analysis.

1.7 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Chilcote, Ronald H., Part I: Introduction, in Ronald H. Chilcote, *Theories of Comparative Politics: The Search for a Paradigm Reconsidered*, Westview Press, Boulder, 1994 (Second Edition).

Landman, Todd, *Issues and Methods in Comparative Politics: An Introduction*, Routledge, London, 2000.

Mair, Peter, 'Comparative Politics: An Overview', in R.E. Goodin and H. Klingemann eds., *The New Handbook of Political Science*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1996.

Mohanty, Manoranjan, 'Moving the Centre in the Study of Political Thought and Political theory', in Manoranjan Mohanty, *Contemporary Indian Political Theory*, Samskriti, New Delhi, 2000.

Mohanty, Manoranjan, 'Comparative Political Theory and Third World Sensitivity', *Teaching Politics*, Nos. 1 & 2, 1975.

Sartori, Giovanni, 'Compare, Why and How', in Mattei Dogan and Ali Kazancigil eds., *Comparing Nations, Concepts, Strategies, Substance*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1994.

Wiarda, Howard J. 'Is Comparative Politics Dead? Rethinking the Field in the Post-Cold War Era', *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 19, no. 5.

1.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) No it is not merely a method of studying governments. It is also concerned with analysing issues concerning governance and formulation of abstract universal models which could explain political phenomena and processes in all Units. See sub-section 1.2.2 to elaborate.
- 2) The subject matter of comparative politics has been evolving and developing both in terms of geographical space as well as ideas and theories. It has therefore passed through significant developments and undergone important changes. For elaboration see sub-section 1.3.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Comparative Politics is useful for the building of theories, scientific analysis of issues and problems, explanation of phenomena etc.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) See Section 1.5
- 2) See Section 1.3.6
- 3) Write your answer on the basis of overall assessment of Section 1.3.

UNIT 2 COMPARATIVE METHOD AND STRATEGIES OF COMPARISON

Structure

- 2.0 Objectives
- 2.1 Introduction: What is Comparison
- 2.2 Some Thoughts on Method
- 2.3 The Comparative Method: Why Compare
 - 2.3.1 Social Scientific Research
 - 2.3.2 Integrative Thinking
- 2.4 Methods of Comparison
 - 2.4.1 Experimental Method
 - 2.4.2 Case Study
 - 2.4.3 Statistical Method
 - 2.4.4 Focussed Comparisons
 - 2.4.5 Historical Method
- 2.5 Let Us Sum Up
- 2.6 Key Words
- 2.7 Some Useful Books
- 2.8 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

2.0 OBJECTIVES

Comparison is a familiar exercise for all of us. Most decisions in our daily lives, whether buying fruits and vegetables from the vendor or choosing a book or an appropriate college and career, involve making comparisons. When comparison is employed, however, to study social and political phenomena, there should be something about 'comparison' as a 'method' which makes it more appropriate than other methods for the purpose. To assess this appropriateness, we first need to know what is the comparative method and how it can be distinguished from other methods, some of which also compare e.g., the experimental and statistical methods. We should also understand as to why, we should use the comparative method rather than any other method. Again, how one goes about comparing or planning strategies of comparison, is also important to bear in mind. In this Unit we will take up all these issues. After going through this unit you will be able to understand:

- What is method? What is the comparative method? How can the comparative method be distinguished from other methods?
- Why is the comparative method used? Which are the phenomenon which can be best understood/explained by this method?
- How does one use the comparative method in the study of politics?
- What are its relative advantages and disadvantages over other methods? and
- What is the significance of the comparative method to the field of Comparative Politics?

Each section ends with a question which will help you check your progress. There are explanatory notes for some key words at the end of the unit. These words will be highlighted in the text so that you can look up the meanings as and when they occur in the text.

2.1 INTRODUCTION : WHAT IS COMPARISON

In the previous paragraph we noted how comparisons form part of our daily lives. None of us, however, live in a vacuum. Our daily lives are crisscrossed by

numerous other lives. In so many ways our own experiences and observations of our environment get shaped and influenced by those of others. In other words, our observation of our immediate world would show that people and events are connected in a network of relationships. These relationships may be close or emotionally bound as in a family, or as the network expands in the course of our daily lives, professional (as in our place of work) or impersonal (as with our co-passengers in the bus in which we travel). These relationships or interconnectedness, however, may show a regularity, a pattern or a daily-ness, and may also themselves be regulated by norms and rules e.g. the daily route of the bus, its departure and arrival timings etc. The idea here is to show that whereas each individual might be seen as having a specific daily routine, there is at the same time a cumulative or aggregate effect, where a number of such individuals may be seen as following a similar routine. The lives of these individuals, we can say, has a pattern of regularity, which is comparable in terms of their similarity. Now, when the similarities can be clubbed together, irregularities or dissimilarities can also be easily picked out. Explanations for both similarities and dissimilarities can also be made after exploring the commonalities and variations in the conditions of their lives. In order to illustrate this let us imagine a residential colony. The majority of the male residents leave for work by a chartered bus at 8 in the morning and return at 6 in the evening. Some residents, however, leave at 9 in the morning, in their respective cars, and return at 5 in the evening. The residents of the colony thus form roughly two groups displaying two kinds of patterns of behaviour. Explanations for both similarities within each group and dissimilarities between the two groups can be found by comparing individual situations or conditions in each group. While explanations for similarities can be seen in the commonalities in the conditions, explanations of irregularity or dissimilarities between groups can be explained in terms of absence of conditions which permit the similarity in one group e.g., it may be found that those who travel by bus have a lot of things in common besides going to their offices in the chartered bus such as same office, absence of personal vehicles, more or less similar positions/status in the office, location of offices on the same route etc. Those who travel by their cars, would likewise exhibit similarities of conditions within their group. The explanation for the different patterns between the groups can be seen in terms of the absence of conditions which permit similarities in the two groups e.g., the car group residents may be going to different offices which do not fall on the same bus route; they may be the only ones owning cars; their status in their offices may be higher etc. The explanations could be numerous and based also on numerous other variables like caste, gender, political beliefs etc. On the basis of this observation of similarities and dissimilarities, propositions can thus be made in terms of a causal-relationship e.g. men/women who drive to work do so because there are no chartered buses to their place of work or men/women who own private vehicles are more likely to drive to work than those who do not own vehicles or upper class women are more likely to drive to work etc. Let us move on from this extremely simplistic example to the complex ways in which social scientists use comparisons.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Drawing from your observations of your surroundings do a simple exercise of comparison, looking for explanations of why some persons act in a particular way.

2.2 SOME THOUGHTS ON METHOD

Before we begin studying the comparative method, let us first see what exactly is a 'method' and why it is considered so important. Method as we know from our experiences, is a useful, helpful and instructive way of accomplishing something with relative ease. A piece of collapsible furniture, for example, comes with a manual guiding us through the various steps to set it up. While studying a phenomenon, method would similarly point to ways and means of doing things. We may not, however, unlike our example of the collapsible furniture, know the final shape or results of our explorations at the outset. We may not also have a precise instruction manual guiding us to the final outcome. We will simply have the parts of the furniture and tools to set it up in other words, 'concepts' and 'techniques'. These concepts (ideas, thoughts, notions) and techniques (ways of collecting data) will have to be used in specific ways to know more about, understand or explain a particular phenomenon. Thus, it may be said, that the organisation of ways of application of specific concepts to data is 'method'. Of course the manner of collection of data itself will have to be worked out. The concepts which are to be applied or studied will have to be thought out. All this will eventually have to be organised so that the nature of the data and the manner in which it is collected and the application of the concept is done in a way that we are able to study with a degree of precision what we want to study. In a scientific inquiry much emphasis is placed on precision and exactness of the method. Social sciences, however, owing to the nature of their subject matter, have had to think of methods which come close to the accuracy of scientific experiments in laboratories or other controlled conditions. A number of scholars, however, do not feel that there should be much preoccupation with the so called 'scientific research'. Whatever the beliefs of scholars in this regard, there is nonetheless a 'method' in thinking, exploring and research in all studies. Several methods, comparative, historical, experimental, statistical etc. are used by scholars for their studies. It may be pointed out that all these methods may use comparisons to varying degrees. The comparative method also uses tools of the historical, experimental and statistical methods. It is also important to bear in mind that comparative method is not the monopoly of comparative politics. It is used in all domains of knowledge to study physical, human and social phenomenon. Sociology, history, anthropology, psychology etc., use it with similar confidence. These disciplines have used the comparative method to produce studies which are referred variously as 'cross-cultural' (as in anthropology and psychology) and 'cross-national' (as in political science and sociology) seeming thereby to emphasise different fields.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit

1) What is method? Why do you think method is an important part of research?

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2.3 THE COMPARATIVE METHOD: WHY COMPARE

2.3.1 Social-Scientific Research

The comparative method has been seen as studying similarities and differences as the basis for developing a 'grounded theory', testing hypotheses, inferring causality, and producing reliable generalisations. Many social scientists believe that research should be scientifically organised. The comparative method, they believe, offers them the best means to conduct 'scientific' research i.e., research characterised by precision, validity, reliability and verifiability and some amount of predictability. The American political scientist James Coleman, for example, often reminded his students, 'You can't be scientific if you're not comparing'. Swanson similarly emphasised that it was 'unthinkable' to think of 'scientific thought and all scientific research' without comparisons. (Guy E. Swanson, 'Frameworks for Comparative Research: Structural Anthropology and the Theory of Action' in Ivan Vallier ed., *Comparative Methods in Sociology*, Berkeley, 1971, p.145).

Whereas in physical sciences comparisons can be done in laboratories under carefully controlled conditions, precise experimentation in social sciences under conditions which replicate laboratory conditions is not possible. If, for example, a social scientist wishes to study the relationship between electoral systems and the number of political parties, s/he cannot instruct a government to change its electoral system nor order people to behave in a particular way to test his/her hypothesis. Nor can s/he replicate a social or political phenomenon in a laboratory where tests can be conducted. Thus, while a social scientist may feel compelled to work in a scientific way, societal phenomena may not actually permit what is accepted as 'scientific' inquiry. S/he can, however, study 'cases' i.e., actually existing political systems and compare them i.e., chalk out a way to study their relationship as worked out in the hypothesis, draw conclusions and offer generalisations.

Thus the comparative method, though scientifically weaker than the experimental method, is considered closest to a scientific method, offering the best possible opportunity to seek explanations of societal phenomena and offer *theoretical propositions* and generalisations. The question you might ask now is what makes comparative method, scientific. Sartori tells us that the 'control function' or the system of checks, which is integral to scientific research and a necessary part of laboratory experimentation, can be achieved in social sciences only through comparisons. He goes further to propose that because the control function can be exercised only through the comparative method, comparisons are indispensable in social sciences. Because of their function of controlling/checking the validity of theoretical propositions, comparisons have the scientific value of making generalised propositions or theoretical statements explaining particular phenomena making predictions, and also what he terms 'learning from others' experiences'. In this context it is important to point out that the nature of predictions in comparative method have only a *probabilistic causality*. This means that it can state its results only in terms of likelihoods or probabilities i.e., a given set of conditions are likely to give an anticipated outcome. This is different from *deterministic causality* in scientific research which emphasises certainty i.e., a given set of conditions will produce the anticipated outcome/result.

2.3.2 Integrative Thinking

Integrative 'thinking' or looking for relations and connections: We saw in the previous paragraph that some social scientists use the comparative method to develop a scientific inquiry. For others, however, 'thinking with comparisons' is an integral part of analysing specific social and political phenomenon. Swanson for example, feels that 'thinking without comparisons is unthinkable'. 'No one', he points out, 'should be surprised that comparisons, implicit and explicit, pervade the work of social scientists and have done so from the beginning: comparisons among roles, organisations, communities, institutions, societies, and cultures'. (Swanson, 1971, p.145) Emile Durkheim, the renowned German Sociologist affirms that the comparative method enables (sociological) research to 'cease to be purely descriptive'. (Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labour in Society*, 1949, p.139) Even descriptions, however, points out Smelser, cannot work without comparisons. Simple descriptive words like 'densely populated' and 'democratic', he substantiates, 'presuppose a universe of situations that are more or less populated or more or less democratic' and one situation can be stated/described only in relation/comparison to the other. (Neil J. Smelser, *Comparative Methods in the Social Sciences*, Englewood, 1976, p.3) It is this 'presupposition of a universe' in which a descriptive category can be placed, within a set of relationships, helps us to analyse it better, feel quite a number of scholars. Manoranjan Mohanty therefore seeks to emphasise relationships rather than looking merely for similarities and dissimilarities among phenomena. The latter or the 'compare and contrast approach' as he calls it would ultimately become 'an exercise in dichotomisation, an act of polarising'. In other words, such an exercise would lead to classification of likes in groups of isolated compartments so that a comparative exercise would become nothing more than finding similarities within groups and dissimilarities among them. For the identification of relationships of unity and opposition, one must modify one's questions. This would mean that the questions asked should not be such as to bring out answers locating merely similarities and dissimilarities but 'the relationship which exists between them'. Only then shall one be able to understand the comparability of political systems like the United States of America (U.S.A) and United Kingdom (U.K), for instance which differ in their forms of government (Presidential and Cabinet forms, respectively).

The need to look for relationships rather than only indicators of similarity and dissimilarity is also asserted by Smelser. Smelser feels that often a comparative exercise ends up looking for reasons only for differences or 'dissimilarities' and gives explanations which are often 'distortions'. The fascination or preoccupation with the 'new' and the 'unique', in other words, what is seen as different from the rest, has always been part of human nature. Historically there has been a tendency to either praise these differences as 'pure' remainders of a previous age or see them as deviations from what is seen as normal behaviour. Thus the emphasis on similarities and differences may lead to similarities or uniformities being seen as norms and dissimilarities and variations as 'deviations' from the norm. The explanations offered for such deviations might not only be 'distortions' but often lead to categorisations or classifications of categories in terms of binary oppositions, hierarchies or even in terms of the ideal (good) and deviant (bad). Often, in a system of unequal relationships, the attribution of differences and their reasons, results in the justification of the disempowerment of groups seen as different. We have seen in the history of colonialism that the colonised were deprived of freedom and the right to self governance. The colonising nation sought to justify this deprivation by describing the subject population as being incapable of self rule because it had different social structures and religious beliefs. The location of difference here came from the vantage point of power — that of the colonising nations. In such situations binary oppositions like the West and East may indicate countries or people not only described as having different

attributes but also separate existences even in terms of time. Thus while the colonising British were seen as having reached a stage of modernisation, the colonised Indians were seen to exist in a state of timelessness, in other words trapped in a backward past. Historically, however, we have lived in a world which is marked by what Eric Wolf calls 'interconnections'. Thus the appeal to look for relationships, is lent weight by Eric Wolf, whose work corrects the notion that the destiny of nations has historically been shaped by European nations while the others were merely quiet spectators. Wolf shows that historically interconnections have been and continue to be a fact in the lives of states and nations. (Eric Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History*, California, 1982). This means that looking for relationship is not only possible, ignoring such 'interconnections' will in fact be historically invalid.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

1) How do comparisons help achieve the purposes of social-scientific research?

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2) The purpose of the comparative method is to look for relationships rather than dichotomies. Elaborate.

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2.4 METHODS OF COMPARISON

A variety of methods of comparison are used in social sciences.

2.4.1 Experimental Method

Although the experimental method has limited application in social sciences, it provides the model on which many comparativists aspire to base their studies. Simply put, the experimental method aims to establish a causal relationship between two conditions. In other words the objective of the experiment is to establish that one condition leads to the other or influences the other in a particular way. If, for example one wishes to study/explain why children differ in their ability to communicate in English in large-group setting, a number of factors may be seen as influencing this capability viz., social background, adeptness in the language, familiarity of surroundings etc. The investigator may want to study the influence of all these factors or one of them or even a combination of factors. S/he then isolates the condition/factors whose influence s/he wants to study and thereby make precise the role of each condition. The condition whose effect is to be measured and is manipulated by the investigator is the independent variable e.g., social background etc. The condition, upon which the influence is to be

studied, is thus the dependent variable. Thus, in an experiment designed to study the effect of social background on ability to communicate, social background will be the independent variable and the ability to communicate, the dependent variable. The investigator works out a *hypothesis* stated in terms of a relationship between the two conditions which is tested in the experiment viz., children coming from higher socio-economic background display better ability to communicate in English in large group settings. The results of the experiment would enable the investigator to offer general propositions regarding the applicability of her/his findings and compare them with other previous studies.

2.4.2 Case Study

A case study, as the name suggests focusses on indepth study of a single case. In that sense, while the method itself is not strictly comparative, it provides the data (on single cases) which can become the basis of general observations. These observations may be used to make comparisons with other 'cases' and to offer general explanations. Case studies, however, may, in a disproportionate manner emphasise 'distinctiveness' or what are called 'deviant' or unusual cases. There might be a tendency, for example, among comparativists to explore questions like why United States of America does not have a socialist party rather than to explore why Sweden along with most western democracies has one.

We will study briefly Alexis de Tocqueville's classic studies of 18th century France (*The Old Regime and the French Revolution, 1856*) and 19th century United States (*Democracy in America: Vol I, 1835; Vol II, 1840*) to show how comparative explanations can be made by focussing on single cases. Both his studies seem to ask different questions. The French case attempts to explain why the 1789 French Revolution broke out and the U.S.A. case seems to concentrate on seeking reasons for, and consequences of, conditions of social equality in the U.S.A. While both these works were spaced by more than twenty years, there is an underlying unity of theme between them. This unity is partly due to Toqueville's preoccupation in both with similar conceptual issues viz., equality and inequality, despotism and freedom and political stability and instability and his views on social structure and social change. Also underlying the two studies is his conviction regarding the inexorability of the Western historical transition from aristocracy to democracy, from inequality to equality. Finally, and this is what makes these individual works comparative, and according to some a single comparative study, is the fact that in both the studies the other nation persists as an 'absent' case or referent. Thus, his analysis of the American society is influenced by his perspective on the French society and vice versa. The American case was understood as a 'pure' case of 'democracy by birth', where the social evolution towards equality had 'nearly reached its natural limits' leading to conditions of political stability, a diminished sense of relative deprivation among its large middle class and a conservative attitude towards change. The French case was an aristocracy (a system of hierarchical inequalities) which had entered a transitionary stage in the 18th century, with conditions of inequality mixing with expectations and desire for equality, resulting in an unstable mix of the two principles of aristocracy and equality, leading to despotism, and culminating in the revolution of 1789. Thus Tocqueville's unique case study of individual cases was effectively a study of national contrasts and similarities within a complex model of interaction of historical forces to explain the divergent historical courses taken up by France and U.S.A.

2.4.3 Statistical Method

The statistical method uses categories and variables which are quantifiable or can be represented by numbers, e.g., voting patterns, public expenditure, political

parties, voter turnout, urbanisation, population growth. It also offers unique opportunities to study the effects or relationships of a number of variables simultaneously. It has the advantage of presenting precise data in a compact and visually effective manner, so that similarities and dissimilarities are visible through numerical representation. The fact that a number of variables can be studied together also gives the unique opportunity to look for complex explanations in terms of a relationship. The use of the statistical method also helps explain and compare long term trends and patterns and offer predictions on future trends. A study, for example, of the relationship of age and political participation can be made through an analysis of statistical tables of voter turnout and age-categories. Comparison of this data over long periods, or with similar data in other countries/ political systems, or with data showing voter turn out in terms of religious groups, social class and age can help us make complex generalisations, e.g., middle class, Hindu, male voters between the age of 25 and 30 are the most prolific voters. Cross national comparisons may lead to findings like, middle class women of the age group 25 to 30 are more likely to vote in western democracies than in developing countries like India. The utility of this method lies in the relative ease with which it can deal with multiple variables. It fails, however, to offer complete answers or give the complete picture. It can, however, be employed along with qualitative analysis to give more comprehensive explanations of relationships and the broad categories which the statistical method uses in order to facilitate their numerical representation.

2.4.4 Focussed Comparisons

These studies take up a small number of countries, often just two (paired or binary comparisons), and concentrates frequently on particular aspects of the countries' politics rather than on all aspects. Comparative studies of public policies in different countries has successfully been undertaken by this method. **Lipset** distinguishes two kinds of binary or paired comparison: the implicit and explicit. In the implicit binary comparison, the investigator's own country, as in the case of **de Tocqueville's** study of America, may serve as the reference. Explicit paired comparisons have two clear cases (countries) for comparison. The two countries may be studied with respect to their specific aspects e.g., policy of population control in India and China or in their entirety e.g., with respect to the process of modernisation. The latter may, however, lead to a parallel study of two cases leaving little scope for a study of relationships.

2.4.5 Historical Method

The historical method can be distinguished from other methods in that it looks for causal explanations which are historically sensitive. **Eric Wolf** emphasises that any study which seeks to understand societies and causes of human action could not merely seek technical solutions to problems stated in technical terms. The important thing was to resort to an analytic history which searched out the causes of the present in the past. Such an analytic history could not be developed out of the study of a single culture or nation, a single culture area, or even a single continent at one period in time, but from a study of contacts, interactions and 'interconnections' among human populations and cultures. The world of humankind constitutes a manifold, a totality of interconnected processes, and inquiries that disassemble this reality into bits and then fail to reassemble it falsify reality.

Historical studies have concentrated on one or more cases seeking to find causal explanations of social and political phenomena in a historical perspective. Single case studies seek, as mentioned in a previous section, to produce general statements which may be applied to other cases. **Theda Skocpol** points out that comparative historical studies using more than one case fall broadly into two

categories, 'comparative history' and 'comparative historical analysis'. Comparative history is commonly used rather loosely to refer to any study in which two or more historical trajectories are of nation-states, institutional complexes, or civilisations are *juxtaposed*. Some studies which fall in this genre, like Charles, Louis and Richard Tilly's *The Rebellious Century 1830-1930*, aim at drawing up a specific historical model which can be applied across different national context. Others, such as Reinhard Benedix's *Nation Building and Citizenship* and Perry Anderson's *Lineages of the Absolutist State*, use comparisons primarily to bring out contrasts among nations or civilisations, conceived as isolated wholes. Skocpol herself subscribes to the second method i.e., comparative historical analysis, which aims primarily to 'develop, test, and refine causal, explanatory hypothesis about events or structures integral to macro-units such as nation-states'. This it does by taking 'selected slices of national historical trajectories as the units of comparison', to develop causal relationship about specific phenomenon (e.g. revolutions) and draw generalisations. There are two ways in which valid associations of potential causes with the phenomenon one is trying to explain can be established. These methods laid out by **John Stuart Mill** in his *A System of Logic* are (a) the method of Agreement and (b) the method of Difference. The method of agreement involves taking up for study several cases having in common both the phenomenon as well as the set of causal factors proposed in the hypothesis. The method of difference, which is used by Skocpol, takes up two sets of cases: (a) the positive cases, in which the phenomenon as well as the hypothesised causal relationships are present and the (b) the negative cases, in which the phenomenon as well as the causes are absent but are otherwise similar to the first set. In her comparative analysis of the French, Russian and Chinese Revolutions, in *States and Social Revolutions, A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia and China*, (Cambridge, 1979). Skocpol takes up the three as the positive cases of successful social revolution and argues that the three reveal similar causal patterns despite many other dissimilarities. She takes up also a set of negative cases viz., failed Russian Revolution of 1905, and selected aspects of English, Japanese and German histories to validate the arguments regarding causal relationship in the first case.

Critics of the historical method feel that because the latter does not study a large number of cases, it does not offer the opportunity to study a specific phenomenon in a truly scientific manner. **Harry Eckstein** for instance argues that generalisations based on small number of cases 'may certainly be a generalisation in the dictionary sense'. However, 'a generalisation in the methodological sense' ought to 'cover a number of cases large enough for certain rigorous testing procedures like statistical analysis to be used'. (Harry Eckstein, *Internal War*, 1964)

Check Your Progress 4

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers

ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What is meant by experimental method? How far is this method appropriate for the study of political phenomenon in a comparative framework?

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- 2) Design a problem of comparative politics using the statistical method.

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2.5 LET US SUM UP

Studying with comparisons is important for understanding and explaining political and social phenomenon. A comparative method helps us to go beyond mere descriptions towards looking for ways in which political and social processes can be explained and based on such explanations general theoretical propositions can be made. It reminds us of the network of interconnections that exist among social, political, economic and cultural phenomena which help us understand better the changing nature of our environment.

Check Your Progress 5

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What are the different methods of comparison? What are the relative advantages of each in the study of comparative politics?

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- 2) Can one compare without having a historical perspective? Give the advantages and disadvantages of the historical method in the light of this statement.

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- 3) The comparative method helps in integrative thinking. Comment.

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2.6 KEY WORDS

Control: a regulation or check - An important part of experiments where a parallel experiment or group of subjects is set up (control group) - to provide a standard of comparison for other experiment. In an experiment set up to study the effect of visual aids in learning, the control group will not be introduced with

the condition (visual aid) whose influence is to be studied.

Causal Explanation: A way of understanding something by holding that some fact(s) lead to the appearance of other facts e.g., overpopulation may be the cause of housing problem.

- a) **Probabilistic Causality:** A probabilistic causality is said to exist when the statement of results and predictions are made only in terms of likelihoods or probabilities i.e., a given set of conditions are likely to give an anticipated outcome.
- b) **Deterministic Causality:** Deterministic causality is the preferred way of understanding relationships in scientific research as it emphasises certainty i.e., a given set of conditions will produce the anticipated outcome/result.

Generalisations: A general statement made in a manner so that it can be seen as holding true in a number of cases.

Grounded theory: A grounded theory is a framework of explanations of specific events etc. or explanatory principles and ideas which are derived from systematic study and observations of facts.

Hypothesis: This is a statement which holds something to be true under some conditions e.g. land holdings would decrease continuously as population increases.

Method: Methods are ways of organising theories for application to data, also called 'conceptual schemes'. Types of method comparative (using more than one case), configurative (using a single case study) and historical (using time and sequence). Method is more about 'thinking about thinking'.

Model: In simple terms an intellectual construct which simplifies reality in order to emphasise the recurrent, the constant and the typical, which it presents in the form of clusters of traits or attributes. In other words, 'models' and 'types' are treated as synonyms.

Precision: The attribute of being exact, definite or accurate.

Predictability: Something which can be predicted or expected/anticipated to happen.

Reliability: A test of credibility e.g., the reliability of a test is confirmed if it gives the same result (under the same conditions) every time.

Techniques: Techniques link method to the relevant data. Techniques vary in appropriateness -sampling, interviews etc.

Theoretical Propositions: A statement (like a generalisation) confirming or denying a relationship between two variables. The statement is expected to have a general application.

Validity: This is also a test of credibility, confirming soundness or adequacy, e.g., the validity of an experiment studying pressure differences will be confirmed if the data studied actually represents pressure differences and not something else, viz., temperature differences.

Variables: Something which is not fixed; something which is changeable; in an experiment a variable is a category which is subject to change by the experimenter [(a) independent variable] or as a result of the experiment

[(b) dependent variable]. (c) **Intervening variable:** Variables which may occur in between and interrupt or influence the result.

Verifiability: Which can be confirmed or tested to be true.

2.7 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Hague, Rod, Martin Harrop and Shaun Breslin, *Comparative Government and Politics*, Macmillan, London, 1993, third edition, (Chapter two).

Mohanty, Manoranjan, 'Comparative Political Theory and Third World Sensitivity', *Teaching Politics*, No.1&2, 1975.

Sartori, Giovanni, 'Compare, Why and How', in Mattei Dogan and Ali Kazancigil (ed.), *Comparing Nations, Concepts, Strategies, Substance*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1994.

Smelser, Neil J., *Comparative Methods in the Social Sciences*, Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, 1976 (Introduction).

2.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Write on the basis of your personal observations.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) See Section 2.2

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) The comparisons are undertaken on the basis of testing hypothesis, inferring causality and producing reliable generalisations. As such they are characterised by precision, validity, reliability and verifiability the necessary aspects of scientific research.
- 2) See Sub-section 2.3.2

Check Your Progress 4

- 1) See Sub-section 2.4.1
- 2) Design on the basis of what you have learnt in this unit.

Structure

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 The Institutional Approach
 - 3.2.1 The Institutional Approach: A Historical Overview
 - 3.2.2 The Institutional Approach and the Emergence of Comparative Government
- 3.3 Institutional Approach: A Critical Evaluation
- 3.4 The Institutional Approach in Contemporary Comparative Study
- 3.5 Let Us Sum Up
- 3.6 Key Words
- 3.7 Some Useful Books
- 3.8 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

3.0 OBJECTIVES

In this unit we shall focus on (a) **what constitutes** the institutional approach (b) the **significance** of this approach in making comparisons (c) the **units** of comparisons (d) the **specific questions** this approach seeks to answer or alternatively, what are the questions which this approach can possibly answer, and what are its aspirations and capacities (e) how does this approach explain **differences and similarities**. After going through these you will be able to understand:

- what are the **bases of comparison** in this approach.
- where from does it derive its **tools of comparison** and
- what **purposes** are sought to be served by such comparisons
what, in other words, is the vantage point of this approach
- the **limitations**, and conversely, the **importance** of this approach both at present and at the time when this approach constituted the main field of comparative political analysis.

This unit is divided into different sections which take up in some detail the above concerns. Each section is followed by questions based on the section. Towards the end of the unit is provided a list of readings which should be used to supplement this unit. Questions towards the end of the unit will help you to assess your overall understanding of the Institutional approach. All terms which have specific meanings in comparative political analysis have been explained in the section on keywords.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The institutional approach to comparative political analysis, simply put, is a *comparative study of institutions*. The *nature* (comparative) and *subject matter* (institutions) of study are thus quite evident. If, for example, one were to study the relative significance of the upper houses in parliamentary democracies, one would study the upper houses in several parliamentary democracies (e.g., the Rajya Sabha in India and the House of Lords in United Kingdom) and assess their relative significance in each case. One could then, on the basis of this comparative study of such institutions, arrive at generalised conclusions and explanations pertaining to their relevance or even utility in parliamentary democracies e.g. the constitution of upper houses of parliament lacks

representative character or the hereditary character of upper houses erodes the democratic character of legislatures. One could also, for example, look at the upper houses of parliaments to study the historical contexts which shape the evolution of a particular upper house. One could, for example, examine the contexts (social and economic) of the evolution of the two houses of Parliament in United Kingdom to see why the House of Lords retained a hereditary character. One could also then understand the contexts in which the current initiatives to end its hereditary character emerged.

For a long time, comparative political analysis was associated primarily with a comparative study of institutions. Comparative political analysis may in fact be said to have **begun** with a study of institutions. Thus if one were to trace the evolution of comparative politics as a discipline of study, one can see the study of institutions as marking the point where the comparative method first began to be used. The study of institutions, however, *not only marked the beginning of comparative study, it remained more or less the predominant approach in comparative politics up to the nineteen fifties*. Thus one can propose that *traditionally* comparative political analysis was confined to the study of institutions and the various ways in which these institutions manifested themselves in the distribution of power and the relationships between the various layers and organs of government.

3.2 THE INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH

The study of institutions has a long history beginning perhaps with the philosophical explorations of the ideal state in Plato's *Republic*. In the section which follows we shall attempt an overview of the manner in which the institutional approach has evolved historically. We shall also, because we are primarily concerned with studying the approach within the field of comparative political analysis, concern ourselves especially with the historical moment at which the institutional approach assumed a comparative character. We may, however, as a matter of introduction, describe here characteristic features of the institutional approach which differentiate it from other approaches viz., the political systems approach, the political economy approach etc.

It is generally agreed that any approach or enquiry into a problem displays certain characteristics pertaining to (a) *subject matter* (i.e. what is being studied) (b) *vocabulary* (the tools or the language) and (c) the choice of *political perspective* (which determines the vantage point and indicates the direction from and to what purposes enquiry is directed at). If the features of the institutional approach were considered against each of these three counts, it may be seen as marked out by (a) its concern with studying institutions of government and the nature of distribution of power, viz., constitutions, legal-formal institutions of government (b) its largely legalistic and frequently speculative and prescriptive/normative vocabulary, in so far as it has historically shown a preoccupation with abstract terms and conditions like 'the ideal state' and 'good order' (c) a philosophical, historical or legalistic perspective.

A characteristic feature of this approach has also been its *ethnocentrism*. The major works which are seen as representing the institutional approach in comparative politics, have concerned themselves only with governments and institutions in western countries. Implicit in this approach is thus a belief in the primacy of western liberal democratic institutions. This belief not only sees western liberal democracy as the best form of government, it gives it also a 'universal' and 'normative' character. The 'universal' character of western liberal democracy assumes that this form of government is not only the best, it is also universally applicable. The 'normativity' of western liberal democracies follows

from this assumption. If it is the best form of governance which is also universally applicable, liberal democracies is the form of government which *should* be adopted everywhere. This prescribed norm i.e. liberal democracy, however, also gave scope to an important exception. This exception unfolded in the practices of rule in the colonies and in the implications (a) that the institutions of liberal democracy were specifically western in their origin and contexts and, (b) that non-western countries were not fit for democratic self-rule until such time as they could be trained for the same under western imperialist rule.

In the sections which follow we shall study in some detail, the origins of the Institutional approach from antiquity to the first quarter of the present century when it became a predominant approach facilitating comparative study.

3.2.1 The Institutional Approach: A Historical Overview

Perhaps the oldest comparative study of governments was made by **Aristotle** who studied constitutions and practices in Greek city-states. Contrasting them with politics in the so called 'barbarian' states, Aristotle made a typology of governments distinguishing between monarchies, oligarchies and democracy and between these 'ideal' governments and their 'perverted' forms. The study of comparative politics at this stage was marked by what may be called an *interrelation between facts and values*. At this stage of its origins, a study of institutions did not attempt to 'analyse' the 'theory and practice' of government as emphasised by James Bryce in the late nineteenth century, to which we will come later in the course of this section. There was instead an overwhelming desire to explore 'ideal' states and forms of governments. In other words there was more emphasis on *speculations* i.e. on questions about what 'ought' to be, rather than an analysis seeking explanations of what 'is' or what actually existed.

With **Machiavelli** (*The Prince*) in the sixteenth century and **Montesquieu** (*The Spirit of Laws*) in the middle of the eighteenth century, the emphasis on empirical details and facts about existing state of affairs came to be established. Montesquieu was, however, followed mainly by constitutional lawyers, whose vocation determined that they concentrate more on the contents i.e., the theoretical (legal-constitutional) framework of governments rather than the manner in which these frameworks unfolded in practice. **Tocqueville**, in many ways, was the forerunner of the study of 'theory and practice' of governments, which became the essence of the institutional approach in comparative political analysis in later years. (Refer to Tocqueville's studies of American and French democracies in *Unit 2: Comparative Method and Strategies of Comparison*). **Bagehot** (*The English Constitution*, 1867) made another significant contribution to the development of this element of the institutional approach in his study of the British Cabinet drawing important points of comparison with the American Executive. It was, however, **Bryce**, **Lowell** and **Ostrogorski**, who in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, made important contributions to comparative study of institutions and by implication to the evolution of comparative governments as a distinct branch of study.

3.2.2 The Institutional Approach and the Emergence of Comparative Government

The Contributions of Bryce, Lowell and Ostrogorski

Bryce, Lowell and Ostrogorski's works towards the end of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century changed radically the contents of the institutional approach and thereby the nature and scope of comparative politics. Assessing their contributions **Jean Blondel** asserts that **Bryce** and **Lowell** were in fact the

true founders of comparative governments as it developed as a distinct branch of study in the last quarter of the nineteenth century (see Jean Blondel, *The Discipline of Politics, Chapter 7: Middle Level Comparisons*). The *American Commonwealth* (1888) and *Modern Democracies* (1921) were two significant works of Bryce. In *Modern Democracies* Bryce focusses on the *theory* of democracy and examined the working of the legislatures and their decline. Lowell's works *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe* (1896) and *Public Opinion and Popular Government* (1913) where he undertakes separate studies of France, Germany, Switzerland etc. and a comparative study of referendums and its impacts respectively were equally important. Similarly, Ostrogorski's study *Democracy and the Organisation of Political Parties* (1902) which aimed to test the hypothesis, so to speak, of the 'democratic' or 'oligarchical' character of political parties was a pioneering work of the time. It is important now to see exactly how these works augmented and in fact changed the manner in which institutions were so far being studied.

- i) **'Theory and Practice of governments'**: We mentioned in the earlier section that comparative study of governments tended to be philosophical-speculative or largely legal-constitutional i.e., they were either concerned with abstract notions like the 'ideal state' or with facts regarding the legal-constitutional frameworks and structures of governments. Based on **liberal constitutional theory** they studied the **formal institutional structures** with emphasis on their **legal powers and functions**. The works formed part of studies on 'Comparative Government' or 'Foreign Constitutions'. These works were seen to be relevant to the elites' efforts in institutional-building in various countries. This is why in the newly independent countries institutionalism acquired some fascination.

Bryce and Lowell, however, emphasised that the existing studies were partial and incomplete. A more comprehensive study of governments should according to them include also the **working** of the legal-constitutional frameworks of governments. Such a study, they stressed, required not only a study of the theoretical bases or contexts of governments (i.e. the legal-constitutional framework and governmental institutions) but also an equal emphasis on the study of 'practices of government'. To focus just on constitutions, as lawyers do, was insufficient as it would lead to ignoring the problems of their operation and implementation. On the other hand to focus exclusively on practice, without grounding it in its theoretical (constitutional) framework, would again be an incomplete study, as one may lose sight of the contexts within which the problems of implementation emerge. It was thus, primarily with Bryce and Lowell that the content of institutional approach in comparative political analysis came to be defined as a study of the '*theory and practice of government*'.

- ii) **Focus on 'facts'**: A significant component of these studies was the concern to study 'practice' through an analysis of 'facts' about the working of governments. To study practice one needed to discover, collect and even 'amass' facts. Bryce was emphatic in his advocacy to base one's analysis on facts, without which, he said, 'data is mere speculation': 'facts, facts, facts, when facts have been supplied each of us tries to reason from them'. A major difficulty, however, which collection of data regarding practices of governments encountered was the tendency among governments to hide facts than to reveal them. Facts were thus difficult to acquire because governments and politicians often hid facts or were unwilling to clarify what the real situation is. Nonetheless, this difficulty did not deter them from stressing the importance of collecting data about almost every aspect of political life, parties, executives, referendums, legislatures etc. This effort was

sustained by later comparativists like **Herman Finer** (*Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, 1932) and **Carl Friedrich** (*Constitutional Government and Democracy*, 1932).

- iii) **Technique:** The search for facts also led Bryce and Lowell towards the use of quantitative indicators, on the basis of the realisation that in the study of government, *qualitative* and *quantitative* types of evidence have to be balanced. Finally, however, Bryce and Lowell felt that conclusions could be firm only if they were based on as wide a range of facts as possible. Therefore, their studies extended geographically to a large number of countries which, at the time, had institutions of a constitutional or near-constitutional character. They therefore, attempted to focus their study on governments of western, central and southern Europe. It was, however, with Ostrogorski's work that comparative political analysis began to focus on studying specific institutions on a comparative basis. In 1902, Ostrogorski published a detailed study of political parties in Britain and America. Later, significant works on the role of political parties was done by **Michels** (*Political Parties*, 1915) and **M. Duverger** (*Political Parties*, 1950).

Major criticisms of the institutional approach came in the 1950s from 'system theorists' like **Easton** and **Macridis** who emphasised the building of overarching models having a general/global application. They attempted to understand and explain political processes in different countries on the basis of these models. These criticisms and the defence offered by institutionalists will be discussed in the next section.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What do you understand by the institutional approach?

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- 2) What are its various characteristics?

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- 3) Examine the characteristics of the institutional approach at the turn of the nineteenth century.

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3.3 INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH: A CRITICAL EVALUATION

It is interesting that criticisms of the institutional approach in comparative political analysis have come in successive waves, in the early part of the twentieth century and then again in the nineteen fifties. There has been after each wave of criticism a resurgence of the approach in a replenished form. Before the study of institutions acquired a comparative character (however limited) at the turn of the century, the approach was criticised, (a) as given to **speculation**; (b) as *largely prescriptive and normative*; (c) concerned only with irregularities and regularities without looking for relationships; (d) *configurative and non-comparative* focussing as it did on individual countries; (e) *ethnocentric* as it concentrated on western European 'democracies'; (f) *descriptive* as it focussed on formal (constitutional and governmental) structure; (g) *historical without being analytical*; (h) contributors within this framework were so absorbed with the study of institutions that differences in cultural settings and ideological frameworks were completely ignored while comparing, say, the upper chambers of the UK, USA and USSR; (i) *methodologically* they were accused as being **partial/incomplete** and theoretically, it was said they *missed the substance of political life*.

We saw, however, that with Bryce and his contemporaries the nature and content of the institutional approach underwent a significant change, acquiring in a limited way a comparative character, and attempting to combine theoretical contexts with practices of governments. In the nineteen fifties the institutional approach as it developed with Bryce, Lowell and Ostrogorski, came again under increasing criticism by political scientists like David Easton and Roy Macridis. In his work **The Political System** (1953), David Easton made a strong attack against Bryce's approach calling it '*mere factualism*'. This approach, alleged Easton, had influenced American Political Science, in the direction of what he called '*hyperfactualism*'. While admitting that Bryce did not neglect 'theories', the latter's (Bryce's) aversion to making explanatory or theoretical models, had led, asserted Easton, to a 'surfeit of facts' and consequently to '*a theoretical malnutrition*'. (You will study in another unit about 'system building' as the basis of Easton's 'systems approach' to studying political phenomena. It will not, therefore, be difficult to understand why Easton felt that Bryce's approach had misdirected American Political Science onto a wrong path.) **Jean Blondel**, however, defends the institutional approach from criticisms like those of Easton, directed towards its so called 'factualism'. **Blondel** would argue first that the charge of 'surfeit of facts' was misplaced because there were in fact very few facts available to political scientists for a comprehensive political analysis. In reality very little was known about the structures and activities of major institutions of most countries, particularly about the communist countries and countries of the so called Third World. The need for collecting more facts thus could not be neglected. This became all the more important given the fact that more often than not governments tended to hide facts rather than transmit them. *Secondly*, the devaluation of the utility of facts regarding institutions and legal arrangements, by the supporters of a more global or systemic approach was, to Blondel, entirely misconstrued. Institutions and the legal framework within which they functioned formed a significant part of the entire framework in which a political phenomenon could be studied. Facts about the former thus had to be compared to facts about other aspects of the political life to avoid a partial study. Facts were, in any case needed for any effective analysis. No reasoning could be done without having 'facts' or 'data'. This coupled with the point that facts were difficult to acquire made them integral to the study of political analysis.

In 1955 Roy Macridis pointed out the need for a 'reorientation' in the comparative study of government. He emphasised that in its existing form comparative study has been 'comparative in name only'. Macridis described the orientation of institutional approach as 'non-comparative', 'parochial', 'static' and 'monographic'. A good proportion of work was moreover, he asserted, 'essentially descriptive'. This was because the analysis was historical or legalistic and therefore 'rather narrow'. (See Roy Macridis, *The Study of Comparative Government*, pp.7-12).

It was however, realised in the 1950s, and continued to be the concern, that there remained actually a paucity of fact from which valid generalisations could be made. There was thus, asserts Blondel, a 'surfeit of models' rather than a 'surfeit of facts'. Blondel emphasised that building models without grounding them in facts would result in misinformations. This misinformation, given that facts about some countries were harder to come by, was likely to affect and at times reinforce preconceptions about these countries. Thus while writing about Latin American Legislatures in 1971, W. H. Agor remarked that there was a tendency to assert that legislatures in that part of the world were very weak. Statements such as these, he said, were based on 'extremely impressionistic evidence' that is, in the absence of 'facts' consciously collected for the purposes of the study. Thus the need for collecting and devising ways of collecting facts was stressed emphatically by followers of the institutional approach. The criticisms were, however, followed by works which had a more comparative focus and included non-western countries. Further, there was also an attempt to undertake studies comparing structures not determined by legal-constitutional frameworks e.g. G.Sartori's work on *Parties and Party Systems* (1976) which included in its scope in a limited way Communist countries and those of the Third World, and F.Castles' study of *Pressure Groups and Political Culture* (1967).

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What are the limitations of the institutional approach as pointed out by Easton and Macridis?

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- 2) How does Blondel build up a case in defence of the institutional approach?

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3.4 THE INSTITUTIONAL APPROACH IN CONTEMPORARY COMPARATIVE STUDY

Institutionalism remained more or less the exclusive approach in comparative politics, up to the nineteen fifties. As discussed in a previous section (3.2), the approach became distinctive with the works of Bryce, Lowell and Ostrogorski.

Pioneering work was done in comparative politics by *Herman Finer* (*Theory and Practice of Modern Governments*, 1932) and *Carl Friedrich* (*Constitutional Government and Democracy*, 1932). Grounded in *liberal Constitutional theory*, they studied the *formal institutional* structures with emphasis on their *legal powers and functions*. These works formed part of studies on 'Comparative Government' or 'Foreign Constitutions' and were considered relevant to the elites' efforts in institutional building in various countries. In newly independent countries, the institutional approach, appearing as it did, to emphasise institution-building, acquired prominence.

The main focus of the institutional approach (i.e. its subject matter) was (a) law and the constitution, (b) historical study of government and the state in order to understand the manner in which sovereignty, jurisdictions, legal and legislative instruments evolved in their different forms, (c) the manner in which the structures of government functioned (theory and practice) which included the study of distributions of power and how these manifested themselves in relation between nation and state, centre and local government, administration and bureaucracy, legal and constitutional practices and principles.

An underlying assumption of the approach was a belief in the uniquely western character of democracy. This meant, as stated in the Introduction (section 3.1), that democracy was seen as not only western in its origins but its application elsewhere was imagined and prescribed only in that form. This led, as mentioned earlier, to a largely westcentric study i.e. a concentration on countries of western Europe and North America. Blondel feels that the decline in the influence of the approach in the 1950s was in part due to its inability to accommodate in its scope of inquiry 'non western (liberal) governments' particularly the predominantly Communist countries of Eastern Europe and the newly independent countries of Asia and Latin America. Thus an approach which prided itself on associating theory with practice found itself unable to modify its framework of inquiry to study facts which did not conform to liberal constitutional democracies. The decline of the institutional approach in the 1950s was due in part also, as seen earlier, to the concerns by system theorists to building theories based on inductive generalisations, rather than conclusions derived from facts.

Since the late nineteen sixties and seventies, however, the institutional approach resurfaced in a form which is called '*new institutionalism*' and can be seen as having these characteristics: (a) As the term suggests, new institutionalism, retained its focus on the study of theory and practice of institutions. The approach stressed the importance of state and its institutional structures. (P. Evans, D.Rueschemeyer and T.Skocpol eds., *Bringing the State Back In*, 1985), Without providing an overarching framework within which the institutions may be said to function (as in structural-functional approach). It focussed instead on the manner in which the institutions interrelate. (b) While refraining from making overarching frameworks, the approach did not, however, avoid making generalised conclusions. The preoccupation with the collection of facts, also did not diminish. In striving for this combination, i.e., an adherence to fact based study aimed towards making generalised conclusions, however, the institutional approach, was careful (i) to 'draw conclusions only after careful fact-finding efforts have taken place' and, (ii) to make a prudent use of induction so that one 'kept close to these facts even when generalising' (see *Jean Blondel*, '*Then and Now: Comparative Politics*', p.160); (iii) the thrust of the approach, has by and large been on what is called 'middle-range analysis' where facts about specific institutions are collected to cover a broader area offering greater scope for comparison. These facts are, however, analysed without offering inductive models. Thus, comparative works on the political parties (e.g. *G.Sartori's Parties and Party Systems*, 1976; *Budge and H.Keman*, *Parties and Democracy*, 1990), pressure groups (*F.Castles'*

Pressure Groups and Political Culture, 1967), judiciary (G.Schubert, *Judicial Behaviour*, 1964), legislatures (M.L.Mezey, *Comparative Legislatures*, 1979; A.Korneberg, *Legislatures in Comparative Perspective*, 1973; J.Blondel, *Comparative Legislatures*, 1973; W.H.Agor, *Latin American Legislatures*, 1971) and the military (S.E.Finer, *Man on Horseback*, 1962).

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What is the state of institutional approach in comparative political analysis now?

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3.5 LET US SUM UP

The institutional approach in its various forms has been an important constituent of comparative political analysis. The study of institutions of governance was at the core of political analysis be it the explorations of the ideal state of **Plato's Republic** or the typology of States proposed by **Aristotle** in his *Politics*. In its classical and early modern forms the approach was more philosophical and speculative, concerned with ideal typical states and prescribing the norms of ideal governance. With Montesquieu and his successors the preoccupation of the approach with legal-constitutional frameworks or structures of democracies became entrenched. The belief in institutions of liberal constitutional democracies, however did not translate into a study of the manner in which the structures of governance functioned. More often than not, at least till the end of the nineteenth century, the intricacies of the legal-constitutional structures or the theoretical framework of governance, continued to seize the attention of political scientists and legal experts. So far, thus the approach could be said to have been characterised by a preoccupation with constitutions and legal-formal institutions of government and normative values of liberal democracy. This approach was propagated also by colonial regimes to popularise European liberal values in the colonies. The works of the institutionalists were also extremely relevant to the elite's efforts in institution building in various countries. This is why in the newly independent countries institutionalism acquired some fascination.

It was, however, only by the late nineteenth and early twentieth century that scholars like Bryce, Lowell and Ostrogorski, broke new grounds in the study of institutions (a) by combining the study of theoretical-legal-constitutional framework with facts about their functioning and, (b) giving the study a comparative flavour by including into their works the study of institutions in other countries. Thus, the approach, by the first quarter of the twentieth century, could be said to have acquired a limited comparative character and rigour by combining in its analysis theory and practice of institutions. In the nineteen fifties, however, the approach came under attack from 'system builders' like Easton and Macridis. The latter criticised the approach (a) for overemphasising facts (b) for lacking theoretical formulations which could be applied generally to institutions in other countries and (c) for lacking a comparative character. These theorists preferred on their own part to build 'holisitic' or 'global' 'models' or 'systems' which could explain the functioning of institutions in countries all over the world. An important criticism

leveled against the practitioners of the institutional approach was their westcentric approach i.e. their failure to take up for study institutions in the countries of the Third World, and communist countries of Eastern Europe. The failure to study these countries emanated in effect from the normative framework of this approach which could accommodate only the theoretical paradigms of western liberal-constitutional democracies. The lack of tools to understand the institutions in other countries of the developing and the communist worlds resulted in a temporary waning of the influence of this approach. It resurfaced, however, in the late sixties and early seventies, in a form which while retaining its emphasis on facts, did not shy away from making generalised theoretical statements, without, however, attempting to build inclusive models.

Check Your Progress 4

Note: i) Space given below is provided for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Give an overview of the historical development of the institutional approach distinguishing between its significant characteristics at each stage.

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- 2) How far do you think is the institutional approach effective in studying political processes in a comparative perspective?

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3.6 KEY WORDS

Configurative description: Study of political institutions oriented towards a detailed description of some countries without the use of any explicit conceptual framework.

Empiricism: A strand in philosophy that attempts to tie knowledge to experience. Pure empiricists would argue that the basis of true knowledge are facts which are derived through sense perceptions.

Ethnocentrism: The application of values and theories drawn from one's own culture to other groups and people's ethnocentrism implies bias or distortion.

Fact: A fact is what is said to be the case and it is associated with observation and experiment.

Formal-legalism: the constitutional orientation comprising detailed descriptions of the rules, supposedly governing the operations of cabinets, legislators, courts and bureaucracies.

Liberal democracy: a form of democratic rule that balances the principle of limited government against the ideal of popular consent. Its 'liberal' features are

reflected in a network of internal and external checks on government that are designed to guarantee liberty and afford citizens protection against the state. Its 'democratic' character is based on a system of regular and competitive elections, conducted on the basis of universal suffrage and political equality.

Model: A theoretical representation of empirical data that aims to advance understanding by highlighting significant relationships and interaction.

Non-comparison: Most of the texts in the field of comparative government either studied one single country or engaged in parallel descriptions of a few countries.

Normative: The prescription of values and standards of conduct; what 'should be' rather than what 'is'.

Parochialism: Restricted or confined within narrow limits e.g., in comparative politics there was a typical bias in the selection of relevant countries to be studied - the United Kingdom, France, Germany and the United States of America - and in the relevant variables to be employed for description.

Perspective: The term widely used in social sciences to talk about different ways of seeing, interpreting and experiencing social reality.

Value: Values are statements which are supposed to be much more tied up with judgement and subjectivity. Values are suppositions, they are not objective and they do not apply to all people.

3.7 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Apter, David E., 'Comparative Politics, Old and New' in Robert E. Goodin and Hans H.D. Klingeman eds., *A New Handbook of Political Science*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1996.

Blondel, Jean, *The Discipline of Politics*, Butterworths, London, 1981. (Chapter 7: Middle Level Comparisons)

Blondel, Jean, 'Then and Now: Comparative Politics', *Political Studies*, XLVII, 1999, pp.152-160.

Wiarda, Howard, J., *New Directions in Comparative Politics*, Westview Press, Boulder, 1985.

3.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) The approach is based on the study of various institutions in comparison with each other. This compares similarities and differences in the composition and functions of similar institutions e.g. executive, legislature etc. and tries to draw conclusions.
- 2) Comparison of similar institutions; context of their origin, development and working; drawing conclusions; making suggestions for changes or improvements on the basis of conclusions.
- 3) See Sub-section 3.2.2

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) See section 3.3
- 2) Blondel pointed out the limitations of structural Functional approach and as yet lack of sufficient information about the institutions. He also emphasised the importance of institutions and legal frameworks. For elaboration see 3.3.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) See section 3.4

Check Your Progress 4

- 1) Write your answer on the overall understanding of the Unit.
- 2) See section 3.5 and also use overall assessment of the Unit.



Structure

- 4.0 Objectives
- 4.1 Introduction
- 4.2 Systems Approach
 - 4.2.1 What is the Systems Approach?
 - 4.2.2 Geneses of the Systems Approach
 - 4.2.3 Historical Context
- 4.3 General Systems Theory and Systems Theory
 - 4.3.1 General Systems and Systems Approaches : Distinctions
 - 4.3.2 Systems Analysis : Characteristic Features
 - 4.3.3 Systems Approaches : Concerns and Objectives
- 4.4 Derivatives of the Systems Analysis
 - 4.4.1 Political System Derivative
 - 4.4.2 Structural - Functional Derivative
 - 4.4.3 Cybernetics Derivative
- 4.5 Systems Theory : An Evaluation
 - 4.5.1 Limitations of the Systems Approach
 - 4.5.2 Strength of the Systems Approach
- 4.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 4.7 Key Words
- 4.8 Some Useful Books
- 4.9 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

4.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit deals with one of the modern approaches regarding Comparative Government and Politics. It is the Systems Approach. After studying this unit, you should be able to:

- explain the meaning, genesis and historical background of this approach;
- distinguish between general systems theory, system theory and political system theory;
- state the characteristic features and objectives of the systems theory;
- amplify some of the derivatives (such as input-output, structural-functional, cybernetics models) of the systems theory; and
- evaluate the systems theory in its proper perspective.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The traditional approaches and characteristics of their own limitations, by and large, proved irrelevant in making the study of comparative governments and politics fruitful. These approaches, in their analysis of comparative governments and politics, have been largely, historical, formalistic, legalistic, descriptive, explanatory and thus, have become proverbial, static and more or less monographic. These are narrow in the sense that their description is confined to the study of western political system; they are formal legal in the sense that their analysis is inclined excessively to the study of only and merely legal institutions; and they are subjective in the sense that they do not put the political systems in any objective, empirical and scientific test.

The modern approaches to the study of comparative governments and politics, while attempting to remove the defects inherent in the traditional approaches, seek to understand in a clearer perspective, and objectively review the major

paradigms, conceptual frameworks and contending models so to understand and assess their relevance. Obviously, the modern approaches are, rather scientific, realistic, analytical and those that have brought revolution in comparative politics, **Sidney Verba** sums up the principles behind this revolution, saying, "Look beyond description to more theoretically relevant problems; look beyond the formal institutions of government to political processes and political functions; and look beyond the countries of Western Europe to the new nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America." The revolution was directed, as **Almond** and **Powell** rightly point out, toward (a) the search for more comprehensive scope, (b) the search for realism, (c) the search for precision, (d) the search for the theoretical order.

The modern approaches to the study of comparative governments and politics are numerous. One such approach is the systems approach, also called the systems theory or the systems analysis. This approach is, and in fact, has been the most popular way of looking at any political activity. According to **Prof. Kaplan** it is, the study of a set of inter-related variables, as distinguished from the environment of the set and of the ways in which this set is maintained under the impact of environment disturbances. It focuses on sets of patterned relations involving frequent inter-actions and a substantial degree of interdependence among the members of a system as well as established procedure for the protection and maintenance of the system (**William A. Welsh** : *Studying Politics*, 1973, p.65).

You have already studied institutional approach to comparative politics in the last unit. In this unit, an attempt shall be made to study, review and examine the systems approach, another modern approach to the study of comparative politics. While discussing the systems approach, its various aspects such as the geneses of the approach, its historical context, its distinction from the general systems theory, its characteristics and its strength and weaknesses shall be taken into view. Political system as say the input-output analysis and structural-functional analysis as the two salient derivatives of the systems approach shall be elaborately discussed.

4.2 SYSTEMS APPROACH

4.2.1 What is the Systems Approach?

The Systems approach is the study of inter-related variables forming one system, a unit, a whole which is composed of many facts, a set of elements standing in interaction. This approach assumes that the system consists of discernible, regular and internally consistent patterns, each interacting with another, and giving, on the whole, the picture of a self-regulating order. It is, thus, the study of a set of interactions occurring within, and yet analytically distinct from, the larger system. What the systems theory presumes include :

- i) the existence of a whole on its own merit;
- ii) the whole consisting of parts;
- iii) the whole existing apart from the other wholes;
- iv) each whole influencing the other and in turn, being influenced itself;
- v) the parts of the whole are not only inter-related, but they interact with one another and in the process creating a self-evolving work;
- vi) the parts relate themselves into a patterned relationship, while the whole exists, and keeps existing.

The emphasis of the systems theory is on the articulation of the system and of its components and the behaviours by means of which it is able to maintain itself over time.

4.2.2 Genesis of the Systems Approach

The systems approach has its origins traced to natural resources, though numerous movements aimed at the unification of science and scientific analysis may be said to have worked for this approach. The original idea of systems analysis came from biology and then adopted by the social scientists. The German biologist **Ludwig Van Bertalanffy** was the first to state the formulations of the general systems theory way back in 1930s, and it was from the general systems theory that the social scientists evolved and formulated the concept of the systems theory. **Bertalanffy** defined system in a set of 'elements studying in interaction'. Elaborating the concept of system, **Anatol Rapport** says, that it is

- i) something consisting of a set (finite or infinite) of entities,
- ii) among which a set of relations is specified, so that
- iii) deductions are possible from some relations to others or from the relations among the entities to the behaviour or the history of the system.

The application of the 'systems' approach to politics, **Professor S.N. Ray** points out, "allows one to see the subject in such a way that 'each part of the political canvas does not stand alone but is related to each other part' or that 'the operation of one part cannot be fully understood without reference to the way in which the whole itself operates. **David Easton** (*A system Analysis of Political Life*, 1965), **Gabriel Almond** (*Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach*, 1978), **David Apter** (*Introduction to Political Analysis*, 1978), **Karl Deutsch** (*Nation and World : Contemporary Political Science*, 1967), **Morton Kaplan** (*System and Process in International Politics*, 1957 or with **Harold Lasswell**, *Power and Society*, 1950) and other leading American social scientists pioneered the systems analysis in Political Science. More specifically, **Easton** was one of the few Political Scientists to suggest the utility and importance of the systems analysis for politics while defining a political system as that "behaviour or set of interactions through which authoritative allocations are made and implemented for society".

4.2.3 Historical Context

The systems approach, like any other modern approach, has evolved in a historical perspective. As the traditional approaches to the study of comparative politics proved futile, the need to understand it in a scientific manner became more important. The influence of other disciplines, both natural and social sciences and their mutual inter dependence gave a new impetus for looking out these disciplines, comparative politics including, afresh and brought to the fore the idea that scientific analysis is the only way to understand politics. The study of political systems became, as times passed on, more important than the study of Constitutions and governments, the study of political processes came to be regarded more instructive, than the study of political institutions. The post-second World War period witnessed, in the USA particularly, a fundamental shift in the writings of numerous American scholars when they began to borrow a lot from other social and natural sciences so as to give new empirical orientation to political studies which helped ultimately to examine numerous concepts, out in the process enriched their findings. The Social Science Research Council (USA) contributed a lot to provide an environment in which scientific analysis in comparative politics could be carried on. Some other American foundations such

as the Ford Foundation, the Rockfellar Foundation, and the Carnegie Foundation provided liberal funds for studies in comparative politics. Thus, it was possible to introduce new approaches, new definitions, new research tools, in comparative politics. All this led to what may be conveniently termed as revolution in the discipline : a revolution of sorts in the definition of its mission, problems and methods' (See Michael Rush and Philip Althoff, *An Introduction to Political Sociology*).

The introduction of the systems analysis, like other modern approaches, in comparative politics by writers like Easton, Almond, Kaplan was, in fact, a reaction against the traditional tendency of uni-dimensionalisation, impeding, in the process, the patterns of scientific analysis which make possible the unification of all knowledge. The systems approach is one of the modern approaches that helps to understand political activity and political behaviour more clearly than before. It looks out the social phenomenon as a set of interactive relationships so considered, the systems analysis covers not only the science of politics but also virtually all social sciences.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

- 1) The idea of the systems approach comes from
 - a) Astronomy
 - b) Biology
 - c) Astrology
 - d) Economics
- 2) The emphasis of the systems approach is on :
 - a)
 - b)
 - c)
- 3) One of the following is not the proponent of the systems theory:
 - a) David Easton
 - b) Morton Kaplan
 - c) Harold Laski
 - d) Gabriel Almond
- 4) State briefly the inherent defects of the traditional approaches. (State only three)
 - a)
 - b)
 - c)

4.3 GENERAL SYSTEMS THEORY AND SYSTEMS THEORY

4.3.1 General Systems and Systems Approaches : Distinctions

It is usually the practice to confuse the systems approach with the general systems theory. The systems analysis may have sprung from the general systems theory, but the two are different in many respects. To identify the systems theory with the general systems theory amounts to committing the philosophical error of the first order. While the general systems theory gives the impression of a system as one which is as integrated as the parts of the human body together, the systems theory does recognise the separate existence of parts. What it means is that the general systems theory advocates organised unity of the system whereas the systems theory speaks of unity in diversity. That is one reason that the general systems theory has been rarely applied to the analysis of potential and social phenomena. The systems theory has been successfully applied to the political phenomenon. David Easton, for example, has applied the systems theory to politics. Professor Kaplan has brought out the distinction between the general systems theory and the systems theory. He says, "... systems theory is not a general theory of all systems. Although general systems theory does attempt to distinguish different types of systems and to establish a framework within which similarities between systems can be recognised despite differences of subject matter, different kinds of systems require different theories for explanatory purposes. Systems theory not only represents a step away from the general theory approach but also offers an explanation for why such efforts are likely to fail. Thus the correct application of systems theory to politics would involve a move away from general theory toward comparative theory." Furthermore, it has not been possible to make use of the concepts of general systems theory in social sciences such as political science while the systems theory has been able to provide concepts (such as input-output, stability, equilibrium, feed-back) which have been well accepted by the empirical political scientists.

4.3.2 Systems Analysis : Characteristic Features

Systems analysis implies system as a set of interactions. It is, as **O.R. Young** says, "a set of objects, together with relationships between the objects and between their attributes." To say that a system exists is to say that it exists through its elements, say objects; and its elements (objects) are interacted and they interact within a patterned frame. A systems analyst perceives inter-related and a web-like objects and looks for ever-existing relationships among them. He is an advocate of the interactive relationship, among the objectives his major concerns are

- i) to emphasise the patterned behaviour among the objects of the system,
- ii) to explain the interactive behaviour among them,
- iii) to make a search for factors that help maintain the system.

Systems analysis elaborates, for understanding the system itself, a set of concepts. These include system, sub-system, environment, input, output, conversion process feedback, etc., **System** implies persisting relationships, demonstrating behavioural patterns, among its numerous parts, say objects or entities. A system that constitutes an element of a larger system is called a **sub-system**. The setting within which a system occurs or works is called **environment**. The line that separates the system from its environment is known as **boundary**. The system obtains **inputs** from the environment in the form of demands upon the system

and **supports** for its functioning. As the system operates, inputs are subjected to what may be called **conversion process** and it leads to system outputs embodying rules to be forced or policies to be implemented. When system **outputs** affect the environment so to change or modify inputs, feedback occurs.

Systems approach has, therefore, characteristic features of its own. These features may be summed up briefly as under:

- i) A social phenomenon is not what exists in isolation; it is not just numerous parts joined together to make a whole. It is a unit, a living unit with an existence and goal of its own.
- ii) Its parts may not be and in fact, are not organically related together, but they do make a whole in the sense that they interact and are inter-related. Specific behavioural relationships pattern them into a living system.
- iii) It operates through a mechanism of inputs and outputs and under/within an environment which influences it and which, in turn, provides feedback to the environment.
- iv) Its main concern is as to how best it can maintain itself and face the challenges of decay and decline.
- v) It implies patterned relationships among its numerous parts, explaining their relative behaviour and role they are expected to perform.

4.3.3 Systems Approaches : Concerns and Objectives

The system analysis is concerned with certain objectives. It addresses itself to the nations order, change and goal realisation as Welsh points out. The first concern of the systems approach, **Welsh** says, is '*maintenance of the system's integrity*' which, he asserts, depends on system's ability to maintain order. Obviously, the system would evolve 'regularised procedures,' 'by which society's scarce resources' would be so distributed that its members are sufficiently satisfied and would, in no case, permit a situation of chaos and collapse.

The second concern of the systems approach, as indicated by Welsh, is how the system meets the challenge of change in its environment. Changes in the environment are natural, so is natural the environment's effects on the system. It is the system that has to adapt itself to the realities the environmental changes especially to the technological and economic changes. The systems approach identifies the conflict between system's necessity of responding to the changes and the already engineered changes as provided by the environment, and also the capacities to remove the conflict.

The third objective of the systems approach is the importance it gives to the goal-realisation as the central aspect of the system. Why do people organise themselves? Why do people indulge in persistent patterns of interaction and interdependence? Why do people accept particular modes of attitude so as to demonstrate specific behaviour? Obviously, they do so because they want to pursue certain goals that they feel are important. No system can exist over a substantial period of time without articulating, determining and pursuing some specific identifiable goals. Welsh concludes, "The process by which these goals come to be defined for the system as a whole, and by which members of the system pursue these goals, are important foci in the systems approach."

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

1) Bring out two main differences between the General Systems Theory and the Systems Theory.

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2) Explain the following terms briefly:

i) Inputs

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ii) Outputs

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iii) Sub-system

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iv) Feedback

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3) State any two characteristics of the Systems Approach.

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4) With which concerns is the Systems Approach mainly associated? Mention any three objectives.

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4.4 DERIVATIVES OF THE SYSTEMS ANALYSIS

4.4.1 Political System Derivative

Political system or the input-output approach is one derivative of the systems analysis. **David Easton** has been one of the early political scientists to have introduced the systems approach to politics. He has been able to provide “an original set of concepts for arranging at the level of theory and interpreting political phenomena in a new and helpful way” (Davies and Lewis : *Models of Political Systems*). He selects the political system as the basic unit of analysis and concentrates on the intra-system behaviour of various systems. He defines political system as “those interactions through which values are authoritatively allocated and implemented for a society”. It would be useful to highlight some of the characteristic features of Easton’s concept of political system and these, briefly, are:

- a) Political system implies a **set of interaction** through which **values are authoritatively allocated**. This means the decision of those, who are in power, are binding.
- b) Political system is a system of **regularised persistent patterns of relationships** among the people and institutions within it.
- c) Political system, like any natural system, has in it a **self-regulating** system by which it is able to change, correct and adjust its processes and structures.
- d) Political system is **dynamic** in the sense that it can maintain itself through the feedback mechanism. The **feedback mechanism** helps the system to persist though everything else associated it may change, even radically.
- e) Political system is different from other systems or environments physical, biological, social, economic, ecological, but in coverable to their influence. **Boundary lines** separate them.
- f) **Inputs** through demands and supports put the political system at work while **outputs** through policies and decisions throw back what is not accepted as feed-back.

O.R. Young sums up the essentials of Easton’s political system, saying: “Above all, the political system is seen as a conversion process performing work, producing output and altering its environment, with a continuous exchange between a political system and its environment based on the steady operation of the dynamic processes. At the same time, this approach provides numerous concepts for dealing both with political dynamics in the form of systematic adaptation processes and even with purposive redirection in the form of goal-changing feedback.”

Easton’s political system approach has been severely attacked. **Professor S.P. Verma** regards it as an abstraction whose relation to empirical politics (which is classic) is impossible to establish. **Eugene Meehan** says that Easton does less to explain the theory and more to create the conceptual framework. His analysis, it may be pointed out, is confined to the question of locating and distributing power in the political system. He seems to be concerned more with questions such as persistence and adaptation of the political system as also with regulation of stress, stability and equilibrium and thus advocates only the status quo situation. There is much less, in Easton’s formulation, about the politics of decline, disruption and

breakdown in political system as Young points out. Despite all claims that the political system approach is designed for macro-level studies, Easton has not been able to go beyond North America and the Western World. Easton's political system or input-output would deal only with the present and has, therefore, no perspective of future and has less study of the past.

The merits of the input-output or political system approach can not be ignored. The approach has provided an excellent technique for comparative analysis. It has also provided a set of concepts and categories which have made comparative analysis more interesting and instructive. Young has admitted that Easton's analysis is "undoubtedly the most inclusive systematic approach so far constructed specifically for political analysis by a political scientist." According to Eugene Meehan, "Easton has produced one of the few comprehensive attempts to lay the foundation for systems analysis in political science and to provide a general functional theory of politics."

4.4.2 Structural - Functional Derivative

The structural functional analysis is another derivative of the systems approach. Coming in through sociology and originating mainly in the writings of anthropologists like **Malinowski** and **Radeliffe-Brown**, and adopted in political science, especially in comparative politics by **Gabriel Almond**, structural-functional analysis is basically concerned with the phenomenon of system maintenance and regulation. The basic theoretical proposition of this approach is that all systems exist to perform functions through their structures. The central question of this approach, as Young says, is : *'What structures fulfil what basic functions and under what conditions in any given society'?*

The basic assumptions of the structural-functional derivative of the systems approach are :

- 1) Society is a single inter-connected system in which each of its elements performs a specific function and whose basic goal is the maintenance of the equilibrium;
- 2) Society, being a system as a whole, consists of its numerous parts which are inter-related;
- 3) The dominant tendency of the social system is towards stability which is maintained by its own in-built mechanism;
- 4) System's ability to resolve internal conflicts is usually an admitted fact;
- 5) Changes in the system are natural, but they are neither sudden nor revolutionary, but are always gradual and adaptive as well as adjustable;
- 6) System has its own structure, with its own aims, principles and functions.

The structural-functional derivative speaks of the political system as composed of several **structures** as patterns of action and resultant institutions with their assigned functions. A **function**, in this context, means, as **Plato** (*Dictionary of Political Analysis*) says, 'some purpose served with respect to the maintenance or perpetuation of the system', and a structure could be related to "any set of related roles, including such concrete organisational structures as political parties and legislatures." So the structural-functional analysis, Plano continues, "involves the identification of a set of requisite or at least recurring functions in the kind of system under investigation. This is coupled with an attempt to determine the kinds

of structures and their interrelations through which those functions are performed.”

Gabriel Almond's classic statement of structural-functional analysis is found in the introduction to *The Politics of the Developing Areas*, 1960. Briefly summed up: All political systems have a structure, i.e. legitimate patterns of human interactions by which order is maintained; all political structures perform their respective functions, with different degrees in different political systems;

Input functions include

- a) political socialisation and Recruitment;
- b) interest articulation;
- c) interest aggregation;
- d) political communication;

Output functions include

- i) rule-making,
- ii) rule-application,
- iii) rule-adjudication.

Almond, while considering politics as the integrative and adaptive functions of a society based on more or less legitimate physical coercion, regards political system as “*the system of interactions to be found in all independent societies which perform the functions of integration and adaptation by means of the employment or threat of employment of more or less legitimate order-maintaining or transforming system in the society.*” He is of the opinion that there is interdependence between political and other societal systems; that political structures perform the same functions in all systems; that all political structures are multi-functional; and that all systems adapt to their environment when political structures do have behave dysfunctionally.

There is a basic difference between Easton's input-output model and Almond's structural-functional approach. While Easton lays emphasis on interaction and interrelationship aspects of the parts of the political system, Almond is more concerned with the political structures and the functions performed by them. And this is perhaps the first weakness of the structural-functional analysis which talks about the functions of the structures and ignores the interactions which are characteristics of the numerous structures as parts of the political system.

Almond's model suffers from being an analysis at the micro-level, for it explains the western political system, or to be more specific, the American political system. There is undue importance on the input aspect, and much less on the output aspect in his explanation of the political system, giving, in the process, the feedback mechanism only a passing reference. Like Easton, Almond too has emerged as status-quoist, for he too emphasised on the maintenance of the system. While commenting on Almond's insistence on separating the two terms - structures and functions, **Sartori** says, “The structural-functional analysis is a lame scholar. He claims to walk on two feet, but actually on one foot - and a bad foot at that. He cannot really visualise the inter-play between ‘structure’ and ‘function’ because the two terms are seldom, if even, neatly disjointed, the structure remains throughout a kin brother of its inputted functional purposes.”

And yet, merit of the structural-functional model cannot be ignored. The model has successfully introduced new conceptual tools in political science, especially in

comparative politics. So considered, the structural-functional analysis has really enriched our discipline. It has also offered new insights into political realities. And that is one reason that this model has been widely adopted, and is being used as a descriptive and ordering framework.

4.4.3 Cybernetics Derivative

Cybernetics or communication approach is another derivative of the system analysis. **Karl Deutsch** (*The Nerves of Government*, 1966) may rightly be called the chief exponent of the Cybernetics model. Cybernetics is defined as the 'science of communication and control'. Its focus is "the systematic study of communication and control in organisations of all kinds. The viewpoint of Cybernetics suggests that all organisations are alike in certain fundamental characteristics and that every organisation is held together by communication." Because 'governments' are organisations, it is they where information-processes are mainly represented. So are developed Deutsch's concepts in his Cybernetics approach, especially information, communication and channels. Information is a patterned relationship, between events, Communication is the transfer of such patterned relations; and channels are the paths or associative trails through which information is transferred. Deutsch rightly says that his book, the Nerves of Government, deals less with the bones or muscles of the body politic and more with its nerves its channels of communication. For him, the 'core-area of politics is the area of enforceable decisions, and the ensure of politics' is the 'dependable coordination of human efforts for the attainment of the goals of society'. Hence, he looks at the political system, which according to him is nothing but a system of decision-making and enforcement, as a network of communication channels.

Drawing largely from the science of neuro-physiology, psychology and electrical engineering, Deutsch is able to perceive similarities in processes and functional requirements, between living things, electronic machines and social organisations. "the brain, the computer, the society, all have characteristics which make them organisations: they have the capacity to transmit and react to information" (Davies and Lewis : *Models of Political Systems*, 1971).

The characteristic features of the cybernetics model of the *systems analysis* can be, briefly, stated as under:

- 1) **Feedback** constitutes a key concept in the cybernetics model. It is also called a servo-mechanism. By feedback, Deutsch means a communications network that produces action in response to an input information.
- 2) All organisations, including a political system, are characterised by feedback mechanisms. It is feedback that introduces dynamism into what may be otherwise a static analysis.
- 3) Cybernetics introduces certain sub-concepts of the feedback concept and there are negative feedback, load, lag, gain and lead.

Davies and Lewis explain these terms

"A *negative feedback* is one which transmits back to itself information which is the result of decisions and actions taken by the system and which leads the system to change its behaviour in pursuit of the goals which it has set itself. Load indicates the total amount of information which a system may possess at a particular time. Lag indicates the amount of delay which the system experiences between reporting the consequences of decisions and acting on the information

received. **Gain** is an indication of the manner in which the system responds to the information that it has received. **Load** illustrates the extent to which a system has the capacity to react to predictions about the future consequences of decisions and actions.”

- 4) What types of systems emerge in the light of meaning given to the sub-concepts of feedback concepts may be stated as : **Deutsch** says that all political systems are goal-seeking entities; the chances of success in goal-seeking are related to the amount of load and lag; up to a point they may be positively related to the amount of gain, although at high rates of gain, this relationship may be reversed, and they are always positively related to the amount of load (Young, *Systems of Political Science*, 1997); A system may over-respond to information received and it is likely that any increase would be dysfunctional to the realisation of the system's goals.

Deutsch's cybernetics model deals with *communication, control* and *channels* against **Easton's** input-output model of interactions and *interrelationships* and **Almond's** structural-functional analysis of *stating structures* and their *functions*. All these seek to explain the functioning of the system — its ability to adapt itself amidst changes and its capacity to maintain itself over time.

Deutsch's model has numerous drawbacks : it is essentially an engineering approach which explains the performance of human beings and living institutions as if they are machines, the cybernetics are concerned more with what decisions are then how and why they are concluded and towards which ends; the approach is quantity-oriented, and hence is not quality-oriented; it seeks to store information and overlooks its significance; the approach is sophisticated in so far as it is complex, it is complex in so far as it does not help understand the phenomenon.

As a derivative of the systems approach, cybernetics analysis has helped in the search of analogies which has, in turn, contributed to development of hypotheses concerning human behaviour. To that extent, the approach has added to our understanding of the system scientifically. Furthermore, the **cybernetic devices**, such as *computing* and *data processing*, proved to be extremely useful to political scientists in their research efforts.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

- 1) Give any three characteristic features of Easton's input-output model.

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- 2) State the strength and weakness of Easton's political system model.

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- 3) Which of the following is the chief characteristic of the Structural-Functional Analysis
- values to be authoritatively allocated.
 - rule-making, rule-application, rule-adjudication.
 - nerves, rather than bones and muscles, are important features of the body politic.

- 4) State briefly the chief demerits of Deutsch's cybernetics theory.

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- 5) Compare the Easton's, Almond's and Deutsch's derivatives of the Systems Approach.

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4.5 SYSTEMS THEORY : AN EVALUATION

4.5.1 Limitations of the Systems Approach

The systems approach in Political Science, and especially in Comparative Politics provides a broader and a clearer view of things that surround not only political activity but also politics as well. This is so because the systems approach takes political phenomena as one unit, a system in itself, not merely the sum-total of its various parts, but all parts standing in interaction — with one another. To view any number of parts as a whole is to make the whole something artificial. To insist on the interactions among the parts as always continuing and in the process, building the system is to presume something already granted or given.

The **systems theorists** have drawn much from *biology* and other *natural sciences* and have equated the organic system with social system. Indeed, there are similarities between the two systems, but analogies are only and always analogies. Any attempt to extend the argument amounts to falsification. To relate a hand to human body is not when we relate an individual to the society or a legislature to the executive organ of the government. The systems theorists have only built an extended form of organic theory which the individualists had once argued.

All the systems theorists have committed themselves to *building* and *maintaining* the system. Their concern has been only to explain the system as it exists. What they have, additionally, done is to state the causes which endanger its existence and factors which can strengthen it. They are, at best, the status-quoists who have little knowledge about past and perhaps no concern for the future. All the concepts that systems theorists have developed do not go beyond the explanation and understanding of the present. The entire approach is rooted in *conservation* and *reaction*. (Verma, *Modern Political Theory*, 1966).

The systems theorists, in Political Science or in the field of Comparative Government and Politics, have substituted political system in place of the state by

arguing that the term political system explains much more than the term state. Indeed, the point is wide and clear. But when these theorists come to highlight the characteristics of political system, they do not say more than the political power or force with which the conventional word 'State' has been usually associated.

What the systems analysts have done is that they have condemned the traditionalists for having made the political analysis *descriptive, static* and *non-comparative*. What they have, instead, done is that they have introduced the numerous concepts in both natural and other social sciences in Political Science or Comparative Politics so as to make the discipline more inter-disciplinary. The claim that the systems theorists have evolved a scientific and empirical discipline is too tall.

4.5.2 Strength of the Systems Approach

If the idea behind the systems approach is to explain the concept of system as a key to understand the social web, the efforts of the systems theorists have not gone waste. It is important to state that the influence of the systems analysis has been so pervasive that most comparative politics research makers use of the systems concepts. It is also important to state that the systems approach has well addressed and well-directed itself to numerous meaningful questions — questions such as the relationships of systems to their environment, the persistence of the system itself and overtime, stability of the system, function assigned to the structures as parts of the system, dynamics and machines of the system.

Professor S.N. Ray has summed up the merits of the systems theory very aptly, saying, "It (the system theory) gives us an excellent opportunity for fusing micro-analytical studies with macro-analytical ones. The concepts developed by this theory open up new questions and create new dimensions for investigation into the political processes. It often facilitates the communication of insights and ways of looking at things from other disciplines. It may be regarded as one of the most ambitious attempts to construct a theoretical framework from within political Sciences."

4.6 LET US SUM UP

Systems approach is one of the modern approaches which has been introduced in Political Science, especially in Comparative Governments and Politics by scholars like **Kaplan, Easton, Almond, Apter, and Deutsch**. Accordingly, they have seen system as a set of interactions, interrelations, patterned behaviour among the individuals and institutions, a set of structures performing their respective functions and one that seeks to achieve certain goal and attempts to maintain itself amidst vicissitudes.

The systems approach, though claims to provide a dynamic analysis of the system, remains confined to its maintenance. It claims to have undertaken an empirical research, but has failed to provide enough conceptual tools for investigation. It has not been able to project system, particularly political system more than the state. The approach is, more or less, conservative in so far as it is status-quoist.

Yet the systems approach is unique in many respects. It has provided a wider scope in understanding and analysing social behaviour and social interactions. It has drawn a lot from natural sciences and has very successfully used their concepts in social sciences. It has been able to provide a degree of methodological sophistication to our discipline.

4.7 KEY WORDS



Analysis: An object of inquiry to study the various constituent parts so to know their nature and relationship of the parts to each other and to the whole.

Approach: A mode of analysis which provides a set of tools and develops concepts for the study and comprehension of any political phenomena.

Concept: It is an abstraction to which a descriptive label is attached so to carry out an investigation and analysis.

Cybernetics: It is the science of communication and control.

Equilibrium: It is a state of balance ascribed usually to a political or any other system.

Feedback: It is the process by which information about the functioning of a system is communicated back to the system so that corrections and adjustment may be made.

Homeostasis: Homeostasis is the tendency toward maintenance of stability in a system through self-adjustments which provide responses to disruptive and/or de-stability influences.

Input: It is something that influences and affects the functioning in a system. Inputs originate in the environment of the system and within the system itself.

Output: Outputs are the results which come in the form of governmental policies, decisions, and programs as well as implementing actions.

Paradigm: It is a model, pattern or say example that helps organise thought and give direction to research.

Political System: The persisting pattern of human relationships through which authoritative decisions are made and carried out for a society.

Process: It is a sequence of related actions/operations. It denotes activity, 'movement' and relatively rapid change as distinguished from the more stable and slower elements in a situation.

Social System: It is an aggregation of two or more persons that interact with one another in some patterned way.

Stability: It is a condition of a system where components tend to remain in, or return to, some constant relationship with one another.

System: It is any set of elements that exist in some patterns relationship with one another.

4.8 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Almond, G.A. and Powell, GB, (1978) *"Comparative Politics : A Development Approach"*, Oxford

Apter, David E., (1977) *"Introduction to Political Analysis"*, Cambridge

Charlesworth, J. (ed.), (1967) *"Contemporary Political Analysis"*, New York

Dahl, Robert A., (1979) *"Modern Political Analysis"*, Englewood Cliffs

Davies M.R. and Lewis, V.A., (1971) *"Models of Political Systems"*, London

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Ray, S.N., (1999) "*Modern Comparative Politics*" New Delhi

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4.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Biology
- 2) a) on the articulation of the system,
b) on the articulation of the components of the system;
c) on the behaviour by means of which the system is able to maintain itself;
- 3) c)
- 4) a) The traditional approach is historical and mostly descriptive;
b) It is parochial;
c) It is more or less monographic.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) a) The General Systems Theory has been rarely applied to the social sciences while the systems theory has been successfully applied;
b) The General Systems Theory, developed as it is from natural sciences (biology particularly) treats the systems as more or less organically integrated from within while the systems theory lays emphasis on the interactions aspect of the elements of the system.
- 2) i) Inputs are demands made upon the system and those which usually originate from the environment.
ii) Outputs are the results which come about when the inputs are subjected to a conversion process. They are in the form of policies, decisions and actions which are to be implemented.
iii) Sub-system is a part of the system, a part of the whole.
iv) Feedback occurs when outputs affect the environment so as to modify inputs.
- 3) The two characteristics of the systems theory are:
i) The systems theory regards the social phenomenon as a unit, a living unit at that;
ii) It denotes the system as a set of interactions of various elements.

- i) Order
- ii) Change
- iii) Goal-realisation.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) a) system is regarded as a part of interactions;
b) through the system, values are authoritatively allocated; and
c) system is self-regulating one and is able, in itself, to change and correct and adjust in accordance with the environmental changes.
- 2) Easton's political system has provided an excellent technique for comparative politics. Its another merit is that it has provided a set of concepts and categories which has helped in comprehending the system more clearly. The weakness of Easton's model is that it does little to explain the political system and more to establish it. Easton is concerned with the maintenance and regulation of the system, and hence he is a status-quoist.
- 3) b)
- 4) Deutsch's model is an engineering approach and has been unduly imposed another social system. He is concerned with decisions and not with how and why have these decisions been concluded. His model seeks to store information and ignores its importance.
- 5) The derivatives of the systems approach, as have been developed by Easton, Almond and Deutsch, lay emphasis in different aspects of a system. Easton regards the interactions and inter relationships as characteristics of any system; Almond is concerned with the structures of the system and the functions they perform; Deutsch's derivative is, more or less, a device of communication, control and channels.

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Structure

- 5.0 Objectives
- 5.1 Introduction: Evolution of the Concept
- 5.2 Development as Modernisation
- 5.3 Development as Underdevelopment and Dependency
- 5.4 World System Analysis
- 5.5 Articulation of Modes of Production Approach
- 5.6 Class Analysis and Political Regimes
- 5.7 State Centred Approach
- 5.8 Globalisation and Neo-Liberal Approach
- 5.9 Let Us Sum Up
- 5.10 Key Words
- 5.11 Some Useful Books
- 5.12 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

5.0 OBJECTIVES

Comparative politics seeks to study relationships among countries. It seeks also to find explanations for specific social and political phenomenon in these relationships. The political economy approach to the study of comparative politics is one way of looking at this relationship. It proposes that there exists a relationship between politics and economics and that this relationship works and makes itself manifest in several ways. It is the understanding of this relationship and the manner in which it unfolds, which subscribes to this approach maintain, provides the clue to the study of relationships between and explanations of social and political phenomena. After reading this unit, you will be able to:

- understand various attributes of political economy as a concept;
- learn how the concept has become relevant for the study of comparative politics; and
- know historically, putting into context the various ways in which the political economy approach has formed the basis of studying relationships between countries and social and political phenomena over the past years.

5.1 INTRODUCTION: EVOLUTION OF THE CONCEPT

Political economy refers to a specific way of understanding social and political phenomena whereby, economics and politics are not seen as separate domains. It is premised (a) on a relationship between the two and (b) the assumption that this relationship unfolds in multifarious ways. These assumptions constitute important explanatory and analytical frameworks within which social and political phenomena can be studied. Having said this, it is important to point out that whereas the concept of political economy points at a relationship, there is no single meaning which can be attributed to the concept. The specific meaning the concept assumes depends on the theoretical/ideological tradition, e.g., liberal or Marxist, within which it is placed, and depending on this positioning, the specific manner in which economics and politics themselves are understood.

Interestingly, the appearance of economics and politics as separate domains is itself a modern phenomenon. From the time of Aristotle till the middle ages, the concept of economics as a self regulating/separate sphere was unknown. The

word 'economy' dates back to Aristotle and signified in Greek 'the art of household management'. It is derived from the Greek *oikos* meaning a house, and *nomos* meaning law. As the political evolution in Greece followed the sequence: household- village- city state, the study of the management of the household came under the study of 'politics', and Aristotle considered economic questions in the very first book of his *Politics*. Among the classical political economist, **Adam Smith** considered political economy as 'a branch of the science of a statesman or legislator'. As far as the Marxist position is concerned, Marx (1818-1883) himself, generally spoke not of 'political economy' as such but of the 'critique of political economy,' where the expression was used mainly with reference to the classical writers. Marx never defined political economy, but Engels did. Political economy, according to the latter, studies 'the laws governing the production and exchange of the material means of subsistence' (Marx - Engels, *Anti-Duhring*). The Soviet economic theorist and historian **I.I. Rubin** suggested the following definition of political economy: 'Political economy deals with human working activity, not from the standpoint of its technical methods and instruments of labour, but from the standpoint of its social form. It deals with production relations which are established among people in the process of production'. (I.I. Rubin, *Essays on Marx's Theory of Value*, Black & Red, Detroit, 1928, 1972 reprint, P.X). In terms of this definition, political economy is not the study of prices or of scarce resources, it is rather, a study of culture seeking answers to the questions, why the productive forces of society develop within a particular social form, why the machine process unfolds within the context of business enterprise, and why industrialisation takes the form of capitalist development. Political economy, in short, asks how the working activity of people is regulated in a specific, historical form of economy.

In the years after decolonisation set in, the understanding of relationships between nations, and specific political and social phenomena, was informed by various approaches, viz., *institution*, *political sociology* and *political economy*. These were geared primarily towards examining the manner in which social values were transmitted and also the structures through which resources were distributed. All these would eventually form the bases or standards along which different countries and cultures could be classified on a hierarchical scale of development, and could actually be seen as moving along a trajectory of development and change. Several theories were advanced as frameworks within which this change could be understood. Among these was the modernisation theory, which emerged in the historical context of the end of Japanese and European empires and the beginning of the cold war.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your progress with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What do you understand by the political economy approach to the study of comparative politics?

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5.2 MODERNISATION THEORY: DEVELOPMENT AS MODERNISATION

The theory of modernisation was an attempt by mainly First world scholars to explain the social reality of the 'new states' of the third world. Modernisation theory is based upon separation or dualism between 'traditional' and 'modern' societies. The distinction between 'traditional' and 'modern' societies was derived from **Max Weber** via Talcott Parsons. A society in which most relationships were 'particularistic' rather than 'universalistic' (e.g. based on ties to particular people, such as kin, rather than on general criteria designating whole classes of persons) in which birth ('ascription') rather than 'achievement' was the general ground for holding a job or an office; in which feelings rather than objectivity governed relationships of all sorts (the distinctions between 'affectivity' and 'neutrality'); and in which roles were not clearly separated - for instance, the royal household was also the state apparatus ('role diffuseness' vs. 'role specificity'), was called 'traditional'. A 'modern' society, on the other hand, was characterised by the opposite of all these. Other features generally seen as characteristic of traditional societies included things like a low level of division of labour, dependence on agriculture, low rates of growth of production, largely local networks of exchange and restricted administrative competence. Again modern societies were seen as displaying the opposite features. Following from this 'opposition' of the two categories, 'modernisation' referred to the process of transition from **traditional** to modern principles of social organisation. This process of transition was not only seen as actually occurring in the newly independent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the attainment of a modern society as it existed in the West, was seen as their strategic goal. A modern society was defined as a social system based on achievement, universalism and individualism, as a world of social mobility, equal opportunity, the rule of law and individual freedom. This was contrasted with traditional societies, based on ascribed status, hierarchy and personalised social relations. *The purpose of modernisation theory was to explain, and promote, the transition from traditional to modern society.*

Modernisation theory argued that this transition should be regarded as a process of traditional societies 'catching up' with the modern world. The theory of modernisation was most clearly elaborated in the writings of W.W.Rostow (*The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-Communist Manifesto*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1960), who argued that there were five stages of development through which all societies passed. These were: (i) the traditional stage; (ii) the preconditions for take off; (iii) take off; (iv) the drive toward maturity and (v) high mass consumption. Third World societies were regarded as traditional, and so needed to develop to the second stage, and thus establish the preconditions for take-off. **Rostow** described these preconditions as the development of trade, the beginnings of rational, scientific ideas, and the emergence of an elite that invests rather than squanders its wealth. The theory argued that this process could be speeded up by the encouragement and diffusion of Western investment and ideas. Scholars in this tradition also argued that industrialisation would promote Western ideas of individualism, equality of opportunity and shared values, which in turn would reduce social unrest and class conflict.

As we have mentioned earlier modernisation theory developed in the context of cold war and at times it is unclear whether (a) modernisation theory was an analytical or prescriptive device, (b) whether modernisation was actually occurring or whether it should occur and (c) whether the motives of those promoting modernisation was to relieve poverty or to provide a bulwark against communism?

The two factors are obviously connected, but the subtitle of Rostow's book - '*a non-communist manifesto*' - suggests that the latter may have been considered more important than the former.

To conclude, we can say that modernisation theory was based on an evolutionary model of development, whereby all nation-states passed through broadly similar stages of development. In the context of the post-war world, it was considered imperative that the modern West should help to promote the transition to modernity in the traditional Third World.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your progress with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

1) What kind of development path did modernisation theory suggest for the 'new states' of the third world?

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5.3 DEVELOPMENT AS UNDERDEVELOPMENT AND DEPENDENCY

Dependency theory arose in the late fifties and the sixties as an extended critique of the modernisation perspective. This school of thought is mainly associated with the work of Andre Gunder Frank, but the influence of Paul Baran's (*The Political Economy of Growth*, Monthly Review Press, 1957) work is also very important. Baran argued that the economic relationships that existed between western Europe (and later Japan and United States) and the rest of the world were based on conflict and exploitation. The former took part in 'outright plunder or in plunder thinly veiled as trade, seizing and removing tremendous wealth from the place of their penetration' (Baran 1957: Pp.141-2). The result was transfer of wealth from the latter to the former.

Frank examined Third World countries at close hand, and criticised the dualist thesis (see in the above section), which isolated 'modern' and 'traditional' states, and argued that the two were closely linked (*Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America*, Monthly Review Press, 1969; *Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution?*, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1969). He applied his critique to both modernisation theory and orthodox Marxism, replacing their dualism by a theory that argued that the world has been capitalist since the sixteenth century, with all sectors drawn into the world system based on production for market. The ties of dominance and dependence, Frank argues, run in a chain-like fashion throughout the global capitalist system, with metropolises appropriating surplus from satellites, their towns removing surplus from the hinterland and likewise.

Frank's central argument is that creation of 'First' world (advanced capitalist societies) and the 'Third' world (satellites) is a result of the same process (worldwide capitalist expansion). According to the dependency perspective the contemporary developed capitalist countries (metropolises) were never underdeveloped as the Third world (satellites), but were rather undeveloped.

Underdevelopment, instead of being caused by the peculiar socio-economic structures of the Third World countries, is the historical product of the relations (relations of imperialism and colonialism) which have obtained between underdeveloped satellites and developed metropolises. In short, development and underdevelopment are two sides of the same coin, two poles of the same process - metropolitan capitalist development on a world scale creates the 'development of underdevelopment' in the Third world. According to Frank, Latin America's most backward areas (e.g., Northeastern Brazil) were precisely those areas which had once been most strongly linked to the metropole. Institutions such as plantations and haciendas, regardless of their internal appearance, have since the conquest been capitalist forms of production linked to the metropolitan market. Economic development, according to Frank, was experienced in Latin America only in those times when the metropolitan linkages were weakened - the Napoleonic Wars, the depression of the 1930s and the two World Wars of the twentieth century - and it came to an end precisely as the metropolises recovered from these disruptions and recovered their links to the Third world.

Dependency theory was indeed a powerful advance over modernisation theory, but it suffered from peculiar weaknesses of its own. **First** of all, it suffered from a certain historical character, viewing change within the Third world countries as an outcome of its undifferentiated dependent status. As **Colin Leys** put it, dependency theory "...concentrates on what happens to the underdeveloped countries at the hand of imperialism and colonialism, rather than on the total historical process involved, including the various forms of struggle against imperialism and colonialism which grow out of the conditions of underdevelopment." (Colin Leys, *Underdevelopment in Kenya*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1975, p.20). **Secondly**, dependency theory tends to be economic. Social classes, states and politics appear as derivatives of economic forces and mechanisms and often receive very little attention. Classes, class projects and class struggles appear neither as the prime movers of historical change nor the prime foci of analytic attention. **Thirdly**, critics have alleged that the concept of development is obscure in dependency theory. Given that it is frequently argued that 'development' occurs in the Third world when the metropolitan/satellite linkages are weakened, does 'development' imply autarchy? Since 'development' is an attribute of capitalist development in the metropolises, is the debate in the ultimate analysis again about the Third world's ability to replicate this path? **Finally**, the assumptions of the dependency theory, fail to provide explanations for the various so-called 'economic miracles' of the Third world? Thus, while marking an advance beyond the myths of modernisation, dependency theory did not fully escape its imprint. While modernisation theory argued that 'diffusion' brought growth, dependency theory would seem to argue in a similar vein that dependence brought stagnation.

5.4 WORLD SYSTEM ANALYSIS

Immanuel Wallerstein further developed the idea of world capitalist economy in his 'world system analysis' (Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System*, 2 Vols, Academic Press, New York, 1974, 1980, covers up to 1750). Wallerstein argued that the expansion of Europe starting in the sixteenth century signalled the end of pre-capitalist modes of production in those areas of the Third World incorporated within the world capitalist market. According to this theory, dualism or feudalism does not exist in the Third World. The modern world system is unitary in that it is synonymous with the capitalist mode of production, yet disparate in that it is divided into tiers - *core*, *semi-periphery*, and *periphery* - which play functionally specific roles within the system as a whole. World system theory places a new emphasis on the multilateral relations of the system as a whole (core-core and periphery-periphery relations become important to the

analysis as do core-periphery ones), rather than on the unilateral relations of the system of metropole and satellite characteristic of dependency theory.

Wallerstein's basic argument was that the creation of the world capitalist economy in the sixteenth century led to a new period of history, based on expanded accumulation rather than stagnant consumption. This was attributable to the emergence of three key factors: (i) an expansion of the geographical size of the world in question (through incorporation), (ii) the development of variegated methods of labour control for different products and different zones of the world economy (specialisation) and (iii) the creation of relatively strong state machineries in what would be the core states of this capitalist world economy (to assure the transfer of surplus to the core).

In the formation of the world economy, core areas emerge as countries where the bourgeoisie got stronger and landlords weaker. The important relationship that determines whether a country is to be a core or part of periphery is dependent on the strength of its state. According to Wallerstein those countries that could achieve the process of 'statism', i.e., the concentration of power in the central authority, became the core countries of the world economy. On the other hand, the strength of the state machineries is explained 'in terms of the structural role a country plays in the world economy at that moment of time'. A strong state enables the country as an entity to get a disproportionate share of the surplus of the entire world economy. The stability of the world capitalist system is maintained due to three factors: (i) the concentration of military strength in the hands of the dominant forces, (ii) pervasiveness of an ideological commitment to the system as a whole and (iii) the division of the majority into a large lower stratum and a smaller middle stratum. The existence of the semi-periphery means that the upper strata (core) is not faced with the unified opposition of all others because the middle stratum (semi-periphery) is both the exploited and the exploiter. The semi-periphery, however, also constitutes a site for change. New core states can emerge from the semi-periphery, and it is a destination for the declining ones.

The world system theory has been widely criticised for its primary focus on the 'system imperative'. Thus in this theory, all events, processes, group-identities, class and state projects are explained by reference to the system as a whole. The implication of such a reference point is that all the above mentioned actors are seen as embedded within the system so much so that they do not act in their immediate concrete interests but always in accordance with the prescriptions or dictates of the system. Critics have also pointed out that the theory explains the contemporary capitalist world inadequately, since it focusses attention on the market, failing to take into account the processes of production.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your progress with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What is meant by underdevelopment? What kind of relationship exists between First world and the Third world countries according to dependency theory?

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- 2) What do you understand by the concept of world system? How are different parts of world interconnected according to the world system perspective?

5.5 ARTICULATION OF MODES OF PRODUCTION APPROACH

From the late 1960s an attempt was made to resurrect a certain variant of Marxian approach to the transition process in the Third world in which mode of production was the determining concept. Theorists belonging to this school of development argued that Third world social formations encompass several modes of production and capitalism both dominates and articulates with pre-capitalist modes of production. These theorists made a distinction between *social formation and mode of production*. Social formation refers to a combination of economic, political and ideological practices or 'levels'. Mode of production refers to the economic level that determines which of the different levels is dominant in the 'structured totality' that constitutes the social formation. The economic level sets limit on the other levels, that carry out functions which necessarily reproduce the (economic) mode of production. These non-economic levels therefore enjoy only a relative autonomy from the mode of production. The mode of production or 'economic' level is in turn, defined by its 'relations of production', i.e., the direct relation between the immediate producer of the surplus and its immediate appropriator. Each couplet, slave-master, serf-lord, free labourer-capitalist define a separate mode.

The mode of production perspective, takes as its point of departure the production of the surplus product and is able, therefore to move to an explanation of the division of the world between core and periphery based on the modes of production rather than trade relations. The core therefore coincides with the capitalist regions of the world, which are largely based on free wage labour. The periphery on the other hand, was incorporated into the world economy on the basis of rofree relations of production (that is, non-capitalist modes of production), which prevented an unprecedented accumulation of capital. Unequal trade relations were therefore a reflection of unequal relations of production. It is for these reasons that the 'advanced' capitalist countries were able to dominate other areas of the world where non-capitalist modes of production existed.

On the face of it, mode of production perspective appears to constitute at least a partial return to the sectoral (modern and traditional) analysis of modernisation theory. The crucial difference, however, is that unlike dualist interpretations, the emphasis here is on the interrelatedness of modes of production. It is argued that the capitalist expansion of the West in the sixteenth century, encountered pre-capitalist modes of production in the Third World which it did not or could not totally transform or obliterate, but rather which it simultaneously conserved or destroyed. The relationship between capitalist mode of production and the pre capitalist modes of production, however, has not remained static and capitalist relations of production have emerged in the periphery. Capitalism in the periphery is of a specific kind, one that is qualitatively different from its form in core countries. The marked feature of capitalism in the periphery is its combination with non-capitalist modes of production - in other words, capitalism coexists, or 'articulates', with non-capitalist modes. Non-capitalist production may be

restructured by imperialist (that is, 'core-capitalist') penetration but it is also subordinated by its very 'conservation'.

The modes of production theory is, however, weakened by a functionalist methodological approach. This is because the theory explains social change as a product of the necessary logic of capitalism. This results in circular reasoning. If pre-capitalist modes of production survives then that is evidence of its functionality for capitalism and if pre-capitalist modes broke down then, that too is evidence of capitalism's functional requirement.

This approach has also been criticised on the grounds that it subordinates human agency to structure, and assumes that social phenomena are explained by their functionality for capitalism, rather than by actions and struggles of human beings themselves.

5.6 CLASS ANALYSIS AND POLITICAL REGIMES

In the early 1970s yet another approach to explain the socio-political changes taking place in the Third world countries emerged from Marxist scholars. Prominent contributions came from Colin Leys (*Underdevelopment in Kenya*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1975) and James Petras (*Critical Perspectives on Imperialism and Social Classes in the Third World*, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1978) who explained the transition process in the developing world not in terms of world imperatives or articulation of modes of production, but in terms of classes as the prime movers of history. The focus here is not on development, i.e., growth, versus stagnation. The key question which surfaces in Petras and Leys work is: development for whom?

Petras differs from the 'external' relations of world system analysis and the 'internal' relations of modes of production analysis. The salient feature of Third World societies, according to him, is precisely the manner in which external and internal class structure cross one another and the various combinations of class symbiosis, and interlock. Capitalist expansion on the world scale has engendered the existence of collaborative strata in Third World which not only orient production outwardly but also exploit internally. Decolonisation gave these strata access to the instrumentality of the indigenous state and the choice of several developmental strategies based on different internal and external class alliances. In order to explain different patterns of development strategies, Petras examines (a) the *conditions under which accumulation takes place*, which includes: (i) the nature of state (and state policy), (ii) class relations (process of surplus extraction, intensity of exploitation, level of class struggle, concentration of work force), and (b) the *impact of capital accumulation on class structure*, which includes understanding: (i) class formation/conversion (small proprietors to proletarians or kulaks, landlords to merchants, merchant to industrialist etc., (ii) income distribution (concentration, redistribution, reconcentration of income), and (iii) social relations: labour market relations ('free' wage, trade union bargaining), semi-coercive (market and political/social controls), coercive (slave, debt peonage).

Broadly speaking Petras suggests that post independence national regimes in the developing world can choose among three strategies or types of class alliances for capital accumulation. **First**, there is the *neocolonial* strategy wherein the national regime participates with the core bourgeoisie in exploiting the indigenous labour force. Wealth and power under the neo-colonial regime is concentrated in the hands of foreign capital. **Secondly**, the national regime may undertake a *national developmental* strategy based on exploitation of the indigenous labour force and the limitation or elimination of the share going to imperial firms. In terms of the pattern of income distribution the major share goes to the

intermediate strata (in the form of the governing elite of the periphery). **Thirdly**, the regime may ally with the indigenous labour force, nationalise foreign or even indigenous enterprise, redistribute income, and generally undertake a *national populist* strategy as against core capital. Income distribution is more diversified, spreading downward. Although we cannot go into the details over here, Petras has much to say about the interrelations among these strategies and the role of the imperial state in shoring up neo-colonial regimes and undermining the others.

5.7 STATE CENTRED APPROACH

In the field of comparative political economy a backlash took place against developmentalism in the late 1960s and the early 1970s when concept of state and power were revived. The contributions to the theory of state came primarily from Marxist scholarship. In **Marx, Engels and Lenin** the concept of state is premised on its relationship with the existing class divisions in society. It is the nature of this relationship, however, which has remained a matter of debate among Marxists. One tradition, prevalent in the United States of America (USA), emanated from community studies that identified power along the lines of position and reputation, is associated with works of **G.W.Domhoff** (*Who Rules America?*, Prentice Hall, New Jersey, 1967; *The Higher Circles*, Random House, New York, 1970; *Who Really Rules?*, Goodyear Publishing, Santa Monica, California, 1978; *The Powers That Be*, Random House, New York, 1979). Domhoff's main thesis is that there not only exists an upper class (corporate bourgeoisie) in USA, but also that this class, is a governing class. Domhoff's contributions have been seen as a part of instrumentalist tradition within Marxism in which state is seen as an instrument of the ruling or dominant class. This perspective is guided from Marx and Engels's concern expressed in *The Communist Manifesto* that the executive of the state "is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie". A careful reading of Domhoff's works, however, suggests that he does not subscribe to the instrumentalist viewpoint and the state in USA is seen as representing the interests of the corporate class while at the same time opposing the interests of individual capitals or fractions of the business elite.

A second tradition revolved around what has been described as the structuralist view of the state and is found in the writings of French Marxists, notably **Nicos Poulantzas**. Poulantzas in his early work (*Political Power and Social Classes*, New Left Books, London) argued that *functions of the state in capitalism are broadly determined by the structures of the society* rather than by the people who occupy positions of the state. The state operates in a 'relatively autonomous' manner to counteract the combined threats of working class unity and capitalist disunity in order to reproduce capitalist structure. Poulantzas in his later work (*State, Power and Socialism*, New Left Books, Verso edition, London, 1980) argues that *the capitalist state itself is an arena of class conflict*, and that whereas the state is shaped by social-class relations, it is also contested and is therefore the product of class struggle within state. Politics is not simply the organisation of class power through the state by dominant capitalist class, and the use of that power to manipulate and repress subordinate groups, it is also the site of organised conflict by mass social movements to influence state policies, and gain control of state apparatuses.

An interesting debate on the state theory in the West figured in the pages of *New Left Review* in 1969-70, in the form of an exchange between Ralph Miliband and Poulantzas. As Poulantzas's view has already been discussed above, we shall briefly examine now the contribution of Ralph Miliband. The debate in *New Left Review* centered around Miliband's book *The State in Capitalist Society: An Analysis of the Western System of Power* (Basic Books, New York, 1969) in which he argued that while the state may act in Marxist terms, *on behalf* of the

ruling class, it does not act at its behest. The state is a class state, but it must have a high *degree* of *autonomy* and independence if it is to act as a class state. The key argument in Miliband's work is that state may act in the interests of capitalist, but not always at their command.

While the above mentioned debates focussed primarily on the nature of state in Western capitalist societies, a lively contribution to the debate on the nature of state in the developing world followed. Hamza Alavi ('The State in Post-Colonial Societies: Pakistan and Bangladesh', *New Left Review*, No.72, 1972) characterises the post-colonial state in Pakistan and Bangladesh as 'overdeveloped' (as it was creation of metropolitan powers lacking indigenous support) which remained relatively autonomous from the dominant classes. The state controlled by 'bureaucratic military oligarchy' mediates between the competing interests of three propertied classes, namely the metropolitan bourgeoisie, the indigenous bourgeoisie and the landed classes, while at the same time acting on behalf of them all to preserve the social order in which their interests are embedded, namely the institution of private property and the capitalist mode as the dominant mode of production. This theme of relative autonomy was later taken by Pranab Bardhan (*The Political Economy of Development*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford 1986) in his analysis of the Indian state, where state is relatively autonomous of the dominant coalition constituted by capitalist, landlords and professionals. State, however, in Bardhan's formulation remains a prominent actor which exercises 'choice in goal formulation, agenda setting and policy execution'. The idea of overdeveloped post-colonial state and the concept of relative autonomy in the context of relationship between state and class in the context of African societies was carried in the work of John Saul ('The State in Post-Colonial Societies: Tanzania', *The Socialist Register*, London, 1974). Another perspective came in the work of Issa G. Shivji (*Class Struggle in Tanzania*, New York, 1976), who argued that the personnel of the state apparatus themselves emerge as the dominant class as they develop a specific class interest of their own and transform themselves into 'bureaucratic bourgeoisie'.

The debate on the nature and role of the state have continued in journals like *Review of African Political Economy*, *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, *Latin American Perspective* and the annual volumes of *Socialist Register* in light of changes taking place in the forms of economy, social classes and political forces.

Check Your Progress 4

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your progress with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What is meant by mode of production? What is the nature of socio-economic reality in the Third world according to the articulation of mode of production theory?

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- 2) The state centred approach revived the concept of state and power in the study of comparative politics. Discuss.

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5.8 GLOBALISATION AND NEO-LIBERAL APPROACH

In the context of globalisation, the 'neoliberal' modernisation approach has emerged as a dominant paradigm giving explanations for and prescribing remedies for underdevelopment in peripheral states. The neoliberal paradigm proposes that the underdevelopment of peripheral states of the Third World is primarily because of the failure of state-led development strategies particularly import-substitution industrialisation. It believes that these countries can, however, develop and obtain competitive advantage in an open world economy by rolling back state-control. At the heart of the neoliberal perspective lies thus the notion of 'separation' or dichotomy between the state and the market. The paradigm limits the role of the state to providing 'enabling' conditions of 'good governance' in which market forces can flourish unhindered. This enabling role involves the preservation of law and order, the guarantee of private property and contract, and the provision of 'public goods'. Criticising this assumption of a natural dichotomy between the state and market, Ray Kiely (*Sociology and Development: The Impasse and Beyond*, UCL Press, London, 1995, p.128) points out that the separation between the two cannot be taken as natural but historically and socially constituted. The appearance of separate political and economic spaces, he points out, is unique to the capitalist social relations which emerged in England and cannot therefore be generalised to the rest of 'advanced' capitalist world nor to the developing world.

International institutions like the World Bank and IMF have, however, proceeded to implement this ahistorical neoliberal model onto the developing world, with its accompanying prescriptions regarding structural adjustment and 'good governance'. The World Bank, for example, asserts that the economic problems of the developing world can be attributed to 'too much government' and a subsequent failure of market forces to operate freely. The proposed remedy is therefore, the encouragement of the private sector and the liberalisation of 'national economies'. In order to achieve these objectives, three key policy proposals are recommended: (i) currency devaluation, (ii) limited government and incentives to the private sector and, (iii) the liberalisation of international trade. These structural adjustment programmes, however, overlook the socio-economic realities of specific countries and the role played by the state in providing social justice. The withdrawal of the state from this role, so as to unfetter market forces, means that the state is no longer expected to play a role in balancing unequal resources. This then leads to an increase in the vulnerability of the weaker sections, particularly women and/of the working class, deepening already existing hierarchies within countries.

Similarly, the notion of 'good governance' within the neoliberal agenda of international aid giving institutions, as providing the enabling conditions within which market forces can flourish, has been viewed within scepticism. Kiley, for example, points out that the World Bank's explanations of the failure of structural adjustment programmes in Sub Saharan Africa, as lack of good governance, fails to specify how 'public accountability', 'pluralism' and the 'rule of law', all of which are cited by the World Bank (*Governance and Development*, World Development, Washington, DC, 1992) as important constituents of good governance, can be achieved without the participation of the lower classes of society. The concept of good governance within the neoliberal agenda, envisages a condition where democracy and freedom are seen as antagonistic. Freedom involves preservation of private property, free market, and provision of negative freedoms like the right to speech, associate and move freely, conditions, in other words, which preserve market economy. Democracy, on the other hand, is seen with suspicion, as belonging to the political realm where demands for participation and distribution of resources are made. The latter, it is feared may endanger the

freedoms essential for the strength of the economic realm. The prioritisation of freedom over democracy, as prescribed by the neoliberal paradigm, fails thus to meet the developmental needs of the people.

Check Your Progress 5

Note:i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

1) What are the key elements of the neo-liberal approach?

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5.9 LET US SUM UP

The political economy approach emerged in the wake of decolonisation to understand and explain the relationship among nations and socio-political phenomena. At the basis of this approach was the assumption of a relationship between the domains of politics and economics. The modernisation, underdevelopment and dependency, world systems, articulation of the modes of production, class analysis, state-centred analysis and the neoliberal analysis are dominant among the various explanatory frameworks which have emerged in the last few decades. While, the analytical tools of all these frameworks have varied, almost all have 'development' as their key problem. In the process of exploring this problem within a comparative perspective, they have, inevitably seen the world in terms of a hierarchised whole. They do, however, provide important insights into the intricacies of economic forces and the manner in a symbiosis of economy and polity works within and in connection with external forces.

5.10 KEY WORDS

Globalisation: A process of bringing world together in terms of economic and social interactions of countries and people. In other words the world is supposed to be a global society with global issues and problems which are to be tackled with global efforts and cooperation.

Class State: A state that works to protect the interests of a particular class. In Marxian terminology it is used to describe the present liberal states as protecting the interests of capitalist class.

Structural Adjustments: Reforms in Economics like currency devaluation, incentives to private sector, liberalisation of international trade etc.

Third World: States which emerged independent after Second World as a process of decolonisation and economically and industrially non-developed.

5.11 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Chattopadhyay, Paresh, 'Political Economy: What's in a Name?', *Monthly Review*, April, 1974.

Chilcote, Ronald H., *Theories of Comparative Politics*, Westview Press, Boulder, 1994.

Chilcote, Ronald H., 'Alternative Approaches to Comparative Politics' in Howard J. Wiarda (ed.), *New Directions in Comparative Politics*, Westview Press, Boulder and London, 1989.

Kiely, Ray, *Sociology and Development*, UCL Press, London, 1995.

Limqueco, Peter and Bruce McFarlane, *Neo-Marxist Theories of Development*, Croom Helm and St. Martin Press, London, 1983.

5.12 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Political Economy Approach is promised on the assumption that politics and economy are interrelated. To understand political processes it is necessary to look that in economic contexts like means of production and production relations.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Purpose of modernisation is process of traditional societies catching up with the modern world. The steps suggested for that are : i). Traditional stage ii) the preconditions for take off; iii) take off; iv) the drive towards maturity and v) high mass consumption. For elaboration see section 5.2.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) See Section 5.3
- 2) See Section 5.4

Check Your Progress 4

- 1) Mode of Production means how in a society goods are produced and distributed. It also refers to the economic level which determines which of the different levels is dominant in the structured totality that constitutes the social formation. In the third world countries generally pre-capitalist mode coexists with the capitalist mode of production.
- 2) See Section 5.7

Check Your Progress 5

- 1) Neo-liberal approach is based on the study and evaluation of concepts like good governance, structural adjustments, withdrawal of the State, globalisation etc.

UNIT 6 IDEOLOGY, SOCIAL BASES AND PROGRAMMES OF NATIONAL MOVEMENTS

Structure

- 6.0 Objectives
- 6.1 Introduction
- 6.2 Causes of Growth of National Movements
 - 6.2.1 Feeling of Inferiority
 - 6.2.2 Role of Western Education
 - 6.2.3 Role of Missionaries
- 6.3 Ideology of National Movements
- 6.4 Social Bases of National Movements
- 6.5 Programme of National Movements
- 6.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 6.7 Key Words
- 6.8 Some Useful Books
- 6.9 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

6.0 OBJECTIVES

Every national movement has an ideology, programme and a clear social base. In this unit these three important components of national movements have been discussed. After going through this unit you should be able to :

- explain the meaning of national movements;
- trace the evolution of national movements;
- analyse the causes of national movements;
- describe the ideology of national movements;
- analyze the social basis of national movements; and
- describe the programme of national movements.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The term national movement has a very wide connotation and may be applied to any nation-wide struggle that the masses consider to be in the interest and for the welfare of their country. In this wider sense, national movement may be taken to mean any struggle intended to better the lot of the people by constructive work in different spheres of national life. But practically speaking, in the colonized countries, a national movement was understood only to be a struggle for achieving the freedom of the people from foreign domination, and therefore was essentially a political phenomenon. National movements, therefore, were mainly anti-imperialistic or anti-foreign and their main object was to secure self-government or full independence of the colonies.

Although the aim of national movements was self-rule and independence they did not take the same form in all the countries. The form in which such movements were carried out was determined by the status of, and circumstances existing in a particular country and also the foreign domination against which they had to fight. That is why the Indian national movement for freedom against the British differed in its ways and means from that of the movement for freedom of the Indonesians against the Dutch or of the Indo-Chinese against the French; and of China against the domination of Western powers.

It was in the decades between the First and Second World Wars, that the attack upon colonialism continually gathered momentum in the form of national movements. On the entire eastern frontier of the Western world, in the great sweep from Morocco through the Middle East and South Asia to South-east Asia, people were rising to rid themselves of imperial domination. That is why the end of World War I was regarded as the signal for the effective beginning of the great upsurge of nationalist movements that reached its fruition after the end of Second World War in 1945.

In Morocco Abd-el-Krim challenged the Spanish and the French; in Egypt Saad Zaghlul Pasha led the nationalists against the British; and in Syria there was rebellion to throw off the French Mandatory rule. Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan saw the rise of revolutionary leaders who attempted the forced-draft modernization of their countries in dictatorial guise. Of these, by far the most striking and successful was Mustafa Kemal, who discarding the anachronistic trappings of the Ottoman Empire, saved Turkey from an imposed treaty of peace and humiliation, consolidated it as a nation state, and started it on its modern path. At the furthest remove from Europe, the Chinese revolutionary movement gradually emerged from the tangled campaigns and alliance of the war lords, and the Kuomintang came to be the major embodiment of Chinese nationalism as Chiang Kai-shek beat back the ill-judged Communist bid for power.

In the colonial sphere the principal focus of attention was inevitably India which was the greatest prize among the world's colonies. The demands of the Indian nationalists, coming increasingly under Gandhi's spell, went far beyond what the British were prepared to grant, and the Congress widened its base to become a mass movement capable of virtually paralyzing the government. In Asia, the Middle East, and Africa nationalist leaders and movements looked to Gandhi and the Congress for guidance and inspiration.

Of the major Asian dependencies, only the Philippines and Ceylon were granted constitutional reforms that roughly kept pace with nationalist demands - leaving aside Malaya where nationalist movement remained almost nonexistent prior to World War II. The most significant and unprecedented move was the creation of the Philippine Commonwealth in 1935 under a timetable that guaranteed full independence after a transitional decade of full domestic autonomy. In Burma, the Netherlands Indies, and Indo-China the tentative imperial moves toward larger instalments of self-government always lagged behind the mounting aspirations of the nationalists who were building their organizations and deepening their popular hold. Violent outbreaks occurred in all three colonies, sometimes under communist leadership, but in none was the colonial government seriously threatened until the Japanese invasion swept all the established regimes away.

Their resentment grew so strong that anti-imperialism became almost synonymous with nationalism. This was true in much of Asia and Africa, though in the case of China and Korea the resentment was directed against not only western but also Japanese imperialism. Nehru was not inaccurate in his autobiography, *Toward Freedom*, when he described nationalism as "essentially an anti-feeling" that fed and fattened "on hatred and anger against other national groups, and especially against the foreign rulers of a subject country".

6.2 CAUSES OF GROWTH OF NATIONAL MOVEMENTS

In the colonies westerners obtained a disproportionate share of the best and highest-paying positions in the civil service and in business, while even educated natives had to take the lower jobs and sometimes could not obtain employment at

all. European firms in much of the colonized countries handled the bulk of the lucrative large-scale enterprises, and in much of Africa, for example in Kenya, Asians - did retailing. Sometimes, large profits were sent out of the country and not used for local development. Further, westerners often took, or obtained for a pittance, the best lands, or had these farmed for them.

All this meant that the native levels of living, though they might be higher than they had been, were much lower than they could have been, that most of the Asians and Africans were poor, that many were hungry and destitute. This also meant that they were ill oftener and died at a younger age than the Europeans in their midst. The "natives" might not by themselves have realized their destitution - the "nasty, brutish, and short" nature of their lives - and therefore might not have rebelled. But they had European examples before their eyes, and increasing numbers did slowly come to perceive the contrast and began to dream that they too might expect and aspire to better and healthier lives.

6.2.1 Feeling of Inferiority

Westerners made Asians and Africans feel inferior in every way because of their race and their culture. This was particularly true of black Africans, many of whose ancestors had been captured and enslaved. Slavery left a deep stigma of inferiority. The brown and yellow peoples of Asia were likewise believed to be backward, lacking ability to improve or to govern themselves - good servants and manual workers, perhaps, but lacking in intelligence, character, and will.

Nowhere in the colonies did the peoples have a decisive voice in their government; usually they had no really effective voice at all. In some British colonies like India, the people were reluctantly and slowly given greater and greater representation in the local legislative councils, but even then they were always inferior because the imperial power, on vital matters like those of war and finance, kept the reins. Always a comparative handful of aliens - the imperial representatives, who held the chief offices and power, and the settlers, who possessed the legal rights - enjoyed the same privileges they would have had at home.

Most often the local peoples, as in South Africa, the Congo, and Southeast Asia, had no political rights, or, for that matter, any rights that could not be revoked at will. Generally, their speech was not free, their newspapers were censored, their movements about the country restricted - especially if there was a crisis - and in southern parts of Africa they had to carry passes. Their courts were usually separate, their "justice" different, and their punishments heavier than those for Europeans. Usually these people could be arbitrarily arrested and jailed, often without any "due process of law", and in political cases convicted and imprisoned even without a trial.

6.2.2 Role of Western Education

On the other hand, the colonial rulers, their officials and their missionaries, often professed their intention to prepare the "backward" peoples for good, moral lives and for self-government through education and religion. There can be no doubt that in their colonies they did, at times and with occasional success, make great efforts to put these intentions into practice. They did introduce western medicine and improve sanitation. They did provide elementary education for some of the native children and higher education for

A few "natives" did obtain advanced education at home or in France, Britain, and the United States, or, in the case of the Chinese, in Japan. It was these Asians and Africans who, after they had learned about western technology, ideas, and ideals, often became, the most ardent nationalist opponents of western rule. This was especially true of those who did not obtain positions for which they believed themselves qualified.

6.2.3 Role of Missionaries

With their spirit of "Christian soldiers marching as to war", missionaries made converts almost everywhere. But while they, and their fellow Christians who became officials and settlers, influenced many "natives" to be followers and submissive, they also brought hopes and practices that led to nationalism at the same time as they aroused hostility to western ways that pointed in the same direction. This hostility was sharpened when imperial governments favored the converts and discriminated against "natives" who, as in India and Morocco, maintained their own old and deep religious faiths and were determined to maintain them undefiled. In many cases, as among Hindus and Muslims, the traditional religions became fundamental bases of nationalist feeling, and resentment against the foreign religion a reason for nationalist action.

While the Christian teaching of the missionaries offered hope, it also threatened old religious beliefs and ways of life. In response to both the hope and the threat, Africans and Asians reacted in differing ways, all pointing toward nationalism. One reaction was the rise of messianic sects, as in the Congo, which, some scholars believe, were precursors of later nationalist groupings. A much more important reaction was the strengthening of traditional religions through vigorous, inspirational, religio-political reformist movements, such as the Brahma Samaj and Arya Samaj in India in late nineteenth century, and the Salifiyya in twentieth century Morocco. These movements and groups aimed at nothing less than the political and cultural rejuvenation of their nations based on religious tradition. In Afghanistan a newspaper editor (from 1911 to 1918), Mahmud Tarzi, found the *raison d'être* of Afghanistan in the teachings of Islam and made an ingenious attempt to link its aspirations with the cause of Pan-Islamism, Pan-Asiatic solidarity, and modernism. In India one of the pioneers of nationalism, Swami Vivekananda, who was both saint and patriot, put nationalism on the high pedestal of spirituality and the past glory of the Hindus.

It was Christianity's identification with white domination, however, that most stimulated hostility and nationalist feeling. Christian egalitarian teaching itself revealed to black Africans the enormous contradiction between humanitarian ideal and imperial practice. Africans and Asians, with the evidence before their eyes, saw that so-called Christians, their masters, drained justice and liberty of political meaning, established two standards, one for themselves and one for those men of color they ruled.

Nationalism, slowly and then swiftly, became for increasing numbers of Asians and Africans their new religion, whether based on their old religion or not. On the other hand, those who were leaders and were called the elite, wanted to maintain their cherished traditions and to acquire westernized political institutions and western economic and scientific techniques. The Arabic peoples wavered between assimilation and rejection. On the one, hand, their nationalism was of the conventional European style and therefore modernizing. On the other hand, it was a movement aiming at the purification of Islam.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

1) How was the feeling of inferiority reflected in the erstwhile colonies?

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2) What was the role of missionaries in the growth of national movements?

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6.3 IDEOLOGY OF NATIONAL MOVEMENTS

As the term 'National Movements' itself suggests, nationalism is always the basic ideology of these movements. Such nationalism is a radical ideology for the movements. It may become more radical by the incorporation of other ideologies like Marxism-Leninism.

Ideologies provide an important psychological and emotional base from which individuals can derive meaning and significance for their own participation in a changing society. Thus an ideology provides a framework within which the individual may orient himself to others in an emotionally satisfying manner. In sharing with others in the pursuit of common goals, individuals develop relationships and loyalties with each other that help to fill the voids created by the disruption of the traditional order. An ideology that is increasingly accepted performs the vital function of building common beliefs and attitudes among the political elite and masses, uniting the different groups within society in the pursuit of shared goals. That basic idea asserts that a better life is possible for individuals and groups than the one provided by the traditional order.

Of the several principal ideologies of national movements, therefore, that of nationalism is the most pervasive and important. The history of all national movements indicates that the idea behind nationalism is the liberation from alien political and economic domination. In other words nationalism is the idea of revolt against foreign political domination, economic exploitation, and the principle of racial discrimination or inequality.

The content of nationalism varies with the locale, with the people, and with time. Though the genus of nationalism is easily identifiable in the various national movements, there are several different species. To mention only some of the most obvious, not all Africans are black, but nationalists within the new African states and in Africa as a whole south of the Sahara have had a common bond in their blackness and in their opposition to white alien rule. In Asia, color as such, be it brown or yellow, did not seem to have played as large a role, though antagonism toward white rule and racial dominance has been no less vigorous. In eastern Asia, particularly in Korea, nationalism arose in part out of resentment against the

Japanese, who were of the same color as the peoples they attempted to dominate.

Nationalism in most of the colonized countries, therefore, developed from the sentiment of unity among cultural, religious and racial groups of the people. From this sentiment rose a strong desire for political and economic independence from foreign domination, and a demand for racial equality. The people were impelled to offer any amount of sacrifice for the fulfillment of these urges of their heart. This sentiment of nationalism grew in different proportions in different countries depending on the conditions there. In countries where there was direct rule of imperialism, nationalism flared up rapidly, while where there was an indirect rule of imperialism, nationalism, did not appear almost until World War II.

During the inter-war period, there developed a new force that vied with the force of nationalism in trying to wipe off imperialism and capitalism. This new force was communism based on Marxism-Leninism that spread after the Russian Revolution of 1917. Neither of these forces clashed against each other. They either traveled along parallel lines or even on divergent lines. Although communism tended towards internationalism and was not in favor of encouraging nationalism, for strategic reasons it sympathized with nationalism in colonized countries as it was fighting against imperialism.

Lenin had realized that the colonized people were in revolt against imperialism. He felt that it would be a great mistake to attempt to promote the Communist doctrine at a time when there was going on what he called "bourgeois-national" revolution fostered by the educated classes to drive out imperial control. He therefore urged cooperation by the Soviet regime with the forces of nationalism even though that was against the doctrine of communism. Because of this cooperation to the national regimes, the communists won great popularity in Iran, Afghanistan and China. Later in China there was a split between the Communists and the Nationalists. Although the Communists were initially defeated in 1928 by the Nationalists, ultimately their fight ended in the establishment of a Communist regime in China in 1949. The Soviet influence also steadily increased in many other countries through the organisation of the Communist Parties in these countries which played significant role in the National Movements.

Check Your Progress 2

Note i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

1) How does ideology create unity in national movements?

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2) Explain the meaning of nationalism?

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6.4 SOCIAL BASES OF NATIONAL MOVEMENTS

National movements often started as unorganized and sporadic protests of a small number of people, but slowly they became mass movements. Every strata of society has had some role in the progress of national movements.

It was the leaders and intellectuals who first spearheaded the movements. They organised the masses. They enlightened the masses about the need to become free. People followed them because they were expressing the need of the time. Slowly parties and groups emerged as instruments of national movements. Peasants, workers and women also organised their movements to lead to national liberation.

In diverse ways and at different times, increasing numbers of the various peoples became convinced that the dream of independence would be realized and that then all would be well. Hence they became more and more involved and participated in what became national struggles. In the process, they became ever more aware of their grievances. As they became aware, they became more vocal and their protests multiplied. And as they grieved, protested and participated in the struggles for freedom, they became nationally conscious and increasingly nationalist in outlook and approach.

Asians and Africans were taught by westerners - by Christian missionaries and optimistic intellectuals - to hope. Increasingly though still small numbers, were educated in the West and at home became expectant. From the 1920s especially, their own leaders, through the press and later the radio, through embryo political parties, mutual aid societies, and trade unions, taught them to believe that their future of freedom, justice, and abundance would be achieved through their nations. Asians and Africans, heard of the pronouncements of the United Nations and other international bodies, of "fundamental human rights", the "dignity and worth of the human person", and of "fundamental freedoms for all" regardless of race and religion. They believed these pronouncements, and saw no reason why these should not apply to themselves.

The motivations of the leaders of the nationalist movements were as varied as their peoples and their own individual personalities. They hoped and they feared and they were ambitious for themselves as well as for their peoples. Some of them (Sukarno of Indonesia) undoubtedly sought personal power and the emoluments that at times accompany high office - fine houses, big cars, beautiful women. Some of them (Nehru of India, Nyerere of Tanzania, and Senghor of Senegal), though not immune to private ambition, were high-minded idealists who put country above private gain. As they are for all men, motivations were mixed and changing. But it is also true that many of them had painful experiences that drove them further and further along their nationalist roads. When many of them began their political lives, they were mild reformers, willing, if only reforms were granted and evolution toward self-government seemed likely, to work within the colonial systems. But as they advocated and worked for reforms, they suffered threats against their livelihoods and their lives, they were forced into exile, they were imprisoned or sent to detention camps, and on occasion they were beaten and tortured beyond endurance. Some were executed, and they became martyrs, and, thus, powerful symbols for their nation. Those who lived, protested ever more, and the more they protested the more they suffered. They also became the prominent leaders of nationalist parties of their respective countries. Some also arose from peasant or workers movements, organised protests, strikes etc. and gave fillip to national movements. Their arrests created nationalist fervours among the masses, led to further strengthening of parties and groups as national

movements in themselves. To choose at random, Gandhi, Nehru, and Tilak were jailed in India, and Banda, Bourguiba, Kaunda, Kenyatta, Nelson Mandela, Sani Njumah and Sithole in various parts of Africa. All of them turned more nationalist after their imprisonment and they became heroes to increasing numbers of their countrymen. No amount of punishment, no imperial repression actually blunted national feeling; rather it exacerbated it.

Check Your Progress 3

Note:i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

1) Explain the role of intellectuals in national movements?

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2) What were the motivations of leaders of national movements?

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6.5 PROGRAMME OF NATIONAL MOVEMENTS

In their initial stages the national movements were somewhat sporadic and disorganized. They were like local protests of a few individuals. Nevertheless, they were indicators of the universal resentment growing in most of the colonized countries. The first protests of colonized people became the symbol of nationalist protest. Most of these were suppressed in a violent and brutal manner by the imperial masters. This led to a rethinking on the part of nationalist leaders as to which means they should adopt to counter the colonizers.

When the initial resistance failed it led to a period of considerable acquiescence in foreign rule. This happened in India after the uprising of 1857 and the same is the case with foreign rule in other countries. Foreign domination was then accepted out of a mere sense of defeat and the superiority of the conqueror acknowledged in military, technical, and even cultural matters. This is how the doctrine of the white man's supremacy arose. With the spread of western education and the induction of a large number of local inhabitants into the administration and western business enterprises, the new generation of dependent peoples began to feel that they had also acquired the elements which were responsible for white supremacy, and that there was no reason why the white race should continue to control their destiny. Thus the politically and economically backward and subject communities came to have national consciousness.

This national consciousness is not the result of the instinct of resistance against the foreign rule, but it is a conscious assertion of unity and of a distinct and separate identity of the community in question. Foreign rule helped to create a bond of unity among the masses in India, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon and other countries where people became united against foreign rule. This was quite a new phenomenon since earlier there were sectional and regional loyalties but not countywide feeling of patriotism.

The nascent spirit of nationalism was apparent in India in 1857 and later it was fostered by political associations, such as the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha (1870), and the Indian Association (1878), which encouraged the infiltration of western ideas and were the forerunners of the Indian National Congress and the national movement. In China because of anti-foreign feeling, revolutionary reform movements were started by men like Dr. Sun Yat-sen and K'ang Yu-wei after 1895 with a view to adopt western devices to save China from total destruction. Similarly in other countries also, nationalistic societies had made their appearance at the beginning of the twentieth century. There were however certain regions like Borneo, New Guinea and Malaya where western ideas had not penetrated deeply and where the lives of a large number of people were hardly touched by western thought or the technological revolution. This would perhaps explain why in Malaya no national movement was found to exist until the thirties of the twentieth century.

The method, pace and strength of each national movement differed from the other according to local conditions and the system of government in that country. In countries like British India, Burma, Dutch East Indies, and Tonkin and Annam in Indo-China, national movements progressed rapidly as there was direct oppression of imperialism felt by the subject peoples. In India there was first a liberal and then a revolutionary movement against imperialism. But as the mighty arms of Britain ruthlessly suppressed the movement, it could not show appreciable results. But when Mahatma Gandhi became the leader of national movement in India, he ingenuously adopted the unique method of non-violent non-cooperation based on the principles of truth, love and non-violence to fight the British imperialism. His method of satyagraha had an astounding success.

On the other hand, in the Dutch East Indies and French Indo-China, the people adopted violent means and resorted to bloody fights in the prosecution of their national movements as the conditions in those countries were changed after the occupation by the Japanese who had injected the minds of the peoples with the hatred of imperialism. The national movement in Ceylon was within the constitutional frame work. So was the movement of the Filipinos for the independence of the Philippines. There was no need to adopt any violent means as the American colonial policy had already committed itself to the grant of complete independence to the Philippines. In the independent countries like Afghanistan, Iran, China and Thailand the national movements were directed by the rulers towards the achievement of full freedom from the foreign domination or intervention in their internal or external affairs, and the method adopted was diplomacy and sometimes the threat of arms or actual war. In independent Japan the national movement was of an exceptional nature. It was a movement, in the later stage, for expansion, and the means adopted were therefore military and aggressive. There the so called national movement turned into policy of imperialism.

The First World War gave a great spur to the national movements. It was fought, in part at least, to vindicate the principle of nationality. President Wilson of the U.S. had declared in connection with the war aims that national aspirations were to be respected, and that self-determination was to be an imperative principle of action. On the basis of this declaration people asserted their right of self-determination which then became the pivot of a new and forcible nationalism.

In fact World War I is taken by some as a starting point of modern Asian nationalism. This nationalism began to move fast on two wheels towards the destination of independence. One of these wheels was a protest against the foreign rule and movement to end the alien domination, and the other was a protest against alien economic hegemony and attempt for national industrialization.

This nationalism was the strongest in China and India where the 'nationalist capitalist class' supported the national movements and tried to oust the foreign capitalists from their privileged economic position in the country. These two countries then almost became the leaders in the revolt of Asia against western imperialism. Arab nationalism flared up and several Arab states emerged from the ruins of Asia against Western imperialism. Arab nationalism flared up and several Arab states emerged from the ruins of the Ottoman Empire. Similarly, nationalism in Turkey that defied western powers looking at her with covetous eyes rose high and established Turkey as a republic, soon after the First World War.

World War II marked a climax of the progress in the national movements. It is beyond doubt that nationalism became stronger during the war period than at any time before. Just as in World War I, President Wilson had declared the principle of self-determination, during World War II, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill issued a declaration of principles known as the Atlantic Charter in 1941. One of the principles in the Charter had declared people's right of self-government thus: "they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them". After the war the peoples of colonized countries who were struggling for self-determination desired that the western powers should leave their countries in the spirit of the Charter, and let the peoples form their own governments. The western powers were naturally unwilling to do so. But at the same time they had become very weak after their exhausting fight with the enemy, and they could no longer oppose the formidable current of national movements.

Therefore, by persistent protest (everywhere), by "passive resistance" (India), by revolution (Algeria), through civil war (China) and colonial war (Vietnam), over fifty African and Asian peoples, led in most cases by charismatic individuals, did win their independence after 1945.

Check Your Progress 4

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

1) What was the role of western education in national movements?

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2) What were the methods adopted by people in national movements?

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6.6 LET US SUM UP

In this unit you have read about various aspects of national movements like their ideology, social basis and programme.

Ideology of national movements has been predominantly revolutionary. Although here we have to be clear that in such a revolution non-violent means have also been adopted. Even otherwise revolutions do not necessarily mean a violent protest. Violence on the part of the colonized people was mostly counter-violence, a response to the violence perpetrated by the colonizers, a response to the violent suppression of movements, a response against exploitation. Thus for many the unity of means and ends is not a virtual necessity. Some leaders like Mahatma Gandhi advocated the unity of means and ends i.e. only non-violent means will lead to non-violent societies or noble ends.

All the national movements had broad mass followings. But they were spearheaded by a few leaders and revolutionaries, whose sacrifices led to large followings not only in the same country but also outside. Thus all the national movements against colonizers were united in some form or the other. They took inspiration from the successful protests.

There was no prefabricated programme of these movements, although leaders, intellectuals, and parties did provide some form of unified programme which was consent based and was approved by the larger masses. The basic objective of course was clear that the exploitation by imperialist powers must end and must end immediately.

6.7 KEY WORDS

National Movement : A movement which is based on the nationalist sentiment of liberation of a colonized country by its natives.

Natives : The local inhabitants of the colonized country.

Colonizers : The foreign rulers and exploiters of the Colonizing country.

Ideology : A theoretical programme for action.

Non-violence : The use of peaceful means or pacific settlement.

6.8 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Chavan, R. S., *Nationalism in Asia*

Smith, Anthony D., *Theories of Nationalism*

Emerson, Rupert, *From Empire to Nation*

Godement, Francois, *The New Asian Renaissance*

Kebschull, Harvey G., *Politics in Transitional Societies*

Shafer, Boyd C., *Faces of Nationalism*

Watson, Hugh Seton, *Nations and States*

6.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) The natives were made to feel inferior; slavery left the stigma of inferiority amongst the coloured Africans. Both in Asia and Africa people in colonies had no decisive voice in their governance; they were denied the political rights and even several of the civil rights. (For details please see back Sub-section 6.2.1)

- 2) Missionaries converted many natives to christianity, yet the natives were made to be their followers and submissive. Old religious beliefs and ways of life were threatened. The response of these activities was emergence of strong nationalism. (Please see Sub-section 6.2.3)

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Ideologies provide the base from which significance of participation in a changing society is felt. In sharing with others in the pursuit of common goals, people develop relationships and loyalties with each other. (For details please see Section 6.3).
- 2) Nationalism is the idea of revolt against foreign political domination, economic exploitation and the principle of racial discrimination or inequality. (For details please see Section 6.3)

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) The intellectuals and leaders first spearheaded the movements. They organised the masses and enlightened them about the need to become free from foreign rule. (For details please refer to Section 6.4).
- 2) Motivation varied from . For example, Sukarno of Indonesia sought personal power including huge emoluments, fine houses, big cars etc. But, Nehru in India and Nyenene of Tanzania were ambitious. (Please see Section 6.4).

Check Your Progress 4

- 1) The spread of western education and the resultant induction of colonized people into administration led to the realization that they could also control their destiny. This led to the rise of national consciousness. (For details please refer to Section 6.5).
- 2) Methods adopted by each national movement differed from country to country. In India the method adopted was largely that of non-violent protest. In Dutch East Indies and French Indo-China, the people adopted violent means. (For details please refer to Section 6.5).

UNIT 7 PATTERNS OF ANTI-COLONIAL STRUGGLES

Structure

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 Anti-Colonialism Explained
 - 7.2.1 Colonialism
 - 7.2.2 Colonies' Desire for Liberation
- 7.3 Patterns of Anti-Colonial Struggles
 - 7.3.1 National Independence Movements
 - 7.3.2 National Liberation Movements
- 7.4 Methods of Anti-Colonial Struggles
 - 7.4.1 Peaceful Non-Violent Struggles
 - 7.4.2 Armed Struggles
- 7.5 Three Stages of Anti-Colonial Struggles
 - 7.5.1 Proto-Nationalism
 - 7.5.2 The Rise of New Leadership
 - 7.5.3 Mass Movement
- 7.6 Success of Anti-Colonial Struggles
- 7.7 Let Us Sum Up
- 7.8 Key Words
- 7.9 Some Useful Books
- 7.10 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

7.0 OBJECTIVES

Decolonisation is the most significant development of post-Second World War period. It took place as a result of end of colonial rule in large number of erstwhile colonies, preceded by anti-colonial struggles in these colonies. This unit deals with various patterns of these struggles. After going through this unit you will be able to:

- recall the urge of the oppressed peoples for freedom;
- identify the patterns of anti-colonial struggles;
- explain the means adopted in different colonies in their struggles; and
- trace the three stages in the process of anti-colonial struggles.

7.1 INTRODUCTION

When the United Nations was set up in 1945, it had only 51 (original) members. Of these, India was not then a sovereign state. It was under British rule. Besides, two members viz. Ukraine and Bylo-Russia were Union Republics of the erstwhile Soviet Union. Today, at the dawn of 21st century there are 189 sovereign countries who are members of the United Nations. Most (not all) of them were colonies of one Imperial Power or the other in 1945. The process of termination of foreign colonial rule began with the independence of the Philippines from the United States in 1946. But, it got real boost with the independence of India and creation of the Dominions of India and Pakistan by Britain in August 1947. This was followed, in quick succession, by the independence of a large number of colonies in Asia and Africa earlier ruled by Britain, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Spain and Portugal. Most of the Colonial Powers were forced to grant independence to their colonies by the anti-colonial struggles carried out in the colonies.

All the colonies did not follow any uniform pattern in their struggle against their rulers. While some of the erstwhile colonies had to wage prolonged struggles for their independence, there were some where such struggles were waged for a short period. In some of the colonies hardly any struggle was waged, and independence came in the wake of then ongoing decolonisation. There were two main patterns of anti-colonial struggles. In some of the colonies, the struggle was limited against their colonial masters, and not against the then existing socio-economic systems. Where struggles were merely against the rulers, and not against the system, the desire was to secure transfer of political power from the colonial masters to the peoples of the colonies. These struggles were described as "independence movements", which merely sought transfer of political power to the peoples of the countries concerned. However, where there was a fight not only against the foreign rule, but also against the existing socio-economic system which was unjust, undemocratic and supportive of exploitation, these struggles were termed as "liberation movements" or "liberation struggles."

Another important aspect of freedom struggles was the methods that were employed in different countries. While in some of the countries, like India, non-violence was insisted upon as the tool of struggle, in others violent means had to be adopted to achieve the desired goal of decolonisation. The struggles were, therefore, either non-violent and peaceful, or agitational in nature and using force and violence as means of the struggle.

In this unit, you will read about these patterns and methods of anti-colonial struggles that eventually ended colonialism and freed large number of colonies in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

7.2 ANTI-COLONIALISM EXPLAINED

A large number of present members of the United Nations were subjected to foreign rule and exploitation, for a long time, before they attained sovereignty and full statehood after the Second World War. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a number of European Powers set out to establish their economic domination and political control over vast territories of Asia and Africa. Practically the entire continent of Africa and large parts of Asia had become colonies either of Britain or France, Spain, Portugal, Belgium or the Netherlands. The peoples of colonies had to carry out struggles for their freedom from foreign rulers. These struggles are known as anti-colonial struggles, and were carried out in different ways in different colonies. The process of victory of anti-colonial struggles and achievement of freedom by the colonies came to be known as decolonisation.

7.2.1 Colonialism

The term colonialism is used to indicate a situation in which economically prosperous and developed countries of Europe established their control over the backward, poor and underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The basic feature of colonialism is exploitation of underdeveloped countries by the rich European nations. Imperialism is a term that indicates political control of one country over the other. The imperial powers acquired political control over large number of countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Thus, if colonialism was economic exploitation, imperialism was political control. The two went hand-in-gloves. In most cases imperialism followed economic domination and exploitation. Colonies were used to acquire cheap raw material and labour, and for dumping in their markets the finished goods produced by the colonial powers. Both colonialism and imperialism were exploitative and undemocratic. One naturally followed the other.

The colonialists had their arguments to support this system of exploitation. The defenders of colonialism and imperialism pleaded their case in terms of white man's burden. They argued that it was the obligation of advanced nations to help the people of "backward" countries - to "civilise" and "Christianise" them, and "to teach them the dignity of labour, and to impress upon them the beauties of their own concepts of law and order." According to Palmer and Perkins, "They argued that colonialism was a necessary prelude to the emergence of most of the free and independent states of the world and to the twentieth century awakening of Asia and Africa." These arguments of supporters of colonialism were rightly rebutted by its critics who used such terms as brutality, exploitation, misery, hatred and degradation for colonialism and its practices. The critics insisted that the struggle for empires led only to the urge to create greater and still greater empires and that the appetite of empire builders knew no limits. Colonialism was the foundation of imperialism.

Portugal and Spain were the first to establish their colonies. They were soon joined by Britain, France, the Netherlands and Germany. The first to lose its colonies were Germany and Turkey who were deprived of all their colonies after their defeat in the First World War. Even Japan and the US had joined the race. After the First World War only four African countries were fully or partially independent. The rest of the Continent was under one colonial power or the other. The British Empire was so vast that the sun never set in it. The 13 British colonies in North America were the first to liberate themselves in 1770s and 1780s, and they established the sovereign United States of America. The Portuguese and Spanish colonies of Latin America were next to acquire independence. Asia and Africa had to wage struggles for independence, in which they succeeded only after the Second World War.

7.2.2 Colonies' Desire for Liberation

Peoples living in colonies had long suffered exploitation at the hands of their European masters. They were denied basic rights and freedom. They had practically no share in governance. The colonies were raw-material suppliers who were denied not only industrialisation and development, but were also denied the right to self-government. Supporters of colonialism, such as J.A. Hobson explained colonialism as "... a natural outflow of nationality; its test is the power of colonists to transplant the civilization they represent to the new natural, and social environment in which they find themselves." This so called civilising of the peoples of colonies was a garb under which the colonialists exploited the colonies. As people from colonies such as India got limited opportunity to visit the western countries and study there, they learnt how they were being exploited, and that what was the value of freedom that the European people enjoyed. This prompted educated people in colonies to awaken their fellow countrymen to the realities of imperialism and to work for liberation and self-governance.

At the Bandung Conference of Afro-Asian countries held in 1955, President Sukarno of Indonesia said, "Colonialism has... its modern dress in the form of economic control, intellectual control, and actual physical control by a small but alien community..." It was, therefore, argued at the Conference that, "Colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end." By the time of Bandung Conference the Afro-Asian peoples had come to the conclusion that both colonialism and imperialism referred to a "superior-inferior relationship." Thus, hundreds of millions of people in Asia and Africa resolved to abandon their position as "inferiors" and to assert their equality with the peoples of former colonial powers.

Thus, though the process of anti-colonial struggles and decolonisation had begun soon after the Second World War, the urge for liberation and self-governance and to defeat exploitation made for accelerated anti-colonial struggles from 1950s onwards.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use space provided below each question to write your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the answers given at the end of the unit.

1) What was colonialism and what were its manifestations?

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2) What was the reaction of subject peoples to the concept of white man's burden?

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7.3 PATTERNS OF ANTI-COLONIAL STRUGGLES

Most of the colonies of various European Powers had to wage struggle for their independence. However, there was no uniform pattern of these struggles, nor a common method of the struggle, nor even the duration of struggles was, generally speaking, the same. Their nature often differed sharply and the time taken by a movement to be successful depended on many factors such as determination of local leadership, support of the people and attitude of the colonial power concerned. In many countries, protest against colonial rule had existed right from the time of arrival of colonial rulers. In other countries like Ghana (Gold Coast), Nigeria, the Congo, Angola, etc. such movements began much after many of the Asian countries had already become free. It is not possible in this unit to go into all the details of struggles of all the colonies. What is proposed to be done is to examine the broad patterns and methods of freedom struggles. In the present section two broad patterns of anti-colonial struggles are dealt with. In the next section (7.4) an attempt will be made to briefly deal with the methods used by different colonies. The two main patterns were generally highlighted by the leftist scholars.

7.3.1 National Independence Movements

A large number of countries, including India, followed the pattern of anti-colonial struggles known as independence movements. These movements were aimed at removal of the foreign rulers, and securing political independence. It was believed that the principal concern of the leadership of freedom movements was transfer of power from the imperial masters to the local people. The aim was to replace the foreign governments by national governments and to build strong state after independence. The critics pointed out that it simply meant change of rulers. For example, in case of India, Sri Lanka, Nigeria, Ghana and Kenya, etc. the objective was to throw the British out, and secure transfer of power to the local

elite. The national independence movements were not immediately concerned with the restructuring of colonial societies. Leftist scholars describe these movements as bourgeois, professional and bureaucratic movements for political change.

The point that the critics tried to make was that transfer of power made no difference to the common man and woman who remained under the existing exploitative socio-economic system.

National independence movements did not seek to change the social system or the economic order. In India and Pakistan, for example, caste continued to dominate the social system which perpetuated social injustice. In economic sphere capitalists and landlords continued to enjoy full power over their workers and peasants. Industrial management remained exploitative. The workers were given no share in management. Not only that, conditions of living and work were neither hygienic nor conducive to good life. The peasants in the rural areas remained at the mercy of landlords and big peasants. To sum up, political power changed hands, while socio-economic system remained as before. Exploitation remained; exploiters changed.

This was the result of freedom movements carried out by parties and leaders who were essentially concerned with transfer of political power. Most of the leaders had been educated in Great Britain, or in other European countries. In many countries these "westernised" leaders failed to be mass leaders. This, according to critics, was a pattern that helped leadership to acquire power, but did not help the common man overcome his difficulties.

7.3.2 National Liberation Movements

These movements began rather late. In very few colonies movements that were launched and carried out for independence had twin purpose. These anti-colonial struggles were aimed at liberation of the masses from exploitation and injustice. At the same time they wanted to defeat the foreign rulers and seek power for the people, not for the elite. This, however, is doubtful if the gains actually reached the masses. Power, when transferred, went into the hands of leadership. Vietnam can be cited as an example of the liberation movement. The Communist Party, under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh had to wage a long struggle first against the French who wanted to regain their hold, after Japanese defeat and retain it as long as they could. Later, when US intervened on the side of South Vietnam, where a right wing government had come to power, the Ho Chi Minh regime had to fight against the Americans and South Vietnamese. At the same time, this struggle was aimed at removal of poverty, illiteracy and exploitation.

The objective of the national liberation movements (or liberation struggles), as in case of Vietnam or Congo or Angola was ending of alien rule and radical restructuring of socio-economic systems. The aim was to bring about socio-economic justice and ensure power to the people. Though the western critics dubbed it as mere communist domination, the leaders of the movement described it as people's struggle for their rights, and freedom, and struggle against foreign domination and internal injustice perpetuated by the landlords and handful of owners of wealth.

To conclude, the two main patterns of anti-colonial struggles were common in one respect. Both types of struggles were to defeat the colonialism and imperialism by throwing the foreign rulers out - British in case of India, Burma, Sri Lanka, Kenya, Nigeria, Ghana etc.; French in case of Algeria, Ivory Coast and Indo-China Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam; Belgians in case of Congo; the Dutch in case of Indonesia, and Portuguese in case of Angola and Mozambique. While,

this one objective was common, the difference between the independence movements and liberation struggles was that whereas former sought only the political freedom from foreign rule or Swaraj the latter also wanted social and economic justice and defeat of exploitation in all its manifestations. Guided by Marxist-Leninist ideas, their aim was social revolution along with political independence.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use space provided below each question to write your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Distinguish between national independence movements and national liberation movements.

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- 2) What was the objective of national liberation movements?

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7.4 METHODS OF ANTI-COLONIAL STRUGGLES

Colonialism was a major curse. It was defeated as a result of vigorous efforts made by the Afro-Asian countries. The outcome of anti-colonial struggles was described as a revolution. Palmer and Perkins wrote that, "The 'revolt of Asia' may prove to be the most significant development of the twentieth century." Earlier Arnold Toynbee had predicted that even the challenge of communism "may come to seem a small affair when the probably far more potent civilisation of India and China respond... to our western challenge..." Thus, the revolutionary changes in Asia and Africa were considered very significant developments. The British Prime Minister Mr. Harold Macmillan had said in 1959 in a speech in Moscow that, "Imperialism is an epoch in history, not a present reality." But, the so-called 'epoch' ruined the economics of Afro-Asian countries. As Nehru said (1954) the crisis of time of Asia was 'Colonialism versus anti-colonialism'. The anti-colonial struggles were carried out either peacefully or through violent means. There was indeed lot of role of colonial powers themselves. They were forced by developments both at national and international levels to give up their empires.

7.4.1 Peaceful Non-Violent Struggles

An important method of anti-colonial struggle was non-violence. This was adopted under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Later, several other colonies also followed the path shown by India. Indian National Congress established in 1885 as a forum for expression of aspirations of educated Indians was, at that time, generally welcomed by the British. But, it soon became an anti-British platform. Initially, the Congress leadership (including Surendra Nath Banerjee, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and others) merely sought reforms that would give some participation to Indians in the Legislative Councils, but within two decades, its main concern

turned out to be anti-British. Indian National Congress considered defeat of the British raj as its main objective. Like most nationalist movements, the freedom movement in India came to be divided into less militant and more militant factions. The first was represented by Gokhale, and subsequently by Mahatma Gandhi; and the second was led by Tilak, Lajpat Rai and B.C. Pal. For the first faction, reforms was the main objective; for the second it was defeat of the British rule. By and large, Congress remained committed to non-violent methods, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

Non-violence was Gandhi's main weapon. He initiated the non-cooperation movement after Jalianwala Bagh Massacre (1919) on the conditions that it would remain non-violent and Indians were to boycott British courts, goods and educational institutions. The movement was doing very well when suddenly in 1922 an angry mob in Chauri Chaura (Uttar Pradesh) put a police station on fire, killing nearly two dozen policemen. Brushing aside criticism, Gandhiji withdrew the movement as (at one place) it had turned violent. His peaceful Dandi March, to break the infamous salt law of the British rulers, began the civil disobedience movement which again was to remain peaceful, as people would disobey the laws that were unjust. The Quit India Movement of 1942 was again to remain peaceful, but even before it could be formally launched, the British Government arrested all prominent leaders, leaving the people leaderless. There was, therefore, some element of violence provoked by the British themselves. Though some young revolutionaries like Shaheed Bhagat Singh, Ashfaq Ullah Khan and Ram Prasad Bismil did not follow Gandhiji's diktat of non-violence, yet their enthusiasm and sacrifice contributed to India's freedom struggle in a big way. Large number of Indian leaders (including Gandhi, Nehru and Patel) were sent to jail several times.

Many other countries also adopted non-violent and peaceful method for fighting against the foreign rule and to gain independence. There was little freedom movement in Sri Lanka. It gained its independence from Britain in 1948, as a consequence of British departure from India.

Burma (Myanmar) was a part of British India till the enforcement of Government of India Act of 1935 (in 1937). As such it was associated with India's non-violent struggle. When the Second World War began, the Burmese nationalists were generally pro-Japanese, but later became anti-Japanese. With the armaments supplied by the British, the Burmese nationalists got together in Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League (AFPFL). The Labour Government which came to power in the UK in 1945 recognised the AFPFL as the organisation to deal with. The British Governor of Burma wanted to arrest the most important nationalist leader Aung San. The Government recalled the Governor and dealt with Aung San's party for transfer of power. Although Aung San and other leaders were assassinated in July 1947, their surviving colleagues achieved the goal of independence in January 1948. There was no fighting. Calvocoressi concluded that, "The British, strongly influenced by their own pledge to leave India and also by the belief that it was not possible to use the Indian troops ... against the Burmese..." decided to transfer power. Although, there was internal strife after independence, the freedom movement was generally non-violent.

Many of the African countries also used non-violence as weapon of their freedom struggle. The Europeans had taken possession of Africa at the height of industrial revolution. The disparity between Europeans and Africans was enormous. African countries did not have prolonged movements for freedom. African leaders drew inspiration from both India and America. They formed National Congresses in different countries. Many of them were attracted by Gandhian ideas of non-violence. From the American Continent, particularly the Caribbean, Africans

gained confidence and dignity and a habit of meeting together. A number of Pan African Conferences were held. The Sixth such Conferences held after the Second World War at Manchester was attended by several prominent African leaders including Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Akinola and Julius Nyerere. It demanded independence, which would have appeared very unreal five years earlier. A mere ten years later West African colonies attained independence leading the way to the end of colonialism in rest of Africa also. East African colonies followed suit.

7.4.2 Armed Struggles

Peaceful and non-violent means did not, or could not, work in all the anti-colonial struggles. In several cases nationalists were forced to take to gun and adopt revolutionary means. In India, the movement generally remained peaceful, yet some patriotic youth did not have the patience to wait for the success of Gandhiji's weapon. Young men like Ashfaq Ullah Khan, Ram Prasad Bismil and their friends looted government treasury from a train at Kakori in Uttar Pradesh. They were arrested, tried and hanged to death. They gladly made the supreme sacrifice for the country's independence. Later, Shaheed Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and their friends gladly went to the gallows for having thrown a bomb in the central legislature. Many more revolutionaries made sacrifices after using armed struggle as a tool. Even Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, broke the jail managed to flee the country during the Second World War, reached Germany and then Japan, set up the Indian National Army to fight for India's freedom. Though all these patriots died before independence, their role cannot be ignored.

Much earlier, in Latin America, independence was achieved from the Spanish and Portuguese colonies through revolutionary movements started first in Spanish colony of Mexico and later in Venezuela, Argentina etc. By 1825, Spain had lost most of its vast empire.

Kenya was a British colony, in East Africa, till it attained freedom late in 1963. Soon after the Second World War a number of non-official members of the Legislative Council were given ministerial positions. But all of them were white. The blacks were denied this privilege. In 1952, the white rulers were faced with a 'savage outbreak' in the Kikuyu tribe (in the neighbourhood of capital Nairobi). They had for long nourished grievances against the white settlers. The movement was led by Jomo Kenyatta, a former student of London University, and now President of the Kenya African Union. In addition, the Kikuyu had formed a secret society called Mau Mau. Its activities were the militant expression of a deep-seated nationalist movement. Mau Mau administered oaths to its members and performed secret rites. They fought for independence. Calvecoressi described its activities as "anti-Christian", and wrote that, "With time the society became extreme in its ambitious and barbarous in its practices. It took to murder... and finally developed a campaign of violence and guerrilla warfare." Britain tried to crush the movement with bigger force. Even Jomo Kenyatta was sentenced in 1954 to seven years imprisonment "for organising Mau Mau". The activities of Mau Mau became violent and it killed around 8000 African opponents (who supported the British), while 68 European were also done to death. Having realised the futility of suppression, the British Government took to negotiation in 1960, which finally led to Kenya's independence in December 1963. Meanwhile, Kenyatta had taken over as the Prime Minister in June. His Kenya African National Union (KANU) succeeded in May elections, and on its insistence the British proposal for a federal Kenya was dropped.

Belgian Congo was an entirely different story. Its independence was proclaimed on June 30, 1960 and official celebrations lasted for four days. Just 48 hours later

there occurred a mutiny in the Force Publique, which sparked off a train of terrible disaster. Congo's independence produced not only internal chaos and civil war, but also one of the major international crises of the post-war period.

Indonesia in the South East Asia was ruled by the Netherlands as 'The Netherlands East Indies.' A strong nationalist movement had developed there in the first decade of the twentieth century. The first Indonesian party called Boedi Oetomo was founded in 1908. Its nature was described by Robert Payne thus: "The movement possessed no political credo. Essentially scholastic, it looked towards India, deriving strength not from nascent Moslem nationalism but from Rabindra Nath Tagore's vision of a self-governing Asia at peace..." This movement never became strong. It was soon eclipsed by a more militant party, Sarekat Islam. It advocated political and social reforms and adopted a pro-muslim platform. It demanded complete independence, and during the First World War it adopted socialist programme.

The Indonesian nationalist movement became more vigorous with the formation of National Indonesian Party under the leadership of Dr. Sukarno (Soekarno). The Dutch used force, but could not suppress the movement. The Dutch relied largely on the policy of stern repression. Accordingly, in late 1920s and early 1930s prominent leaders including Sukarno and Hatta were sent into exile. After the fall of the Netherlands in 1940 (during the Second World War), Indonesians cooperated with the conquerors of the country viz. the Japanese. After Japanese defeat in August 1945, the British troops landed in the Dutch East Indies, and with their support an Indonesian Republic, with Sukarno as President, was proclaimed. Though the Dutch Government granted de facto recognition to the Republic in March 1947, it tried all means to incorporate it in some kind of union with the Dutch Crown. For two years Dutch resorted to dual policy of now repression, now peace. They used armed might and carried out hostilities in the name of 'police action.' India, and several other Afro-Asian countries gave full support to Indonesian nationalists. Thus, Indonesia's struggle on its part was largely peaceful, yet violence was used to suppress it. The Indonesian nationalists had to fight a long struggle for four years against the Dutch. It was virtually an open war between the Colonial Power and the nationalist forces.

The same story, but with far more bloodshed, was repeated in Vietnam. The French colony of Indo-China was occupied by the Japanese during the Second World War. A reference was made to Vietnam in Section 7.3.2 dealing with liberation movements. French Indo-China included Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Vietnam itself was a Union of the Protectorates of Annam and Tongking and the colony of Cochin-China (Together known as three Kys, and were Annanite by race and Chinese by culture); the protected Kingdoms of Luang Prabang or Laos, and Cambodia were Thai by race and Indian by culture. During the Japanese occupation, three Kys became the autonomous state of Vietnam, and upon the Japanese withdrawal Ho Chi Minh, the leader of Communist dominated nationalist coalition proclaimed the independent republic of Viet. As in case of Korea, the three Kys got divided as the British took control of the territory south of 16 parallel and the Chinese in the north. The north became communist and south became pro-US and anti-communist. From then, till early 1970s, the territory faced violence, conflict and war. It was French endeavour to regain control of Indo-China, but the Geneva Conference of 1954 finally terminated French control and independent states of North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia were recognized. But, after the French withdrawal, America entered the scene and there was a prolonged struggle between pro-Soviet North and pro-US South Vietnam, till the entire Vietnam became a communist controlled state. Thus, the Indo-Chinese struggle virtually became a civil war.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use space provided below each question to write your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the answers given at the end of the unit.

1) What was the utility of non-violent peaceful struggle to defeat colonialism?

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2) How did the armed struggles ensure success of anti-colonial struggles?

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7.5 THREE STAGES OF ANTI-COLONIAL STRUGGLES

Patterns and methods of anti-colonial struggles were largely influenced by changes in international environment and changes within the colonial powers. The Second World War, emergence of two Super Powers, Cold War and weakened position of once powerful Britain, France and other European Powers certainly ensured success of anti-colonial struggles. In this section, you will read about three stages of freedom struggles. These three stages are explained below as general patterns, not necessarily followed in all the colonies and all the anti-colonial struggles. Geoffrey Barraclough analysed the struggles for freedom by dividing them into three stages. Here no distinction is made between independence movements and liberation movements. The three stages discussed by Barraclough were: proto-nationalism; the rise of new leadership; and the struggle assuming the nature of mass movements.

7.5.1 Proto-Nationalism

The first stage, called proto-nationalism refers to the earliest period of anti-colonial struggles. During this early phase people in the colonies had not yet become aware of their rights and the need for independence. By and large, colonial rule was accepted by the local people. Nevertheless, social groups and political movements demanded reforms within the system of colonial rule. In India, the Indian National Congress was established in 1885, but not to oust the British rulers. For the next 20 years, the Congress remained a forum of quality debates. Its sessions were annual gatherings of western - educated well-dressed English-speaking elite. The then leadership believed in the superiority of British civilisation and Englishmen's sense of justice and fair play. The early demands of the Congress were limited to local reforms, limited share in the Councils and job opportunities for educated Indians. There was no-confrontation with the colonial masters. It was the stage of submitting petitions and seeking reforms. In Indonesia, the first stage began only in 1910-11 with the beginning of religious - nationalist movement called Sarekat Islam. Similar movements began in African colonies like Algeria, Nigeria etc. only around 1920.



The second stage is described as the rise of new leadership. As nationalism became mature and struggle against colonial powers became the goal, a number of new, patriotic, dedicated leaders emerged in the colonies who took over the control of movement. Nationalism began to gain ground among the middle classes. During this stage demands made on colonial powers were substantially expanded, and independence was considered as a future goal. In India, this stage lasted till after the First World War. The social base of the Congress Party had expanded, yet the struggle had not fully become a mass movement. Complete independence, or purna swaraj, was demanded only in 1930. Till then the goal was dominion status. During this period leadership passed from the hands of Gokhale to Mahatma Gandhi, and soon leaders like Lala Lajpat Rai, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel and Maulana Azad came in the forefront. In Indonesia, Sarakat Islam committed itself to independence in 1917 under the leadership of Sukarno. In Tunisia and Nigeria such turning points were reached in 1934 and 1944 respectively. There was no chronological similarity in different stages in different countries, but several prominent leaders emerged in different colonies. These included Jomo Kenyatta in Kenya, Kwame Nkrumah in Gold Coast (Ghana) and Aung San in Burma (Myanmar).

7.5.3 Mass Movement

The third and final stage leading to success of anti-colonial struggles was known as mass movement. National movements became so strong by this time that, in many cases, colonial rulers had to use force (often brutal force) to maintain themselves in power. In India, under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership, the movement reached the common man even in the remote villages. This process began with the civil disobedience movement. The movement for purna swaraj was a mass struggle for independence. The British used force, arrested large number of people and often sent prominent leaders to jail. The British rulers had become panicky even with the mere announcement of Quit India Movement in August 1942. In Indonesia, a comparable movement could be launched by Sukarno only during the Second World War. In Nigeria, the third stage was reached only in 1951.

The three stages were not equally distinct everywhere. The process extended to longest period of time in the British colonies. In many of the French colonies it took just 10 to 20 years. In the Belgian Congo, there were hardly any demands for independence till 1955. Many local leaders then visualised a period of 60 years or longer for independence. Still, the turn of events was so fast that the Congo was free in 1960.

Check Your Progress 4

Note: i) Use space provided below each question to write your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the answers given at the end of the unit.

1) Explain briefly the proto-nationalism stage of anti-colonial struggle.

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7.6 SUCCESS OF ANTI-COLONIAL STRUGGLES

The process of termination of colonial rule is described as decolonisation. The anti-colonial struggles achieved success and colonial system was liquidated in phases and stages. It took nearly 45 years for the entire process to be computed. Anti-colonial struggles achieved their first success in Asia, and then in Africa. In 1946 the Philippines achieved independence, and in 1947 India became free from British colonial rule. Ceylon (Sri Lanka) and Burma (Myanmar) achieved freedom in 1948, and next year independence and sovereignty of Indonesia was formally recognized by the Netherlands. Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam (former Indo-china) were recognized as sovereign states in 1949, but they remained within the French Union until France finally lost control in 1954.

The second phase commenced in mid-1950s when Morocco and Tunisia left the French Union. Britain pulled out of Egyptian Sudan and Malaya became independent in 1957. But all these states had enjoyed some degree of autonomy even when they were parts of French or British colonial system. The freedom struggle of Gold Coast (Ghana) under the leadership of Nkrumah successfully ended in 1957. This struggle was a short affair, but its victory proved that the will of the colonial powers to rule was cracking. "French Community" established in 1958 to "assimilate" all the French colonies in it broke up just after two years as Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Upper Volta, Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Niger, Togo and Cameroon all became independent. Also in 1960, Britain withdrew from Nigeria, an independent Somalia was created with the fusion of British and Italian Somaliland, and the Belgian Congo became independent. In 1961 British rule ended in Cyprus, Sierra Leone, Tanganyika and Kuwait. Next year Jamaica, Trinidad, Tobago and Uganda achieved freedom from Britain. In 1962, France ended her long war in Algeria and gave her full freedom. In 1963, anti-colonial struggle succeeded in Kenya, and Zanzibar also became free. While most of Asia and Africa became independent by mid 1960s, the struggle of the colonies of Portugal and Spain did not succeed till 1970s. With the fall of Portuguese ruler Salazar, Guinea - Bissau achieved its independence in 1974. Angola and Mozambique followed suit in 1975.

It is only in the last phase that Namibia succeeded in its long anti-colonial struggle in 1990 when South Africa was forced to grant independence to its neighbour. Although the United States always declared itself to be against colonial system it still continued to rule over Guam and Puerto Rico.

7.7 LET US SUM UP

A number of European powers had established themselves as rulers of large parts of Asia and Africa. The European Powers had converted the Afro-Asian countries into their colonies for economic exploitation. The colonies became only the raw material suppliers and markets for the finished goods dumped by the rulers. Politically, they were governed by the colonial powers. Thus, they were victims of colonialism and imperialism at the hands of European Powers such as Great Britain, France, Portugal, Spain, Belgium and the Netherlands. The Germans were deprived of their colonies after the First World War. Peoples of colonies realised that until they fought for their rights, their socio-economic-political exploitation would continue.

The anti-colonial struggles were carried out by the peoples of colonies for their liberation. No uniform pattern was followed by all the colonies in their anti-colonial struggles, nor did they adopt any one common method. Generally speaking, two broad patterns were found. These were (i) national independence movements; and (ii) national liberation movements. Countries like India, Kenya,

Ghana, Burma etc. carried out independence movements. These movements were aimed at defeat of colonial powers, and transfer of political power from the European rulers to the local people. The Leftist scholars described these movements as bourgeois, professional and bureaucratic movements as they did not seek socio-economic reconstruction. Their objective was merely the transfer of power. The national liberation movements, on the other hand, had dual objectives - to achieve political independence and bring about complete socio-economic changes. These movements believed in socio-economic transformation of colonial societies.

Two different methods were used to achieve success of anti-colonial struggles. These were: (a) peaceful non-violent method as preached and practiced by Mahatma Gandhi, using methods such as satyagraha, boycott, non-cooperation with the rulers and finally peaceful disobedience of anti-people laws; and (b) armed struggles with the use of force to compel the foreign rulers to give up power, end exploitation and to withdraw themselves from the colonies. Although no two countries went through exactly same process, normally anti-colonial struggles passed through three stages. These were (i) proto-nationalism - when nationalism began to evolve, accepting the superiority of Europeans, yet seeking reforms concessions and limited participation in the councils; (ii) the rise of new leadership - when national sentiments had matured, new leaders emerged who were mostly educated in western countries, who were inspired by ideas of liberty and self-rule, and who prepared their countrymen to fight for their right and remove the colonial rulers; and (iii) the period of mass movements - when the movements reached the grassroot levels and common men and women came forward eventually forcing the colonialists to withdraw.

The anti-colonial struggles succeeded in different colonies in phases and stages spreading over a period of nearly 45 years from 1945 to 1990. But, most of the colonies had achieved their freedom in the first twenty years after the Second World War.

7.8 KEY WORDS

Colonialism : System of economic exploitation by the rich and industrialised countries of Europe. The victims of exploitation mostly were countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Imperialism : System of political control of one country over another. A bigger power establishes its rule over another country through the route of colonialism or through conquest.

Cold War : The term used for tension between two Power Blocs that had emerged in the world after the Second World War. The blocs led by the US and former USSR carried out the Cold War without the use of armaments or armed forces. It was diplomatic warfare.

Mau Mau Movement : A secret movement launched in Kenya that adopted militant methods. The aim of the agitation was to regain the land that had been occupied by the Britishers, to end colonialism and work for freedom.

Proto-Nationalism : The term is derived from 'proto-type' which means first model. It was nationalism in its initial form, or in infancy, which was yet to mature into mass movement.

7.9 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

- Guir Lundestad (1986). *East West North South*, Norwegian University Press Oslo.
- Peter Calvocoressi, (1985), *World Politics Since 1945*, Longman, London.
- Henri Grimal, (1919-1963), *Decolonisation, the British, French, Dutch and Belgian Empires*, London
- Palmer and Perkins, (1997- Indian ed.) *International Relations*, A.I.T.B.S. Publishers, Delhi.
- Jashwa S. Goldstein (1999), *International Relations*, Longman, New York.
- Richard C. Bone (1962), *Contemporary South-East Asia*, Random House, New York.
- J.S. Furnivall (1948), *Colonial Policy and Practice*, Cambridge.
- Richard Brace (1964). *Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia*, Prentice Hall, New Jersey.
- K.A. Busia (1962) *The Challenge of Africa*, Frederick Praeger, New York.

7.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) A system of economic exploitation of weaker, underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa by the industrialised nations of Europe. (For details please see Sub-section 7.2.1)
- 2) After initial phase of awe of the white rulers, the subject peoples refused to accept that they were a burden. In fact, the white rulers were destroying local economies and social and political systems. They desired liberation and self-governance. (For details please see Sub-section 7.2.2)

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Whereas the national independence movements sought removal of foreign rulers and transfer of power to the local people, the liberation movements sought the transformation of socio-economic structure also. (For details please see Section 7.3)
- 2) The aim of national liberation movements was not merely to achieve political independence, but also to end social discrimination and economic injustice by transformation of entire socio-economic system after political independence. (For details please see Sub-section 7.3.2)

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) The non-violent methods introduced by Mahatma Gandhi were useful in awakening the people, to make the freedom struggle a mass movement, to persuade the rulers to leave and achieve independence without bloodshed on either side. (For details please see Sub-section 7.4.1)

- 2) The armed struggles involved large masses, used force, violence and even guerrilla tactics so that the foreign rulers could be defeated through their own weapon i.e. the use of force. (For details please see Sub-section 7.4.2)

Check Your Progress 4

- 1) During this stage nationalism had just begun to emerge. It was in its infancy, seeking reforms through prayers and petitions. The approach was not agitational. (For details please see Sub-section 7.5.1).



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UNIT 8 DYNAMICS OF STATE FORMATION IN COLONIAL ERA

Structure

- 8.0 Objectives
- 8.1 Introduction
- 8.2 Establishment of the Colonial State
 - 8.2.1 Onset of the Industrial Revolution
 - 8.2.2 Colonial State in Asia
 - 8.2.3 Colonialism in and Scramble for Africa
 - 8.2.4 Colonial State in Latin America
- 8.3 Features and Functions of the Colonial State
 - 8.3.1 Retardation of Development
 - 8.3.2 Decline of Colonialism
- 8.4 Models of Colonialism
 - 8.4.1 British Colonial Policy
 - 8.4.2 French Colonialism
 - 8.4.3 Portuguese Colonialism
 - 8.4.4 The Belgian Case
- 8.5 Let Us Sum Up
- 8.6 Key Words
- 8.7 Some Useful Books
- 8.8 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

8.0 OBJECTIVES

The main objective of this unit is to familiarise you with the reasons underlying the establishment of the Colonial State in countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, its various forms, nature and functions.

After going through this unit you should be able to:

- trace when and how the colonial state was established;
- explain the nature and functions of the colonial state; and
- recall different colonial models.

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The colonial state was the structure of governance established by Europeans who conquered large parts of the non-European world between the fifteenth and nineteenth century. It was meant to uphold the economic and political interests of the colonial power and subordinate those of the natives if necessary with the use of force. Different European Powers followed different ways in the formation of their colonies. The methods adopted by the British, French, Portuguese and the Belgians were not the same. They followed different approaches and set up different colonial models. The colonial states had specific features, and performed functions that were detrimental to peoples of the colonies. In this unit you will read about different models of colonial state.

8.2 ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COLONIAL STATE

Modern colonialism has been through a number of phases beginning with the 15th century onwards. The establishment of formal colonies and of the colonial state took place much later in the 19th century and is the product of historical

development of a world capitalist system. In the fifteenth century long oceanic voyages became possible due to invention of better ships. This prompted leading European countries such as Portugal and Spain and later Britain and France to conquer new lands in Asia, Africa and America. This was an early period of conquest, plunder, looting and piracy to amass wealth and led to redistribution of surplus wealth to the advantage of the Europeans, but was not a period in which formal colonies were formed. This surplus in the long run gained from the silver mines of Latin America, spice trade in the Far East, and the slave trade in Africa, was to play a role in financing the industrial revolution. This stage was followed by a second in which trade and mercantile interests, rather than simple conquest and rivalry between European countries to protect their interests in different parts of the world became important. A good example is the rivalry between the French and the British on the Indian subcontinent in which the British eventually ousted the French and established their own colonial state in India.

8.2.1 Onset of the Industrial Revolution

It was the onset of the Industrial Revolution in mid eighteenth century in Britain and a little later on the European continent, which changed the relationship between Europe and the rest of the world and made the establishment of a colonial state a necessity to look after the interests of the industrialised European states. The rapidly industrialising countries of Europe required large quantities of raw materials such as cotton, rubber, palm oil, etc. to produce machine-made goods. These were available or could be grown in large plantations in the colonies most of which fell in the tropical areas of the world. This led to rivalry among the Europeans for control over the colonial areas. By the early nineteenth century the rising industrial bourgeoisie also felt the need for external markets as well, where these goods could be sold. Their home markets had already been covered and it was essential to find an outlet if the rate of profit from machine manufacture was to be maintained. Hence it was now necessary to have "captive markets" i.e. markets under their tight control of the European Powers, where they could sell their goods without facing competition from similar goods produced by other European powers. A third factor was the need to invest the surplus capital that was being generated in the capitalist system of production. It was felt that investment in captive colonies would lead to high profit as monopoly methods could be employed. Although the major impulses were definitely economic, an important supporting political factor was the rise of nationalism and a spirit of competition in Europe following the unification of both Germany and Italy and especially after Germany's defeat of France in 1871. This led to the various European powers carving out clear-cut geographical areas of control between themselves in Asia and Africa and establishing direct control through formal structures of political domination, namely the colonial state. These colonial states then became part of the empires built by the European nations, as for example, India was made a part of British Empire.

8.2.2 Colonial State in Asia

The actual establishment of the colonial state is different in the various parts of the globe, and it is necessary to take a look at how this happened. In Asia large areas were already under the control of various private trading companies such as the East India Company in India, and the Dutch of the Netherlands in South-East Asia which had a charter from their respective Sovereigns and enjoyed a monopoly in trade. Hence in areas such as India the shift from rule by the East India Company to that of the British Crown in 1858, i.e. establishment of formal empire did not entail much change. The actual demarcation of the area of geographical control under the British on the Indian sub-continent had already

been settled during the wars with the French and with the native Indian states who accepted the suzerainty of the Company during the eighteen and early nineteen centuries. The wars in the Carnatic and the battle of Plassey provide good examples. In Ceylon (now called Sri Lanka) the British had managed to replace the Dutch in 1795 itself and the same is true of areas such as Malaya, where the British had managed to displace the Portuguese. In these areas the establishment of the colonial state, began much earlier than in Africa.

8.2.3 Colonialism in and Scramble for Africa

The story is very different in Africa. Colonialism came late to this continent and was more oppressive. Within the short period between 1880 and 1900 all of Africa, except Liberia and Ethiopia, was divided between and occupied by the European imperial powers namely, Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Portugal, Spain and Italy. It has been described as the "partition" of Africa or "scramble" by the European powers to occupy their areas of influence and trade. By 1910, in place of numerous independent states a completely new and numerically smaller set of some forty artificially created colonies had emerged, and the colonial system had been firmly imposed upon Africa. In 1879 the French sent missions to push French imperial interests inland into Upper Senegal, and the Belgians attempted to intrude into the Congo Basin. The Germans also planted their flag in Togo and the Cameroon in 1884. This alarmed the British who also began preparations to move into the interior of Africa. It was with a view to avoid any armed confrontation among the imperial powers that an international conference was held in Berlin under the chairmanship of Bismarck, the Chancellor of Germany. This Berlin conference was attended by every west European nation except Switzerland, but not by even a single African state, and it lasted from 15th November 1884 to 31st January 1885. Four main rules were agreed upon by all the powers. First, before any power claimed an area, it should inform the other signatory powers so that any that deemed it necessary could make a counterclaim. Second, that all such claims should be followed by annexation and effective occupation before they could be accepted as valid. Third, that treaties signed with African rulers were to be considered as legitimate titles to sovereignty. Fourth, that each power could extend its coastal possessions inland to some extent and claim spheres of influence. These rules were embodied in the Berlin Act ratified on 26 February 1885. It must be clarified that the Berlin conference did not start but merely accelerated race for empire building that was already in progress.

The scramble was carried out in three stages. The first stage was the conclusion of a treaty between an African ruler and a European power under which the former was usually accorded protection and undertook not to enter into any treaty relation with any other European power, while the latter was granted certain exclusive trading and other rights. Thus between 1880 and 1895 the British concluded treaties with many rulers for example northern Ghana, Yorubaland, Benin and offered protection to the King of Asante, and the French with the king of Dahomey, and rulers of the Congo basin. The second stage was a series of treaties between the imperial powers themselves recognising and delimiting their spheres of interests and boundaries. Thus the Anglo-German treaty recognised British claims to Zanzibar, Kenya, Uganda, Northern Rhodesia, Bechuanaland, and eastern Nigeria; the Anglo-French treaty of the same year recognised French claims to Madagascar and the western boundary of Nigeria; the Franco-Portuguese treaty of 1886 and the German-Portuguese treaty of 1891 accepted Portugal's supremacy in Angola and Mozambique and delimited Britain's sphere in central Africa. These treaties, it should be emphasised, were concluded without any consultation with any African state. The third stage was that of conquest and occupation. Though termed by the Europeans as "pacification" it was the most

brutal of all from the Afrocentric viewpoint. Thus from 1885 the French began their invasions and occupation in western Sudan, the British occupied Asante in 1896, Ijebu in 1892, Benin in 1897 and Sudan between 1896 and 1899 and the Germans occupied East Africa between 1888 and 1907. The African rulers welcomed the treaties, which the European powers signed with them but resisted the actual occupation, which they had not anticipated. They used three methods: submission, alliance and confrontation. The third was not rare and all African states did resort to it when the other alternatives failed. No African State was economically or militarily powerful enough to resist the Europeans, the exception being Ethiopia who defeated Italy late in nineteenth century. But, even their defeat was merely a matter of time. It was only after this that the colonial state was established in Africa.

8.2.4 Colonial State in Latin America

The Latin American experience is totally different to that of Asia and Africa and needs separate mention. The colonial period on this continent lasted from about the early sixteenth to the early nineteenth century, though Spain and Portugal the two major powers began to take active interest and established a formal colonial state only in the seventeenth century. The Spanish and Portuguese adventurer-conquerors took this region by force, killing a large number of the local inhabitants or reducing them to slaves on plantations and mines. A large number of slaves were also transported here from Africa.

In contrast to Asia and Africa, large number of people from Spain and Portugal and also Italy settled permanently in these countries as a result of which they have a large European and a mixed population. Some like Argentina, due to immigration is almost ninety nine per cent white. While the Portuguese occupied Brazil, the rest of the continent came under Spain. Since this took place long before the Industrial Revolution, establishment of agricultural estates (called latifundia in Latin America) and opening of mines was the major activity and these areas supplied the home countries with raw materials. As a result export-led growth based upon primary goods became firmly established in the colonial period.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

- ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Identify the factors that led to the establishment of colonial state.

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- 2) How did Asian countries come under the European rule?

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- 3) Trace briefly the scramble for Africa.

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- 4) Mention four decisions of Berlin Act of 1885.

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8.3 THE FEATURES AND FUNCTIONS OF THE COLONIAL STATE

The colonial state had certain features that distinguish it from the state in Europe and the post-colonial state in the developing countries. Firstly, it was an instrument of control and oppression over the local inhabitants. To this end it established strong bureaucracies, police and military forces to maintain order. Hence unlike Europe it was an authoritarian and not a liberal democratic state. Highly centralised and modern systems of administration were established. Secondly, it was expected to uphold the economic and political interests of the European colonial rulers and their home country and not that of the local inhabitants. Thirdly, the colonial rulers also believed that they had a "civilising mission" to perform and attempted to transplant their culture and values in the colonies. They hence saw colonialism as a "white man's burden".

The role played by the colonial state can be best understood if divided into two major phases that are common for all colonies due to changes taking place in the world economy. These are: (1) An early phase of consolidation from mid nineteenth century to 1920 (1880s in the case of Africa); and 2) A second phase from the end of the First World War to de-colonisation after the Second World War, which saw the gradual decline of colonialism. The first phase saw the establishment of a strong colonial state and policies supportive of the interests of the rulers. It has been described as the "golden period of colonialism" because the demand as well as the price of raw materials remained high throughout, as many countries in Europe one after the other began to industrialise. As the colonies produced these required materials, in many there was a "sharing of gains" i.e., the natives also profited though this was limited to a small class which owned land or was involved in production or marketing of these goods. For example farmers producing cotton and sugarcane in India, cocoa in Ghana, groundnuts in the Ivory Coast or coffee in the neo-colony of Brazil, or rice in Indonesia etc., which were cash crops grown mainly for export and fetched high prices in the international economy.

To obtain these profits the colonial state erected new legal and land systems to maintain order and obtain revenue, the Zamindari and Ryotwari land systems established in India are a good example. The colonial state invested in railways, ports, roads, harbours etc., to open up the colonies in order to gain greater profits. There was monetisation of the economy and an attempt was made to create a labour class that would work in the plantations and mines. This was done by means of policies such as the "hut tax" imposed upon every person in parts of Africa, and the requirement to pay land revenue in cash in India, which forced

the natives to work for cash wages. These changes were needed to integrate the colonial system into the international economy and the capitalist structure of the colonial rulers.

8.3.1 Retardation of Development

Scholars such as A.G. Frank and Amiya Kumar Bagchi have argued that the economic policies followed by the colonial state, created underdevelopment and retardation of the colonial economies. The former means that the colonies were reduced to being merely exporters of primary raw materials feeding the rapidly expanding industries of Europe; the latter viewpoint argues, that the normal pattern of growth of these colonies was disrupted and progress prevented by the intrusion of the colonial state which implemented policies favouring the home country. For example, the infrastructure introduced was both inadequate and very unevenly distributed in the colonies. The railways and roads were meant to facilitate transport of raw material for export to the coast and not to link up and promote development of all parts of the economy. Similarly there was a shift from subsistence to commercial agriculture to produce items needed for export. As a result monoculture i.e., cultivation of a single crop for export and economic dependency on it arose which continued into the post-colonial period, for example cocoa in Ghana, cotton in Uganda etc. Thus a model of export-led growth which, catered to the needs of the international and not the national economy became the pattern and there was little attempt to introduce diversification of the economy. The outcome has everywhere been uneven regional economic growth, which has been a major stumbling block to nation building in the post-colonial era.

The colonial system also led to delay of industrial and technological developments as the colonial rulers did not want any form of competition with finished goods produced by the home country. This led in some colonies to "de-industrialisation" i.e. local industry was killed due to the lower prices of machine produced goods from Europe. Protection was also given to home industry by not granting permission for setting up local industry. However the impact of colonialism was a mixed one and a number of benefits must be mentioned. The European powers introduced western education in their colonies, though this was initially meant to produce an educated class to assist in the governance of the colony. Urbanisation, transport and communications, irrigation works, modern technology, employment opportunities, social reforms, the gradual introduction of self-government in many colonies and development of a small middle class are some of the other benefits. Some of these measures, like promotion of technology, were taken in a very limited way.

8.3.2 Decline of Colonialism

Colonialism reached its highest point before World War I and then began to decline due to changes in the international economy, rejection of colonialism in Europe and emergence of national movements in the colonies demanding independence. After the First World War the demand and price of raw materials fell and colonialism was no longer a profitable venture and there was little further investment in the colonies. The economic depression of the 1930s and the Second World War, further weakened the imperial powers. During this second phase there was merely an attempt by the colonial state to maintain the system as it worked and finally to find a way to transfer power into native hands.

Although all the Latin American states attained independence in the early nineteenth century, they share many of the experiences. This is because at independence, many of them became neo-colonies of Britain upto at least the First World War, and the policies adopted by the newly established post-colonial

states were beneficial to it. An authoritarian state was established, export-led growth continued and industrialisation was delayed until almost the early 1900s by their ruling classes, which did not introduce any substantial changes in the economy and polity. It is for this reason that Latin America is today included among the developing countries and shares their characteristics.

Check Your Progress 2

Note:i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

1) What were the main features and functions of the colonial state?

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2) Mention briefly the benefits of colonialism in Asia and Africa?

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8.4 MODELS OF COLONIALISM

As there are wide variations in colonial policy, four major contrasting models of colonialism can be briefly described: British, French, Belgian and Portuguese.

8.4.1 British Colonial Policy

British colonial policy by regarding the colonies not as integral parts of the home country but as countries with their own civilisation and values, allowed and facilitated in some ways the greatest amount of autonomous development. There was far greater "sharing of the gains of colonialism" between the colonial masters and the native peoples. The latter were, gradually over a period of time, accorded an increasing share in the system of governance and their views were taken into consideration in important matters affecting them. For example, this was done through various Acts passed by British Parliament, such as Indian Council Acts of 1892 and 1909 etc. As a result there was less disruption and greater accommodation of traditional values and ways of life. The British invested a great deal in some colonies such as India, Ceylon and Malaya. By the 1940s there was a feeling that colonial rule imposed responsibility for the wellbeing of the dependent peoples and greater acceptance of the need to end colonialism speedily.

8.4.2 French Colonialism

French colonialism adopted in contrast a policy of economic, political and cultural assimilation i.e. the colonies specially in the case of Africa, were seen as part of the mother country. For example, political leaders from the colonies could stand for election to the French National Assembly, the lower House of Parliament, the best example being Humphrey Boigny from the Ivory Coast who became a member of the French Communist Party. There was greater disruption in the

traditional culture. The French continued to invest in the colonies even after the Second World War and found it very difficult to adjust to the idea of decolonisation until the revolution in Algeria in 1958. Even then they decided on retaining close ties and aid to their former colonies leading to many of them being described by their neighbours in Africa as “neo-colonial satellites” of France. Yet French colonialism is similar to British in so far as it did not rely on use of force to govern, compared to our two other models.

8.4.3 Portuguese Colonialism

Portuguese colonialism provides in some ways the greatest contrast. It is based much more on use of force and even as some have pointed out, racial prejudice. Oldest among the colonial powers, it hung on to some of its colonies till 1975, long after the other colonial powers had departed from their colonies. It created a small “civilised” class among the large number of “uncivilised natives” and depended on them to help control and govern their colonies. The overwhelming majority of the colonial inhabitants remained illiterate and untouched by modernity, they were largely trained to work as labourers on land, industry, or in the mines. There was also competition, and in fact violence between the local Africans and Portuguese labourers who emigrated in the hope of gaining good jobs. It was only after uprisings such as the one in Angola in 1961, that reforms were announced and attempts made to provide some elements of self-governance.

Although investment took place in the colonies, it was rarely for the benefit of the colonial peoples. The underlying reason was that Portugal remained technologically a backward power in Europe and had to use direct and often oppressive methods of governance to control its colonies and prevent them from falling into British or French hands. It had a dictatorial form of government at home and was unable to overcome its own problems of poverty and illiteracy. Many scholars feel Portugal and Spain transplanted authoritarianism into Latin America which is evident even today in the lack of democracy on that continent, and frequent military take over in some of the Latin American countries.

8.4.4 The Belgian Case

The Belgian case falls somewhere in between. The Belgians established a strong, paternal and centralised administration, which they controlled directly from the home country. However the colonial government was assisted in the Belgian Congo by large private Belgian companies that were allowed to exploit the natural resources, and the Church, which had a strong presence. Unlike the British they did not associate the local inhabitants in self-governance, or attempt cultural assimilation like the French. While the Congo was rapidly modernised and there was much investment in infrastructure and mining, very little was spent on education or improvement in the life conditions of the people who remained backward and poor and no small westernised educated middle class emerged as in the British or French African colonies. As a result when Belgian rule ended abruptly in the Congo there were no trained officials who could take over the country creating massive problems.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

1) Explain the French model of assimilation.

- 2) What were the features of Portuguese colonialism?

8.5 LET US SUM UP

The colonial state was the product of historical development of an expanding world capitalist system that created industrial capitalism in Europe and colonialism in the non-European world. Until the industrial revolution, trade was the basis of colonialism but the advent of machine-made goods led to formal colonial structures.

It was different from the state in Europe in having strong, centralised and authoritarian features, in providing very little participation to the local inhabitants and upholding the interests of the colonial rulers.

The actual establishment of the colonial state took place in different ways in different colonies but everywhere it was the result of conquest and subjugation of the local inhabitants. In Asia private charter companies were involved, in Africa the European powers carved out geographical areas amongst themselves and used force to establish their claims. In Latin America it was born out of conquest by the Spanish and Portuguese adventurers in the name of the Crown.

The policies of the colonial state created underdevelopment and retardation in the economic sphere. There was also oppression and suppression of the interests and demands of the local inhabitants. There were some benefits of colonialism such as education, employment, urbanisation, infrastructure, transport and communication, new technology etc. However the impact everywhere was different.

Four models of colonialism can be identified: British, French, Portuguese and Belgian. While the former two were not openly oppressive and provided some measure of development and self-government the latter two were based upon use of force to extract profit with little consideration of its impact upon the natives.

8.6 KEY WORDS

Neo-colonialism: The continued and indirect influence, or in few cases control, by the ex-colonial powers over their former colonies through unequal trade, interference in governance, MNCs etc. It is also used interchangeably with imperialism to suggest that even after the end of formal colonialism, the European countries still have many informal channels of control over the non-European world.

Piracy: This term is generally used for robbery committed on high seas. Before the advent of civil aviation (travel by air) most people travelled by sea, from one country to another, and goods were also sent by sea. When robbers managed to board a ship and looted the travellers or stole the cargo, they were known as pirates and the practice was called piracy.

8.7 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Michael Barrat Brown, *After Imperialism*

Bipin Chandra, *Nationalism and Colonialism in India*

A. Adu Boahen, *African Perspectives on Colonialism*

B. Sutcliffe & R. Owen, *Studies in the Theory of Imperialism* (Longman, London, 1972).

L.H. Gann & Peter Duignan, *Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960 vol 2. The History and Politics of Colonialism 1914-1960* (CUP, 1970).

Frank G., *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America Historical Studies of Brazil and Chile* (New York 1969).

8.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Colonialism and the colonial state is the product of the historical development of a world capitalist system since the fifteenth century. Initially this process began with trade and conquest by the Europeans in parts of Latin America, Asia and Africa. However the industrial revolution by creating first a need for raw materials and later markets for finished goods, led to competition and conflict between the great powers over control over these regions. The latter therefore felt the need to create formal colonies under their direct control over clearly demarcated geographical areas from which they could gain economic benefits. Thus the colonial state is a product of the historical logic of capitalist development and of competition among the European powers. (For details please see Section 8.2).

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) The colonial state was constructed to uphold the interests of the colonial power and not that of the natives. Its purpose was to open up the colony for exploiting its material resources and providing goods for export that would benefit the colonial rulers. Hence it was a centralised, authoritarian state based upon use of force and which suppressed the demands and desires of the local inhabitants. While it provided a modern bureaucratic structure, the policies of the colonial state led to de-industrialisation, retardation of its economic growth and political backwardness of the people, which created problems in nation building in the post-colonial period. (For details please see Section 8.3).
- 2) Some of the benefits included introduction of western education, urbanisation, development of means of transport and communication, irrigation works and modern technology. (For details please see Section 8.3).

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) Colonies were seen as part of France politically, culturally and economically. Political leaders in the colonies could seek election to the French Parliament (For details please see Sub-section 8.4.2).
- 2) The Portuguese often used force mainly in Latin America and tried to "civilize" the natives; most of the natives in Portuguese colonies remained illiterate and untouched by modernity. Portugal itself remained technologically backward under dictatorial regime. (For details please see Sub-section 8.4.3).

UNIT 9 SOCIAL STRUCTURES AND STRATIFICATION

Structure

- 9.0 Objectives
- 9.1 Introduction
- 9.2 Meaning
- 9.3 Perspectives on Social Structures
 - 9.3.1 Structuralism
 - 9.3.2 Functionalism
 - 9.3.3 Marxian
 - 9.3.4 Weberian
 - 9.3.5 Weberian and Marxian-Integration-Habermas
- 9.4 Social Stratification
 - 9.4.1 The Marxist Approach
 - 9.4.2 The Weberian Approach
 - 9.4.3 The Functionalist Approach
- 9.5 Let Us Sum Up
- 9.6 Some Useful Books
- 9.7 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

9.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit is intended to acquaint you with the social structures on which political institutions base their actions. However given the fact that there are different ways of looking at social structures the orientation of political action depends on the understanding of social structures. After going through this unit, we hope, you would:

- Understand the relation between social structures and social practices;
- Highlight the different approaches to the understanding of social structures;
- Relate the political institutions to social structures; and
- Outline the different perspectives on social stratification.

9.1 INTRODUCTION

In common language we often ascribe the successes or failures of political action to certain social realities such as class, nation, caste, religion, gender and so on. For instance, we might say that the continued prevalence of untouchability in India has effectively limited the benefits of affirmative action reaching out to dalits; or women's political participation has been thwarted by gender exploitation. We, often, say that such and such a political decision or outcome has been due to the presence or absence of certain social structures. Most of us are aware that the course of public decision-making is not merely based on rule of law or franchise in a formal sense. Such a course also depends on the operation of social forces.

Social structures are not constant. They change and reconstitute themselves. They undergo transformation with the activity of their members. They are subject to changes through scores of ways but more specifically through political action. In India, scholars have pointed out how the electoral process has led to the reformulation and reassertion of caste identities. Social agents or actors (members of a society) may understand their position and role in social structures differently.

Resources and powers, honours and rankings of social agents widely vary in any society. Members composing any society are assigned to roles with demarcated functions. A large number of roles that social actors are called upon to play are not of their choosing but are assigned to them. "I did not decide the caste, religion and linguistic community that I was born into."

Although the stratifications they beget undergo change, such a change is gradual and these stratifications tend to persist over time.

Social structures and stratification are primary concepts in the writings of several major thinkers such as **Emile Durkheim, Karl Marx, Max Weber and Levi Strauss**. **Talcott Parsons** made concepts of social structure and stratification central to his functional analysis. In India democratic politics functions within the context of these structures. We cannot understand the political ideas and actions of Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, B.R. Ambedkar and Rammanohar Lohia and scores of other modern Indian thinkers and political leaders without understanding their perspectives on social structures in general and regarding structures in India in particular. The orientation and working of political institutions greatly depend upon the way they work within these structures.

9.2 MEANING

'Social Structure' and 'Stratification' are core concepts in social theories. But social theories and their approaches widely differ and so do these concepts. There are major differences regarding the scope and determination of these concepts. Besides there are two major streams employing structural analysis and explanations: the Structuralists or the Structural-functionalists, or simply, Functionalists. Their use of terms, 'structure' and 'stratification' markedly vary. There is a second major stream of Marxists. Max Weber and Karl Marx, belonging to these two different streams use their concepts in their own ways. Further, there are the terminological problems: Terms such as 'social structure', 'social system' and 'social classes' overlap in several respects and so do 'social stratification' and 'social formation'. Besides the origins of terms such as 'structure' and 'stratification' lie with the biological and geological formulations of 19th century. Our approach to social reality today may not be in tune with such formulations.

- i) Tentatively, we can say that social structures are ordered relations of parts of a whole forming an arrangement in which elements of social life are linked together. There is continuity in such relations or patterns of interaction over time. Therefore, social structures have the following two fold connotations:
 - a) They are patterns of interactions between social actors or groups.
 - b) They imply relative persistence, endurance and durability over time.
- ii) As in the case of social structures, so with respect to social stratification, there are wide differences between social theorists.

From the **structural-functional perspective**, Talcott Parsons says that social stratification is, "The differential ranking of human individuals who compose a given social system and their treatment as superior and inferior relative to one another in certain socially significant respects."

Even if one adopts this definition, the ranking of social agents might vary widely as there may not be agreement on the criteria of ranking. If one employs a class perspective the meaning of social stratification is markedly in opposition to the

functional one. Here the emphasis would not be 'ranking' but on conflict. The conflict is on account of exploitation centered around the relations of production. Marx makes this clear in one of his formulations of class:

"In so far as millions of families live under economic conditions of existence that separate their mode of life, their interests and their culture from those of other classes and put them in hostile opposition to the latter they form a class".

Stratification leads social action in certain direction within a social system. (It's the grid through which differential communication and deferences are routed). It upholds a system of order in terms of which life's opportunities are conferred on actors. Marxism suggests that under revolutionary conditions, the revolutionary masses make social stratification their primary target of attack and attempt to overhaul the relations embedded in it. But short of revolutionary conditions, systems of stratification may enable different levels and degrees of mobility to social agents. One of the important concepts coined by the late M.N. Srinivas, an eminent Indian sociologist to denote such social mobility in India is 'Sanskritisation' i.e., upward mobility of lower castes in the caste system by adopting the beliefs, practices and rituals of the upper castes.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of this unit.

1) Give the meaning of social structures.

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2) Read the following and mark the correct answer. Differential ranking is termed as:

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|--------------------------|---------------------|
| a) Social Stratification | b) Social Structure |
| c) Social System | d) Social Class |

9.3 PERSPECTIVES ON SOCIAL STRUCTURES

The term 'structure' has been employed by many thinkers to understand the social world. We can identify certain distinct trends among them:

9.3.1 Structuralism

Structuralists emphasise sustaining structures - One of the major intellectual tendencies where structures conceived in a variety of ways was given absolute primacy and efficacy and the subject as an agency came to be disregarded was the tendency called **structuralism**. In this conception structures were removed from the objective worlds and were transposed to the domain of culture, beliefs and thought. It discounted the possibility of any direct encounter with the social reality as functionalism suggested. The operation of the structures resulted in social action and transformation or provided explanations for them.

One of the earliest manifestations of this tendency was in the study of language. Hitherto, it was understood that words and language are expressions of concepts and representations of objects. Linguistic structuralism made understanding internal to language. A linguistic sign is made of sound image and a concept. The sound image relates to the sounds and syllables of the sign; the concept is a mental construct. The sound image is the signifier and the concept is the signified. Linguistic structuralism pointed out that the relation between the signifier and the signified is arbitrary, a matter of convention. There is nothing in common between a tree and the word "tree". The crucial relation is not between the sign and the real world of objects. It is between the sign and the overall system of language. Meaning is arrived at by the relation of differences within sound images working together to produce a positive meaning. It is the product of structure and form and not of substance, made of concepts or the signified. Language creates meaning rather than conveys it.

In the work of Levi Strauss, the social anthropologist, structure denoted something entirely different from the empirical structures of Functionalism. The structure that persists is characteristic of human social organisation as such and not the structure of a particular society associated with a scientific culture. Scientific knowledge is not induced from sensory observations; those observations should be made intelligible. He saw widely varied social practices as expressions of a theoretically constituted structure. Existing practices do not sustain a structure but a variety of social practices can be explained with reference to a single structure. Through the concept of structure he attempted to provide universal explanations. For him structures were models.

Structuralism of this kind had a deep impact on Marxism and it was developed by the French Philosopher Louis Althusser. He asserted the total separation between ideology and science and read it in the works of Marx calling it as epistemological break. Structuralism also left a deep impact in psychoanalysis particularly in the work of Jacques Lacan.

The present times have been characterised by a major revolt against structuralism in all these forms. Philosophers have called into question the assumptions and strivings of structuralists to constitute a social science in the natural science model. Post-structuralists have highlighted the historical and framework-relative character of the categories employed in social sciences and their inability to be universalised. Hermeneutics argues how communication is primarily bound to cultural ambiances and deconstructionists expose the assumptions underlying a position and ask the possible outcomes if those assumptions are reversed. There is a great return of the subject as the seat of consciousness and deliberate pursuit. Structures to the extent they are acknowledged at all are primarily seen as the sites of the constitution of the self rather than makers of the self.

9.3.2 Functionalism

Functionalists, sometimes called as structural-functionalists, underplay individual human initiatives and prefer social structures. The most important representatives of this trend are Emile Durkheim, A.R. Radcliffe Brown and Talcott Parsons. They see social structures as external to individual actors. These structures vary from one society to the other and largely explain the similarity and differences between one society and another. The behaviour of individuals in social life is to be explained with them in view. They emphasize careful scrutiny of social facts and identifying the patterns of interaction holding them together. They see in society a normative order that assigns duties and responsibilities, prevents deviant behaviour and ensures value consensus.

This trend definitely underplays the role that actors play in the functioning of the social structures and advancing alternatives. It marginalises or ignores the role that social agents play in understanding the relations they are involved in and engages with them in markedly different ways.

This trend does not adequately distinguish the working of the social structures and natural processes. Although it proclaims value-neutrality, it has strong bias towards maintenance of the **existing social order** and seeing social change as reorganisation existing social structures.

9.3.3 Marxian

Marxian : Importance to class-structure and economic relations as basic. Marxists have emphasised class-structure as the key to understanding societies. Classes are formed on the basis of the relation of social agents to the means of production and to social produce as a whole and the resultant solidarity or bonds that they produce. **In Marxist understanding of class-structure there is an overt emphasis on economic relations.** It is expressed in the metaphor of 'base' and 'superstructures'. While the economy constitutes the base, the political, cultural, ideological and legal spheres form the superstructure.

The class structure of a society primarily rests on the relation between two basic classes and the role that other classes play is marked by these basic classes. In a capitalist society, for instance, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are the basic classes. There might be other classes such as the peasantry, craftsmen, professionals, landlords etc. but the role that these classes can play is demarcated by the basic classes.

Marxists understand Classes as those that are formed through class struggle. It is in and through political struggles that classes realise their allies and demarcate their enemies.

Marxism does admit the autonomy of political, cultural and ideological structures in relation to the economic process. But they are not clear about the nature and scope of this autonomy. Marxists do admit the existence of autonomous social strata and factions but they are encapsulated within classes. They find it difficult to explain cross-class and trans-class phenomena such as identity and gender issues. While Marxists do recognise the autonomy of human agency, its relation to class-structure is highly debatable. Besides, Marxists have not adequately conceptualised the relation between class-structure, the moral domain and the persistence of social stability. In India the relation between class structure and caste structure has been a very complex one to be explained.

9.3.4 Weberian

Max Weber: Multi-dimensional and integrated approach

Max Weber, emphasised a **multi-dimensional approach to understand social structures**. He attempted to **integrate structure and agency, material and normative dimensions**. He highlighted the role of the knowing subject and did not see him/her as passive receptacles of the operation of the social structures. He argued that meaning is not intrinsic to the social world waiting to be discovered through rational inquiry. Human actors interpret and construct the meaning of the social world around them. Different viewpoints embodying different values and interests, may, therefore, mean different readings of the social structures. Weber argued that 'unintended consequences of action' beget social structures such as markets, money and language. The rise of capitalism, he suggested, was the outcome of the Protestant Ethic which developed among its

adherents self-discipline and moral accountability for their actions to God in view of personal salvation.

Max Weber distinguished between Power and Authority. Authority is legitimate power. Legitimate authority involves an element of voluntary compliance. He identified three sources of authority: traditional, legal-rational and charismatic. Traditional authority is ascriptive and inherited; legal-rational authority is based on calculability, intellectualisation and impersonal logic of goal-directed action; and charismatic authority is extraordinary personal power identified in and with a particular individual. Weber preferred the State, and particularly the bureaucracy as the fountain of power. Power represents action likely to succeed even against opposition and resistance of those to whom it is applied. Bureaucracy embodies legal-rational authority which he saw as undermining other forms of authority such as traditional and charismatic. He thought that the process of rationalisation, understood as calculability, intellectualisation and impersonal and goal-directed action, are increasingly overtaking human activity. This affects all institutions. He uses the metaphor of iron-cage to denote a situation where concern for means and instruments drives out the concern for human ends.

Although Weber's conception of structure attempts to relate agency and subjectivity with external reality, it suggests little inter-subjective bond between social actors. In its absence rational-legal domain of the state alone becomes the normal social bond, suggesting the metaphor of 'iron-cage'. Weber accords little consideration for democracy and active citizenship to sustain social relations. His understanding of the social structure under the modern conditions conception constantly calls for charismatic spells of one kind or another to sustain people's engagement with the social order. But charisma cannot be anticipated, calculated and predictable. It's a double-edged sword. Therefore, rational-legal authority will always attempt to keep it at bay. Weber does not adequately engage with the inequality of wealth, power and status. There is little to suggest that he thought that it was the responsibility of the state to promote an equalitarian order. A shared moral domain cannot arise in a Weberian framework.

9.3.5 Weberian and Marxian - Integration-Habermas

One of the important thinkers of our times who has carried the Weberian conception further, while maintaining an interface with Marxism, is Jurgen Habermas. He recognises the role of social structures and the calculative and predictive orientation they suggest but he also takes into account the dimension of power and domination built into them. At the same time he takes seriously the potentiality of arriving at meaning built into language communication.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of this unit.

1) Outline the functionalist understanding of social structures.

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2) Highlight three characteristics of social class as understood by Marxists.

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3) Choose the correct answer

For Levi Strauss, structure is:

- a) empirical
- b) model
- c) rational
- d) particular

4) What is the difference between Structuralism and Structural-Functionalism?

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9.4 SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

In the earlier section, we dealt with the issue of social structures and how thinkers of different streams like Structuralists, Functionalists, Weberians and Marxists interpreted them. We also noted differences among them. In this Section we will read about stratification or layers in a society.

Stratification has a great deal to do with the prospects of any specific political system. Aristotle suggested that the viability of constitutional government rests on a particular kind of stratification. Lenin argued for the prospect of socialist transformation of Tsarist Russia based on an understanding of its changing social stratification.

9.4.1 The Marxist Approach

Marx employs ownership and control over the means of production and relationship of social agents to the process of production as the criteria for social stratification. Marx also uses the concepts of strata and factions to indicate the clashing interests found in a class.

Classes

In a country like India, Marxists would identify the following classes: a) The **bourgeoisie** (to indicate mainly the industrial bourgeoisie) who **own** and **control** the means of production and appropriate surplus; b) the **landlords** who own or enjoy title over land, play little role in the production process but obtain a share of the produce for themselves; c) the **workers** (to indicate generally the industrial proletariat) who do not own or control the means of production but depend on their labouring capacity for their livelihood; d) the **peasantry**, distinguishable into diverse strata and possessing different extent of land and other means of production but who at the same time directly participate in the process of production. (The rich peasant is a problematic class/strata in this class/category.

In some respects he is akin to the industrial bourgeoisie but in other respects to the peasant). This stratum is also inclusive of the rural proletariat made of landless workers and marginal peasantry who generally live off by working for others; and the e) **pettit bourgeoisie** made of professionals, the traders and the craftsmen who are not directly involved in the production process but play a variegated set of roles in terms of extending services and imparting skills.

Class consciousness : In fact even if a group held a number of objective characteristics akin to a class but which does not possess consciousness, to that extent it could not be considered as a class. Marx distinguished different members of a class. First, members of a class who are least conscious of being members and whose practices, other than the economic, have little to do with their class position. Secondly, there is a **class-in-itself**. Here, a class collectively pursues measures to better its lot in existing class structure by promoting its particular demands such as workers fighting for better wages. Thirdly, there is the **class-for-itself**. A class pursues its class interests without being intimidated by the prevailing class-structure.

One of the most important contributions in the understanding of social stratification from the Marxist perspective has been the work of **Antonio Gramsci**, the Italian Marxist theoretician. He asked the question how dominant classes continue to dominate over societies based primarily on class stratification. One of the concepts that he used to explain it was '**hegemony**'. It denotes not merely domination but leadership wherein the consent of the dominated is elicited through several ways.

9.4.2 The Weberian Approach

While Marx based social stratification on class, Weber introduced a model of stratification based on **CLASS, STATUS AND POWER**. He understood class very differently. For him a class is composed of people who have life chances in common as determined by their power to dispose of goods and skills for the sake of income. The crucial aspect of class is its situation in the market. Class consciousness is not a requirement for the making of a class.

Status refers to the social ranking, honour and esteem that a group is held in. These are attributes attached to particular styles of life and groups are ranked as high or low accordingly. Ranking, styles and avocations in terms of status vary from one society to the other. Therefore, while class is universalistic, status tends to be more particularistic. For example in India the caste system is a specific mode of expression of status. Ritual ranking attached to caste becomes one of the major factors of stratification.

Weber saw power as chance of a man or group to realise their will even against opposition of others. He thereby dispersed power across individual agents. This was very much unlike Marx who saw power primarily as a class-relation. At the same time Weber attributed the monopoly of coercive power to the state. In this conception there was little place for intermediary institutions between the state and individual social agents.

For Weber all the three forms of stratification, Class, Status and Power may converge in terms of some social agents or they need not. Further, sometimes anyone of them could affect the other two or could be translated into the other. They however, cannot be reduced to a single form. Weber also saw stratification in terms of two models: ascriptive and achievement. Ascriptive stratification, be it class, status or power is based on inherited characteristics. Achievement is the successful attainment of the concerned individual or group.

9.4.3 The Functionalist Approach

The functionalist approach to stratification is associated with such thinkers as Emile Durkheim, Kingsley Davis, Talcott Parsons and Robert K. Merton. Functionalists look at modern society as a complex of highly differentiated system of roles. Different men and women have to be persuaded to assume these roles. Stratification is based on role allocation. Roles set different goals for individuals and groups.

Functionalists see stratification as the mechanism through which society encourages men and women to seek to achieve the diverse positions necessary in a complex system. The positions require different skills and are endowed with different rewards. Through stratification motivation is provided to social agents to perform their roles. The status corresponding to the roles imparts recognition. Talcott Parsons has pointed out three sets of characteristics which are used as the basis of ranking:

- a) Possessions: i.e. those attributes that people own
- b) Qualities belonging to individuals including race, lineage or sex
- c) Performances: i.e. evaluation of the way roles are fulfilled

Different societies emphasise different characteristics: Feudal society stressed on ascribed qualities; a capitalist society values possessions and a communist society on performance.

Functionalists feel that industrial society with its division of labour encourage only one set of values those involving individual success. It results in anomie or alienation. A stable society they feel is a prerequisite for integrated personality. Further as stratification based on role allocation involves inequality it calls for ideological justification that explains, justifies and propagates the system of inequality. Therefore functionalists accord a great deal of importance on patterns of social solidarity embodying moral consensus and normative regulation. They see a major role for religion in this task.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

- ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of this unit.

1) Read the following carefully and mark the correct answer.

For Weber class is based on

- a) Ownership and control of means of production
- b) Esteem and status
- c) Shared life-chances
- d) Social role

2) Why do functionalists stress on social solidarity based on moral consensus and norms?

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9.5 LET US SUM UP

The unit we read explained first the meaning of social structures and how different thinkers conceived the idea. Social structures which form the basis for explaining social behaviour and policies, is simply a relation of constituting parts to the constituent whole. Elements of social life are linked together in a broad encompassing pattern. Social structure links individuals and lends a definite behaviour. Structuralists, like Levi Strauss held out structures as universal models while Functionalists explained the behaviour of individual members referring to the social structures in which they are present. Both discouraged individual initiatives, however giving primacy to the maintenance of structural whole, whereas Max Weber preferred a multi dimensional approach, distinguished between Power, Authority and legitimacy and gave importance to individuals to operate social structures. Karl Marx saw structure in terms of class layers which stresses economic considerations as the base over which are built legal, political and cultural systems.

After we understood social structures through divergent approaches, we discussed how structures are divided. This is called stratification. The need for study of stratification is because it makes constitution of democratic government viable, according to Aristotle, and establishment of Socialism possible, as Lenin thought.

For Marx, social stratification provided the means to study relationship of the owners of the means of production and the entire processes of such a production.

Marx divided the society according to different classes based on their economic activities and found out possibilities of a class consciousness or common belongingness to a certain class existing. Following in the footsteps of Marx, Antonio Gramsci analysed the behaviour of dominant classes in society calling the relationship as 'hegemony'. Max Weber viewed stratification in terms of Class, Status and Power and denied the necessity of class consciousness to constitute a class. He distinguished between class (generalistic).

Status (particularistic) and Power (as a will or capacity of men to realise a goal even amidst opposition) but maintained that there is a possibility of convergence between the three social categories. Thinkers, such as Emile Durkheim, Davis, Talcott Parsons and Robert Merton who come under the group, Functionalists, saw great hopes in social stratification as it offered members opportunities to achieve positions, roles and goals necessary for advancement in a modern complex society. Roles depend on the individual's possessions, qualities due to birth, and performances of services. They call for integrated personality and social solidarity. Agents that bring about such a stability are moral consensus, religion, and rules and regulations.

9.6 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Beteille A., 1969: *Caste, Class and Power: Changing Patterns of Classification in Tanjore Village*. Bombay, Oxford University Press.

Giddens A., 1979: *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis*. London, Macmillan.

Sharma K.L., 1997: *Social Stratification in India, Issues and Themes*, New Delhi, Sage.

Turner J., 1984: *Societal Stratification: A Theoretical Analysis*, New York, Columbia University Press.

9.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Social structure is an arrangement where elements of social life are linked together. They are durable and consistent.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) In the views of Functionalists or structural-Functionalists, Social structures are more important than the role individual citizens/members play. They also emphasise normative behaviour and rules of a social structure and are concerned about how a societal structure is held together. Social facts, according to them, should be scrutinised. Individuals' duties and responsibilities are given great stress. Thus, maintaining the existing order is their concern.
- 2) For Marxists understanding social classes is based on: relationship of social agents to the means of production and to social produce (Economic relations are emphasised): Political, Cultural, legal and ideological areas form a superstructure on the economic base; class struggle or political struggle as determinant of class formation.
- 3) Structuralism understood structures not as empirical structures as conceived by Functionalists but as characteristics of general human social organisation. To the structuralist, structure does not relate to a particular Society and Culture. Social practices can be understood referring to the structure. Structures are models of universal Functionalists which explain behaviour of individuals in social life with reference to structures. For them a society assigns duties and responsibilities, prevents deviant behaviour of individual members and promotes value consensus. But both these approaches downplay individual initiatives.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) Industrial society, laying stress on a single set of values and division of labour tends to alienate individuals. For the development of an integrated personality, a stable society is needed. Such a society is possible only if there is moral consensus and norms are followed and vice-versa.

Structure

- 10.0 Objectives
- 10.1 Introduction
- 10.2 History of Class Formation
 - 10.2.1 Agrarian Class Formation
 - 10.2.2 Industrial Class Formation
- 10.3 Theories of Class Formation
 - 10.3.1 Marxian Theories
 - 10.3.2 Weberian Theories
- 10.4 New Developments
- 10.5 Let Us Sum Up
- 10.6 Key Words
- 10.7 Some Useful Books
- 10.8 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

10.0 OBJECTIVES

In this unit theories and processes of class formation are discussed. After going through this Unit we hope you would be able to:

- explain the meaning of the term class;
- trace the process of class formation;
- define and explain various theories of class formation;
- identify new developments; and
- compare class formation in various societies.

10.1 INTRODUCTION

In common speech, the term class is used in varying senses. One speaks of upper, middle and lower, of propertied and non-propertied, of productive and unproductive, of educated and uneducated, classes. In this context, however, the term class is practically meaningless; it only says that groups of people have certain characteristics in common. To give this conception a definite outline and scientific utility, the term class must denote a group where the characteristics held in common are perfectly definite and already determined.

The writers on the question of what is essential in the concept of classes fall broadly into two groups — those selecting the objective factors as the basis of class and those selecting the subjective ones. Among the former, some regard the basis as ownership or non-ownership of the instruments of production — a concept essentially Marxian; others lay stress upon the general standard of living, holding that in modern society the elements around which a class is built are generally the same within a particular standard of living. Other objective factors have been selected as well; thus Max Weber builds the concept of class upon (1) the possession of economic means, (2) external standard of living, (3) cultural and recreational possibilities.

According to the subjectivists, classes are groups whose sources of income are similar and whose economic interests coincide. In this conception the subjective factor lies in a community of interest and outlook, rooted in the economic structure of any given period. In such a view, common interests, common ideology, common consciousness of cohesion comes to the fore. Other theorists

regard as essential the degree of esteem in which a group is held, thus making classes essentially a gradation or ranks based on prestige.

10.2 HISTORY OF CLASS FORMATION

In primitive societies certain individuals were often set apart from the rest of the community because of acquisition of wealth or display of unusual craftsmanship; hereditary aristocracy and priesthoods which were also common grounds for status identities. The transition from this society of status to one of class occurred during the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. in Greece and in Rome.

The first class conflict in Greece arose from opposition to the landed aristocracy. The peasantry, heavily in debt to the aristocracy under a system where debt led to slavery, brought about the Solonian legislation and its extension to a wider circle of citizenry of political rights and admission to public office. These reforms divested the landed aristocracy of their legal sanctions and thereby transformed a differentiation by status into a differentiation of class. With the industrial and commercial development that followed the Persian wars, personal property became increasingly important and the conflict of classes was accordingly transformed.

An essentially similar development occurred in Rome. Social differentiation took place on the basis of status. Political power was concentrated among the landed families. To their opposite, stood a group of plebeians. Although they were free, they had no political rights. **This order was gradually broken down and the way opened for differentiation into classes.** When the transition had been completed the development of Roman social organization continued in the direction of sharpening the outlines of the class structure. Largely because of the wars and the competition of grain from other countries the peasant class began to disintegrate. Deprived of land and livelihood, the peasants thronged the metropolis. There they constituted an enormous proletariat leading a meager existence on public donations and offerings. Thus definite property classes emerged, with the sharpest contrasts showing up in the distribution of wealth.

In the Middle Ages, the feudal system represented a social organization based on status. With the increasing importance of production for the market and trade, and with the coming of the money economy, gradations arose among the free and the less free. Neither ranks nor classes remained permanent or unchanged but disintegrated into subgroups. Thus, gradations began to arise among the unfree as well.

With the growth of cities and trade a new occupational class took its place with the aristocracy and the peasants - the burghers. Office and vocation began gradually to determine social position. Members of the most diverse ranks by birth - even the unfree and the free men - found it possible to move to higher social strata. These new elements did not immediately displace the old; the two functioned side by side for several centuries. And while the new classes were occupational they remained at the outset quite rigid. But wealth and vocation kept continually displacing the facts of birth and descent.

While this evolution was essentially similar in all European States, the manner and time in which it took place differed. Particularly in the Italian city-states, England and France, the class organization evolved earlier than in other countries. In England the wealthy merchant class had by the end of the seventeenth century attained an influential place in Parliament. In France at this time numerous burghers had been elevated to the nobility and after 1715 they could acquire the estates of the nobility.

10.2.1 Agrarian Class Formation

Historically, rural areas in many countries have been characterized by extreme inequalities in economic and political power. Many countries with large rural populations and economies based on the production of primary products have continued to demonstrate such inequalities.

There are several general categories of agrarian class systems. **Slavery**, as it existed in the United States in the pre-Civil War era, is the most extreme system, because it fully limits access to land to a dominant class and provides for total control of the labour of a subordinate class. A second category, found in medieval Europe and colonial Latin America, is **feudal systems**. In such systems landlords seek to accumulate land primarily to enhance their status and power. They ensure a stable and dependent labour force through a monopoly over land. The landowners use indebtedness, overt coercion, and traditional social obligations and deference to maintain control over land and labour.

Agrarian capitalism, as developed in colonial areas of Southeast Asia in the late nineteenth century, is a third category. It is characterized by plantation production and relies on a monopoly over land and on slave, debt-bound, or wage labour to maintain domination over subordinate classes. Where large-scale capitalist farming has developed, as in parts of Mexico and Brazil, productive land has been monopolized by large landowners, and wage labour has replaced tenancy. Where small-scale capitalist farms have emerged, land and labour markets have been more open and less subject to coercion.

In countries with large agricultural sectors capitalism has become the dominant mode of production in agriculture in most regions. Capitalist producers have accumulated larger holdings of productive land, replaced labour through mechanization and other technological advancements. They now hire only for peak work periods, rather than maintaining a settled work force. This process has had several consequences. Productive land has become scarcer for small landholders, landlessness among the rural poor has increased, and wage labour has become more mobile and insecure. It was also expected that due to this process small land holders and peasant communities would eventually disappear, forced off the land and absorbed into a rural or urban labour force.

However small landholders and peasant communities have shown great capacity to survive the expansion of capitalism. At the level of the household, small landholders have diversified their sources of income. By joining together for production or marketing, some have been able to compete with capitalist producers. In some cases, rural producers have formed cooperatives or associations that allow them to compete with large landowners for markets. Another development that has affected agrarian class formation is the expansion of the State in the decades since World War II. The state is present in rural areas in the form of the local agricultural research institution, the marketing agency, the rural credit bank, the fair-price store, the school, the health dispensary, the public works office, and other institutions. Much state intervention in rural areas comes in the form of goods and services that can be provided selectively to individuals, groups, or communities. In cases of open and democratic party competition, national politicians have at times competed for the support of rural groups by promising or promoting policies of agrarian reform and rural development. Consequently, rural class formation is now seen to be determined by more than patterns of land ownership and labour use. It also depends on power relationships between rural landowners and the developmental state and on the ways in which subordinate classes have been incorporated into national political systems.

In the previous sub-section, we have read about changes taking place in the rural areas. In this sub-section, we will be studying developments in urban, social and economic formations. At the beginning of the nineteenth century changes in the distribution of wealth had already begun to determine class formation. With the growth of capitalism and large-scale industry the economic element — chiefly the possession of property — played a greater role than ever in the determination of class membership. Social factors were based almost entirely on the economic ones.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the most intense class conflicts took place in authoritarian societies, such as Russia, Finland, and Germany, where elites attempted to consolidate their hold on power by suppressing opposition.

By contrast, class conflict was less violent in countries with established liberal freedoms and effective representative institutions, such as England and Switzerland. In these countries, the extension of the vote to workers gave them a greater sense of social and political inclusion. Freedom of political association and expression gave workers the chance to press their group demands through legitimate channels.

As a result of improved working conditions and political integration in the post World War II era most western societies saw a significant reduction of industrial conflict. Reforms based on Keynesian 'demand management', new and expanded welfare programs, and consensual policies designed to contain wage demands and inflation had definite impact on class formation.

Countries varied widely, however, in the extent to which the postwar developments took place. Class compromise was strongest in northern and central Europe and weakest in southern Europe and the Anglo-American democracies. Until the late 1970s in northern and central Europe, and particularly in Sweden, Norway, Austria (also in Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands), the working class was strongly organized in the labour market. In these countries, socialist parties were also able to participate in governments on a regular basis. This participation opened a political channel for trade unions to exchange moderation of their labour-market demands for favourable state action, including legal protection of unions, economic policies for full employment, and welfare and egalitarian social policies.

Check Your Progress 1

Note : i) Use the space given below for your answers.
ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

1) Explain the objective bases of class.

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2) What are the three categories of agrarian class system?

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- 3) Compare class conflict in the industrial societies.

10.3 THEORIES OF CLASS FORMATION

So far we have discussed the historical aspects of class formation like how classes were formed and how they developed in different contexts. Now, we will look into the theories of classes and class conflicts, to expand our understanding of class formation. In the realm of theory deep disagreements divide both Marxists and non-Marxists. Some think 'class has to do with property', others say class is related to power. Still others consider class and surplus property and values as related. Yet others equate class with class consciousness.

The Marxist tradition remains useful for its insistence on the need to study the evolving capitalist class and its relationship with working people, especially when globalization of capitalist production occurs. Marxists, however, pay insufficient attention to social groupings other than classes. The insights of the Weberian tradition, with its stress on social mobility and social fragmentation within broad class groupings fill up some gaps in theory. Post-industrial theories highlight the existence of non-employed groups. They make moves to identify such non-employed groups as a separate class, with their own unique economic situation. These theories identify the non-employed groups less as a segment within the working class.

10.3.1 Marxian Theories

A class, according to Marx, becomes a class only when it gets united and organized in the defense of its class interests. Without common struggle it is not more than a mass of people sharing the same position in the economic system. The bourgeoisie developed its class-consciousness, because it was aware of common interests of their members while they struggled against feudalism. And the ruling class in bourgeois society understands the common need to defend the prevailing system though there are many internal, factional conflicts dividing the class.

For the proletariat it is a long process of struggle to acquire the consciousness of being a class. From its very birth the proletariat struggles with the bourgeoisie, as the Communist Manifesto points out. But in the beginning these are only individual, local struggles against the direct exploiters, as also against the local capitalists. With the development of industry the proletariat increases in number and becomes concentrated in greater masses. Slowly the collisions of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie take the form of the collisions between two classes. The workers begin to organize themselves; they form combinations and permanent associations. The local struggles get centralized into one national struggle between classes. From the point of view of capital the mass of workers are already a class before that. But "for itself", the proletariat becomes a class only in the course of struggle. And the struggle of class against class is a political struggle.

In the struggle the proletariat develops and expresses its class-consciousness. For Marx this means basically that the proletariat comes to understand that its own emancipation and the liberation of society as a whole require the overthrow of capitalism, and that it forms the will to overthrow it. Thus proletarian class-consciousness is revolutionary consciousness. The proletariat has a conviction that society needs to be transformed in a revolutionary way and has the commitment to fight for that. Class-consciousness for Marx and Engels means the awareness of this general revolutionary perspective.

It does not at all mean that the workers know by heart a set of Marxist doctrines. In the Manifesto, Marx and Engels say that the communists are not a new sect, but that they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole. They are most advanced in their understanding of the direction in which the proletarian movement goes. But they share the same immediate aim with all the other proletarian parties: formation of the proletariat into a class and the overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy.

But it is a constant refrain of Marx that: 'The emancipation of the working class must be the act of the working class itself'. Marx expected the proletariat itself to develop the necessary revolutionary consciousness and to emancipate itself. The revolutionary struggle of the working class, therefore, needs organisation. Trade unions and the party are the foremost forms of organisation of the working class.

But in history what occurred? The major difficulty arose from the evident failure of industrial workers to make any notable advance along the line of anticipated progression. The gap between predictions generated by class theory and the actual tendency of historical development was glaringly brought out in the wake of the October Revolution in Russia in 1917: Consider this paradox. A revolution claiming to fulfil the Marxist promise of socialist transformation occurred in a society little advanced in its capitalist development, while all the attempts at socialist revolution in truly capitalist countries with a large industrial working population failed. What, from the theoretical perspective, appeared as a bewildering incongruity or paradox of history, generated more interest among the Marxist thinkers. Their concern was why such an anticipation did not materialize.

In the following paragraph, we will study who were such theorists and what work they carried out.

The first person among the theorists was Lukacs. His 'false consciousness' theory- distinguished 'consciousness of class' from 'class consciousness': the first relates to the ideas and motives of the class members arising from the inexperience within their daily business of life. The latter could be evolved at only through and after a rational study of the totality of the information related to the social system where the members are. In Lukacs's view, there was no automatic passage from the first to the second: the information necessary to construct the ideal 'class consciousness' was not available within the individual experience as it was constrained by the tasks of daily survival.

Only a scientific analysis created by the political organisation of the class members can provide class consciousness. This is a matter where ideology comes into active play.

Another related debate that has engaged Marxists for many years concerns the composition of working class. Nico(la)s Poulantzas built an elaborate framework to explain class and concluded that the working class consisted exclusively of productive, subordinated manual wage-earners. While productive labour produces

surplus value, unproductive labour, for example, state employees, service workers or administrators - is paid from this source.

10.3.2 Weberian Theories

In this sub-section we will not only deal with the views of Max Weber but also with those who followed his tradition such as Anthony Giddens.

Max Weber not only theorized about class but also introduced two other concepts, namely status group and party. For him a class is a group of people who stand objectively in the same situation in terms of market position or market power, that is to say a group of people who share the same life-chances. This is determined by the power to utilize resources which they control in order to acquire income in the market. The term 'life-chances' is used by Weber to refer not just to material benefits but to anything which is desirable namely, leisure, travel, culture, and so on. Weber acknowledges that one of the fundamental and common bases for class formation is the way property is distributed. But ownership of property or lack of it, is, for Weber, only one of the criteria defining the existence of a class situation. Classes may be further subdivided in terms of the kind of property owned or the kind of skill or service that is offered.

Class and status groups are closely associated and interlinked. Weber says, property, as well as defining class position, is also frequently used as a criterion for membership in a status group. Status is usually expressed in terms of a distinctive life-style and restrictions upon social interaction with non-members. Speech, dress, manners, residence, habits, leisure activities, marriage patterns - all may become expressions of differential status. A status group, for Weber, is a group with certain rights, privileges and opportunities for acquiring what is desirable which are determined not by position in the market but by the possession of certain characteristics evaluated in terms of worth, prestige, admissibility, and so on.

Weber states that both classes and status groups are also essentially founded upon power. He defines party in a very broad sense to mean any group whose purpose it is to exercise power in society or which is concerned with the competition for power. This is a wider conception than political parties in the usual sense and would include any alliance or organisation with this as its aim. A party may be associated with a particular class or status group but need not necessarily be so. Any social division could form the basis for a party, including ethnicity, race, religion or region. Although class, status and power may cut across one another, one of them generally predominates in a given type of society. Anthony Giddens bases his conception essentially upon a Weberian foundation. Giddens wishes to retain the link between class and the economic sphere along with both Marx and Weber. In general terms classes can be characterized as large-scale, societal wide groupings which are, at least in principle, 'open'. That is to say, birth, hereditary status, etc do not determine membership. Giddens seeks to define what he calls a 'social class' rather than merely pure economically defined categories, since there may be an indefinite multiplicity of crosscutting interests created by different market capacities while there are only a limited number of social classes.

For him, there are essentially three basic classes in a contemporary society, namely upper, middle and lower or working class.

The most important aspect of the division of labour in modern capitalism, from the point of view of class formation, is that between administrative and manual tasks. White-collar and blue-collar groups perform very different kinds of task and each has appropriate skills.

Secondly, the pattern of authority relationships in the enterprise tends to reinforce this pattern of division of labour. White-collar work frequently involves the exercise of some authority whereas blue-collar work generally does not and is mostly only subject to authority. Thirdly, different patterns of consumption and different life-styles, to which varying degrees of prestige are attached, tend to promote class distinctions. These different patterns of consumption and life-style, in so far as they are typical of particular groups, are referred to by Giddens distributive groupings. While the different patterns of consumption that form the basis of distributive groupings enjoy different degrees of prestige, it is the actual pattern of consumption itself that is the central criterion here. To the extent that the three types of proximate structuration of class relationships coincide with one another, and to the extent that they run alongside the mediate structuration of class relationships, then the formation of distinct classes is promoted.

Finally, in order to become a social reality a class must come to adopt common patterns of behaviour and attitudes and to do this it must become aware of itself as a class.

Other Weberians see the divide between manual and non-manual work as being still significant, while conceding the heterogeneity of white-collar occupations.

John Goldthorpe theorizes an eleven-class model. He suggests, however, that the eleven classes can be aggregated into three: the service class, the intermediate groupings and the working class.

The service class includes managers, administrators and professionals (the wage-earning elite) and also 'large proprietors'. Below the service class is the less coherent group of intermediate workers, in which Goldthorpe includes small owners, farmers, foremen, routine nonmanual workers or service workers. Many of these groups are seen by Marxists as proletarianized. While Goldthorpe and other neo-Weberians maintain that the intermediate groupings have distinct work and market positions, they acknowledge the amorphous nature of this group and the fact that individuals frequently are moving in and out of these occupational sectors. Evidence from the USA and Canada shows that lower-grade service jobs are characteristically filled by young people and students at the start of their careers who may eventually end up in the service class, while in some European societies it is older workers who take these jobs.

Check Your Progress 2

Note : i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

1) What is meant by the class-consciousness of proletariat?

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2) What is 'status group' in Weberian theory?

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3) What is a class according to Giddens?

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4) What are the three classes according to Goldthorpe?

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10.4 NEW DEVELOPMENTS

From the end of the 1970s, inequalities in many developed societies have widened considerably. Technological innovation has meant that fewer people are required in order to achieve a rising level of manufacturing output. In Britain, for example, the low level service jobs which have been a major source of occupational expansion over the last two decades are on the whole low paid, part time and often temporary. In the United States the opportunity for a worker to rise higher in his own class and even out of it into another is greater than in Europe, and his social position carries more respect.

With the traditional working class rapidly fading in revolutionary potential, many Marxists also turned elsewhere to find a revolutionary subject. The 'embourgeoisement' of traditional working class led some towards the technicians/engineers/computer specialists of late capitalism. Others saw revolutionary virtue in the student activists of 1968 and its aftermath. But the most far-reaching turn was towards the oppressed peoples of the Third World. If the Western working class had become soft and corrupt, the lean and hungry peasants of the Third World would encircle the cities and lead the way to the promised land. Some, however, saw even Third World workers as a 'labour aristocracy', bought off and reformist, and saw the untutored revolutionary zeal of the 'marginals' in the shanty towns as the possible saviours of the 'revolutionary' project. The flourishing of post-working-class subjects prompted some on the left to call a halt to 'the retreat from class'. The postmarxist theorists, such as Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, stressed the plurality of contemporary social struggles and the contingent nature of politics.

These new developments indicate the diversity of capitalism and the plurality of social struggles today. Race, gender, sexuality, religion, disability and region are all on this terrain, along-side and integrated with class. It seems that there is now no one locus or site of social transformation. Oppressions are multiple, and the sites of resistance are present everywhere. The capacity for transformation is not held in the hands of a mythical proletariat - or any other single subject - but is dispersed throughout society.

These are themes that the 'new' social movements of the 1980s - the peace, ecology and women's movements above all - began to articulate. The transition from industrial to postindustrial society had apparently thrown up a new societal type. The old conflicts over distribution were being replaced by new concerns with identity and the qualitative transformation of society. An economic emphasis was replaced by a cultural emphasis, to put it one way. The 'new' social

movements were seen as a response to new forms of antagonism that had emerged under late capitalism.

In countries such as Brazil and South Africa, and even in the United States, there has been a flourishing of 'new unionism' practices and strategies. Concerns about inner-union democratic procedures, gender equality and qualitative rather than quantitative strategies are now much more common. The old prevalent state-centric strategies are now much more commonly matched by an orientation towards civil society. Trade unionists are more prone to accept that the working class has two sexes and that race cannot be brushed aside with simplistic formulae.

In more recent years, it has been the theme of globalization which has impacted the most critical study of the working classes. Economic relations have progressed from an inter-national level to a truly global one. It is a process of integration that is having far-reaching effects on the world of work. Capital has, as Marx foresaw, brushed aside any national boundaries that stood in its way. Capitalism has penetrated into all spheres of economic, cultural and social life across the globe. In the new 'global factories' workers have become mere commodities once again.

Hand in hand with globalization, capital has been leaping into a new technological era dominated by information and knowledge. Advanced information technology and the ensuing reorganization of work are decentralising the workplace in even more complex ways, as where we work is becoming a more diffuse site compared to the office block or the manufacturing plant which prevailed until the 1980s. The new decentred work place also has its internal effects within the enterprise as network begins to prevail over hierarchy.

Daniel Bell, John Goldthorpe, and Alain Touraine have described the growth of the 'knowledge and professional' sector, which includes educators, scientists, professionals, administrators, and managers. The rapid growth of this sector has created the conditions for the new 'service' or 'knowledge' class. Conceptions of how this class will define, organize, and express its political interests vary. Touraine has argued that this new class may forge an alliance with the old working class, while Goldthorpe emphasizes that the interests of individuals in this new class are oriented around their autonomy in the productive process and therefore are opposed to the interests of blue-collar workers. The evidence of the 1980s and 1990s indicates that postindustrialism is actually creating diverse new groups with diverse interests, loosening class ties generally, and undermining the industrial class cleavage without replacing it with a new dominant cleavage.

Check Your Progress 3

Note : i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

1) What are the 'new' social movements?

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2) What are the effects of globalization on working classes?

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10.5 LET US SUM UP

In this unit we have dealt first with the history of class formation and later saw certain thinkers analysis about what constitutes class. Various theories of class formation such as Weberian, Marxian and Post-Industrial have also been discussed. New developments affecting new class formations were also highlighted. Whereas sharp differences remain among various theories to class formation the issue of class seems to be still relevant so far as all the societies reflect high levels of inequality even in the Post-industrial societies. Agrarian and industrial class formations indicate the ongoing relevance of classes, although various other new developments pinpoint the increasing role of other factors like status and culture.

10.6 KEY WORDS

Class: Group determined by its economic relationship to the means of production.

Class Consciousness : Awareness of belonging to a definite class and a conscious knowledge of the political interests of that class.

Class Struggle: Historical conflict between the oppressors and the oppressed

Bourgeoisie: Also known as the capitalist class, owns the means of production, employs wage labour, and has profit as its source of income.

Proletariat : The working class, which produces commodities and derives its income from wages.

Life chances : Idea that an individual's prospects of attaining material rewards and high status in society are influenced by class position.

Status: Social standing or prestige of an individual in a society.

10.7 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Bell, D. (1974). *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society: A Venture in Social Forecasting*. New York: Basic Books.

Esping-Anderson, G. (1993). *Changing Classes*. London: Sage.

Giddens, A. (1973). *The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies*. London: Hutchinson.

Goldthorpe, J.H. (1982). *Social Mobility and Class Structure in Modern Britain*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hamilton, M. and Hirszowicz (1993). *Class and Inequality. Comparative Perspectives*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Poulantzas, N. (1978). *Classes in Contemporary Capitalism*. London: Verso.

Wright, E.O. (1985). *Classes*. London: Verso.

10.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) The objective bases of class include - ownership and nonownership of instruments of production, standard of living, cultural and recreational possibilities.

- 2) Agrarian class system has been based, for example, on slavery in pre-Civil War United States; feudal systems in Medieval Europe and Colonial Latin America; agrarian capitalism in colonial areas of Southeast Asia.
- 3) In Russia, Finland and Germany intense class conflict took place where elites held on power by suppressing opposition whereas in democracies like England and Switzerland, class conflict was less violent as various rights and freedoms of workers gave them the chance to press for their demands through legitimate channels.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) For Marx it is only in the course of struggle that the proletariat develops and expresses its class-consciousness. The conviction that society needs to be transformed through combined effort gives the proletariat a revolutionary perspective.
- 2) A status group is a group of people with certain rights, privileges and opportunities for acquiring what is desirable by possession of worth and prestige in society.
- 3) Classes are aggregate of individual in a similar market position. Birth, hereditary status etc. do not determine membership of a class.
- 4) The service class which includes managers, administrators and professionals; secondly, the group of intermediate workers consisting of small owners, farmers, foremen, routine nonmanual workers or service workers, and lastly the manual working class.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) The new social movements are a response to new forms of antagonism that had emerged under late capitalism. The various themes of these new social movements are - peace, ecology and women's movements.
- 2) Economic relations have progressed from an inter-national dimension to a truly global one. In the new 'global factories' workers have become mere commodities once again as in the previous era.

UNIT 11 SOCIAL BASES OF STATE POWER

Structure

- 11.0 Objectives
- 11.1 Introduction
- 11.2 Meaning
- 11.3 Classification of Power
- 11.4 Distribution of Power : How?
 - 11.4.1 Elite Theory : Pareto and Mosca
 - 11.4.2 Elite Theory in the United States of America: C. Wright Mills
 - 11.4.3 Pluralism
 - 11.4.4 Power as Coercion: Max Weber
- 11.5 Contending Approaches to Power
 - 11.5.1 Pluralistic Conception of Power
 - 11.5.2 American Empirical Democratic Theory or Classical Pluralism
 - 11.5.3 Group Theory
 - 11.5.4 Corporatist Theory
- 11.6 Marxist Theory
- 11.7 Let Us Sum Up
- 11.8 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

11.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit discusses Power and its social bases and the theorists who have studied power and its distribution.

Reading this unit will enable you to understand:

- Meaning of power;
- Classification and Distribution; and
- Different theories of power.

11.1 INTRODUCTION

Power is the most fundamental among all the political concepts. It is one of the foundations of Political Science. While there is a near unanimity among political scientists about the importance of power, they have differences about its definition and the manner in which it should be conceived and measured.

11.2 MEANING

In a broad sense, power is the production of intended effects. It is the capacity to get what one wants to get. Among the several approaches to power, the 'Power to' approach associated with Talcott Parsons is the most significant. According to Parsons political power is the capacity of a government to draw on the commitment of its citizens in order to achieve societal, political and economic goals. The power of the government is decided by the effectiveness with which it achieves community's goals. Thus, for Parsons, power is a device which enables the government or the rulers to fulfill the objectives of society. It is not the ability of one group or the other to win control of the state.

Why was Parson's definition of power not found adequate?

Despite its positive connotations, Parson's view of power is considered too narrow by several political scientists. For those who disagree with Parsons, politics is an arena of conflictual opinions regarding what goals and whose goals or rather which group's goals should be pursued.

The underlying view of power is conflict and not consensus. Power consists in the ability to get ones way, usually in the face of opposition. This opinion supported by Robert Dahl and other pluralists talk of power over rather than power to. The former Soviet Union during the last years of its existence witnessed such a distinction between power over and power to. The quantity of power available to a central government can decline to a point when the issue of its distribution becomes secondary.

11.3 CLASSIFICATION OF POWER

As power is not merely authority, violence, force or war alone, Kenneth Boulding in his Three faces of power provides a classification of forms.

The threat of force [Boulding calls it the 'stick'] is used by the military and the police — the coercive institutions of state. The state has the authority to deprive its citizens of their liberty if taxes are not paid, if laws are not obeyed etc., though on many occasions the coercive authority of the state is merely implicit, that is a sign of its effectiveness.

Exchange power [Kenneth Boulding calls it the 'Deal'] is more effective as there is a positive note in this variety of power. There is a deal and reciprocity and the deal is based on reward. Nevertheless, the deal is also a form of power as it changes the behaviour of one person by another person. In almost all modern states, the relationship between the citizen and state is that of an exchange or contract. The citizens agree to accept and obey the state's authority and the state agrees to provide and 'protect the citizens'. Though the contract is imaginary, the exchange exists.

Creating obligations [the 'kiss' method according to K. Boulding] is the other method whereby the capacity to inspire loyalty, respect and commitment is brought forth. Family and religious institutions are two of the most significant social institutions that indulge in such obligatory exercises of power. In most Islamic states, fundamentalist organizations operate on these lines.

Others such as S.Lukes, claim that power is not merely what Boulding talks about. It is exercised wherever the real interests of people are ignored. A polluting factory that affects the inhabitants exercises power over them without their knowledge. Similarly, a government that begins conscription by whipping up patriotic fervour is also exercising power over its people by manipulating the knowledge, values and preferences of others.

We may conclude that the power of a modern state rests on its capability to draw on a wide range of sources of obligation. All the three approaches of power enunciated by Kenneth Boulding in his Three faces of Power are instructive and highlight the fact that power is based on a combination of factors.

11.4 DISTRIBUTION OF POWER : HOW?

Apart from the debate as to what is power, how it is exercised and measured another significant question concerning power is how it is distributed in societies. A close look at political systems, both democracies and dictatorships, indicates that there is a dissimilarity between the two. The Elite and Pluralist theories are the most important. The elitists hold that there is not much of a dissimilarity.

11.4.1 Elite Theory : Pareto and Mosca

The elitists view that there is not much difference between the two systems. There are three proponents of elitist theory, namely Vilfredo Pareto and Gaetano Mosca both of Italy and Robert Michels of Germany. Their writings had a

profound influence on the thinking of the concept of power in the twentieth century.

Pareto firmly believed that all societies are divided among,
 a small governing elite,
 a non-governing elite, and
 the mass population or non-elite.

There might be a circulation of elites but an elite is always present.

Mosca argued that a governing elite is possible by the presence of a superior organisation and calibre. The domination of a small organised minority is inevitable over unorganised majority.

Unlike his Italian counterparts, Robert Michels studied specific organisations. He propagated the famous “iron law of oligarchy.” Oligarchy meaning rule by the few. In path breaking studies Michels proved that his law was applicable to socialist parties, most organisations and even the Labour party in England.

11.4.2 Elite Theory in the United States of America : C. Wright Mills

Based on these theories originating in Europe, several sociological studies developed in the United States from 1920. They investigated the distribution of power in local communities. Most of them concluded that a small minority of people from either upper or middle class backgrounds were always predominant in a community. The same people repeatedly get nominated to city councils and community bodies. This fact reiterated the concept of a governing elite in local communities, even in a supposedly democratic United States.

C. Wright Mills was the other significant supporter of elite theory. In his famous study, the Power Elite, Mills argued that political leaders were the principal groups that directed the American politics either from the background or sometimes through elected offices.

Mill's theory today is identified as a version of corporatism, a proposition that duly elected representatives have been losing power to other institutional interests such as business and military.

11.4.3 Pluralism

The next most significant theory concerning power in political science has been pluralism. While elitism identifies rule by a minority, pluralism identifies rule by minorities. It is a doctrine of diversity. Its main argument is that most modern forms of government are open and different interests and groups compete for influence.

Robert Dahl, the most noted among pluralists, concluded that ruling elites do not exist and that power manifests itself through a plurality of interests and groups after a careful scrutiny of New Haven city in Connecticut (U.S.A.) By the 1970s, most American political science writers began to approve of pluralism as a desirable and an ideal theory. They also began to see the benefits of pluralism as its fragmented nature means that well informed views receive special weightage. It was also a better version of the democratic principle of one man, one vote and majoritarian rule.

Criticism: However, critics accused the pluralists of excessive emphasis on decision making as non-decisions are ignored by the pluralists. Also a significant minority of the population is too indifferent and alienated to get involved. So increasingly it is argued that the pluralists captured only one aspect of power in western societies.

11.4.4 Power as Coercion : Max Weber

Yet another form of power is coercion. Most rulers face the problem of legitimizing their position into authority. Authority is the right to rule. Relationships of authority are maintained in a hierarchical fashion. The German sociologist Max Weber provided an original analysis of the several bases of authority. He termed them as traditional, charismatic and legal-rational. The first type is **TRADITIONAL**. Weber says, "in traditional authority the present order is viewed as sacred, eternal and inviolable. The dominant person or group, usually defined by heredity, is thought to have been pre-ordained to rule over the rest. The subjects are bound to the ruler by personal dependence and a tradition of loyalty, further reinforced by such cultural beliefs as the "divine right of Kings."

CHARISMATIC authority is Weber's second type. Leaders are obeyed because they inspire their followers. Very often the masses that follow the heroes credit them with exceptional and supernatural qualities. However, the charismatic authority is normally a short lived affair.

LEGAL-RATIONAL is the third type. In this case authority is exercised through principles and obedience is to a government of laws. All modern bureaucracies appear to be authorities of this type.

In Max Weber's own words, thus "power is the chance of a man or of a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action against the resistance of others."

Check Your Progress 1

Note:i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

1) Who is the author of Three Faces of Power?

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2) What does the Elite Theory believe in?

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3) How does Elitism differ from Pluralism?

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11.5 CONTENDING APPROACHES TO POWER

To understand this most significant concept in contemporary political science, at a theoretical plane, three major approaches can be identified. As has already been mentioned, the pluralists or the empirical democratic theorists focus on the fragmented nature of power in a given society; the theorists of corporatism emphasize the significance of extra governmental institutions in determining state's policies and decisions. Despite the changing fortunes of Marxism as an ideology, contemporary Marxists have been working to reconstruct state as a class-state keeping in view the functioning of the Post-Second World War two governments in Western nations. They have succeeded in retaining the link between political power and class power.

11.5.1 Pluralistic Conception of Power

As has already been mentioned in the introduction, to the pluralists, power is the ability to achieve one's aims and objectives, despite opposition. Robert Dahl describes power 'as a reasonable relationship, such as its capacity for acting, in such a manner as to control B's responses.' He also describes it as a "successful attempt by A to get B to do something he would not otherwise do." The notion of power as described and defined by Dahl stresses the subjective element of purpose, willingness and implies a conflictual relationship. The central issue is overcoming B's resistance and in such a case power rests on the exercise of control over immediate events.

Robert Dahl's empirical investigations (mentioned in the Introduction) in the city of New Haven titled *Who Governs* concentrated on discovering the capacity of actors involved in policy making. The project study concluded that the decision making process in the city is pluralist democracy of multiple coalitions. Power is disaggregated and non-cumulative. Several groups spread throughout the society and representing various diverse and competitive interests share power. Such plurality contributes to inequalities of power and also to unequal distribution of wealth, status, education and so on. The conflicts over the power to decide policy outcomes, the manner in which differing interest groups lay claims on the city mayor, ultimately leads to positive policy formulations for the good of the citizenry. That divergent interests competing for power contribute to an equilibrium in democracy and also to favourable policy articulation, becomes the second most critical assumption of American empirical democratic theory. It also stands alongside the individualist and voluntarist notions of power.

11.5.2 American Empirical Democratic Theory or Classical Pluralism

American empirical democratic theory or classical pluralism dates back to the era of James Madison and the Federalist papers. Madison reiterated the Hobbesian assumption that people have a natural desire for power over fellow beings in his Federalist No.10 by stating that "the latent causes of faction aresown in the nature of men." He also identified "unequal distribution of property," as the most

common and durable source of factions. However, contemporary adherents of Madison's arguments radically alter his opinion. Empirical democratic theorists claim that factions are more than the natural counterparts of free association. In the contemporary society, factions assume the shape of interest groups and they are the source of stability and central expression of democracy.

11.5.3 Group Theory

As one of the most articulate among the proponents of democratic theory, Group theorists assert the importance of group interaction for securing equilibrium in American democracy. Power, for group theorists, such as David Truman, is conceived along Weberian lines. But the state is not autonomous like in the Weberian sense nor in the sense of Marx, who considers state's capacity to change as central to society. For the group theorists, State reacts to the purposive exercise of power. Power is fragmented within society. Truman also hopes that out of the competing interests a relative coherent policy will emerge.

Robert Dahl was another Group theorist after David Truman. He assimilates the central concern of Madison about factions considering it as the best expression of DEMOCRACY. Dahl calls it POLYARCHY and argues that competition among various interests ensures the safety of democracy. S.Lukes in his *Power : A Radical View* argues that "the bias of a system is not sustained simply by a series of individually chosen acts, but also most importantly, by the socially structured and culturally patterned behaviour of groups, and practices of institutions." This conception of power as the capacity of individuals to realize their will against resistance, neglects the importance of collective forces and social arrangements. For this reason, the classical pluralists failed to grasp the asymmetries of power - between classes, races, genders, politicians and citizens and thus were responsible for shattering the premises of classical pluralism. The evolution of political groups associated with the New Left also began to alter the political space in the U.S. Political polarization took place in the name of anti-Vietnam war movement, student movement, civil rights movements etc. The new left and its political polarization did not fit into pluralist terms, and consequently the pluralist inadequacies in grasping the nature and distribution of power led to great many difficulties in understanding reality. A great deal of empirical research into understanding power also proved that many groups do not have the resources to compete in the national arena, as the national politics are controlled and manipulated by powerful national and multinational corporations. Acknowledgement of these problems in both conceptual and empirical terms has led to dissolution of classical pluralist theory and emergence of newer and competing schools.

11.5.4 Corporatist Theory

By the late 1970s the empirical democratic theory has been severely criticised by Corporatist theory. At first, both appeared wholly incompatible. In *Leo Panitch's* 1977 essay "The development of Corporatism in liberal democracies" (published in the *Journal of Comparative Political Studies*) he explained that "class harmony and organic unity were essential to society and could be secured if the various functional groups, and especially the organizations of capital and labour, were imbued with a conception of natural rights and obligations somewhat similar to that presumed to have unified the medieval estates." The principle of organic unity is the central idea of corporatism. J.T.Winkler observed that "society is seen as consisting of diverse elements unified into one body, forming one Corpus; hence the word corporatism". Fascist Italy and Nazist Germany were considered the prime examples of European Corporatism.

However, with the emergence of post liberal, advanced capitalist states, that are also organized as well structured democracies and welfare states, a new conceptual variant of Corporatism, namely **SOCIETAL CORPORATISM** evolved. In the words of Philippe Schmitter ('Still the century of corporatism?' *Review of Political Studies*, 1974) contemporary or societal corporatism is "a system of interest representation in which the constituent units are organized into a limited number of singular, compulsory, hierarchically ordered and functionally differentiated categories recognized or licensed (if not created) by the state and granted a deliberate representational monopoly within their respective categories in exchange for observing certain controls on their selection of leaders and articulation of demands and supports."

What caused the rise of Societal Corporatism? Changes in the equilibrium maintained by varying class forces since the 1920s led to decay of pluralism and its displacement by societal Corporatism. (Schmitter) Corporatist theory is a synthesis of central conceptual premises of Marxist and Pluralist theories.

While agreeing with the pluralists that policy outcomes are determined by the competitive claims of interest associations, the Corporatists argue that associations are now **OLIGOPOLISTICALLY** configured. From the Marxists, Corporatists accept the fact that basic class conflicts exist and most activities in state and society are pursued to reproduce class relations. At the same time, the traditional corporatist also preserves the principle of organic unity.

From an empirical point of view, Corporatism, has been successful only in Austria and the Netherlands.

11.6 MARXIST THEORY

In the 1970 and 80s there has been significant revival of interest by Marxist writers in State power. Ralph Miliband highlighted the centrality of state in European and American societies and studied the class-state relations from Marxist perspective and state society relations from pluralist perspective. Miliband opposed the view that State is a neutral arbiter among social interests. He observed the presence of a ruling class in European societies that controls the means of production; the linkages such class has with political parties, military, universities and the media; the commanding position that this class occupies in almost all the matters of State; the social background of civil servants and, their ideological bent of mind meant that the state promotes a 'structure of power and privilege inherent in advanced capitalism' (Miliband).

Nicolas Poulantzas and Michel Foucault were the other prominent modern Marxist thinkers. Poulantzas's major theoretical contribution was with regard to State power. For him, State power is a result of the interaction between the institutional form of the State and the changing character of political class forces.

Power as the capacity to attain class interest

Poulantzas analysis of power and strategies is apparent in *Political Power and Social Classes*. He identified power as the capacity to realize class interest in a specific context and went on to define interests as those that can be considered as a range of feasible class objectives. The emphasis was on the feasibility and achievability of the class objectives. He also emphasized that power is not a fixed quantum. In both *Political Power and Social Classes* and the subsequent work, *State, Power, Socialism* he evolved the argument that State itself is a social relation and that class interests, class power and class strategies are all connected.

Michel Foucault was a French Philosopher and a Historian. His works, Discipline and Punish and The Will to Know deal extensively with the nature of Power in most modern societies.

What did both Foucault and Poulantzas agree on with regard to power?

- a) **Power is relational** that is, Power grows from a combination of circumstances during the evolution of a State.
- b) **Power is productive and positive rather than merely repressive and negative.** Foucault rejected views of power being repressive. Poulantzas viewed the State as a factor of social cohesion in a class-divided society. Thus, State, the central site of power, was an institution with a productive role. State is a balancer of clashing classes and does not deprive power to any class.
- c) **Power causes resistance. Resistance evokes counter-resistance.**
- d) **Rejected the Liberal and Marxist approaches to Power as these approaches subordinate Power to economic functions.**
- e) **Said close links exist between Power and Knowledge.** Concluded that division of knowledge into mental and manual categories create political and ideological class domination.
- f) **Omnipresence of power in all social relations.**
- g) **Understanding of struggles - All social struggles are a form of assertion of power.**

Having studied the areas of agreement between Foucault and Poulantzas regarding Power, we will see areas of disagreement. Poulantzas criticized Foucault for:

- 1) Stating that Power relations are the only supreme thing.
- 2) arguing about dispersion of Powers. He said it is impossible to locate oneself outside the purview of State Power. Popular struggles and Movements impact the State and Power mechanisms.

Nevertheless, together Foucault and Poulantzas treat power as a basic feature of all social relations. By doing so they highlighted the strategic character of power relations and the important role played by different sites of power.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

- ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What did Corporatists understand regarding Power and the State?

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- 2) Who were the two famous neo-Marxists who wrote extensively on Power?

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- 3) State whether the following statements are True or False.

- a) Poulantzas was a Pluralist.
- b) Foucault said "State should wither away."
- c) Poulantzas said "Power and Knowledge are inter-related."
- d) Robert Dahl is the author of **Who Governs?**
- e) American Empirical Democratic theory's origins can be traced to the Federalist Papers.

11.7 LET US SUM UP

In this unit we studied what is meant by Power, its relations with the State and Classes. We also saw how different theorists tried to understand Power relations. We have also read about various aspects of State-Society relations. Karl Marx argued that the State generally, and institutions maintained by bureaucracy in particular, manifest themselves in various forms and constitute a source of power. Max Weber's account of bureaucracy shares similar ideas. While questions of Class, Power, and the State are thus viewed by Marxists, the significance of examining power from a Pluralist perspective is ignored by them. On the other hand, Corporatism has attempted to assimilate interest group behaviour with the State-Society relations as understood by Capitalism. We had also seen the ideas of Social Corporatism which said constituent units are organised according to well ordered hierarchical principles and given representational autonomy in exchange for observing certain controls.

In summary, **power** is not just the capacity of an actor to influence the conduct of others. Power, is used as facility by various agents in society to act within the existing institutions and collectivities to achieve their own objectives. Power is articulated by the government and state personnel in terms of intentions and purposes.

Governing regimes are constrained by the power of dominant groups and also by the principles of parliamentary and democratic systems. Three principal methods determine the power of regimes and State policy: **formal rules** which provide access to governmental power; **institutional arrangements** for policy implementation; and the **ability of the economy** to sustain State policies by providing resources.

11.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Kenneth Boulding - Author of Three Faces of Power.
- 2) Elite Theory presupposes existence of small governing elite and the mass of population over whom the elites rule.

The difference between Elitism and Pluralism is, while Elitism is a rule by a minority, Pluralism is by minority. Pluralism is a doctrine of diversity.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Corporatists believed in the Principle of Organic Unity; various functional groups, the organisations of capital and labor should be conscious of natural rights and obligations to ensure class harmony and organic unity in the society. State should guarantee a representational monopoly to functionally differentiated categories. They have a monopoly to act within the autonomy granted by the State.
- 2) Foucault and Nico(la)s Poulantzas
- 3)
 - a) False
 - b) False
 - c) True
 - d) True
 - e) True



UNIT 12 DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

Structure

- 12.0 Objectives
- 12.1 Introduction
- 12.2 Meaning of Underdevelopment
- 12.3 Classical Capitalist Model of Development
- 12.4 Soviet-Style Socialism
- 12.5 The Chinese Strategy of Development
- 12.6 The Third World Strategies
- 12.7 Let Us Sum Up
- 12.8 Key Words
- 12.9 Some Useful Books
- 12.10 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

12.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit deals with the theory and practice of development and discusses various strategies of development adopted by capitalist, socialist and developing countries. Once you are able to grasp it, you could be in a position to:

- Understand the phenomenon of underdevelopment as distinguished from undevelopment;
- Explain the classical capitalist method of development in the West and Japan;
- Describe the Soviet style socialist model of development and its failure now;
- Follow the trajectory of China's changing strategies of development; and
- Neo-liberal strategy of development based on globalization and privatization.

12.1 INTRODUCTION

You have already studied the nature of comparative study of politics and also the Political Economy Approach to its study. In this unit, an attempt has been made to explain the concept of development and underdevelopment and various strategies of development in a comparative perspective. Liberal writers emphasize the concepts of democracy, nationalism and modernization in this context. But radical and Marxist thinkers prefer to stress the concepts of underdevelopment, dependency and imperialism while discussing development strategies.

12.2 MEANING OF UNDERDEVELOPMENT

The theory of underdevelopment was first propounded by Latin American writers to explain the economic and political backwardness of Latin American societies, which became independent from Spanish or Portuguese rule during the third decade of the 19th century. Despite their political independence for more than 150 years, their democracy, modernization and national state remained underdeveloped and they continued as semi colonial dependencies of imperial countries suffering from retarded economic development..

According to Andre Gunder Frank, underdevelopment of Latin American countries in the past as well as some Afro-Asian countries found themselves after their political decolonisation.

The fact is that underdevelopment, like development, is also a modern phenomenon. The underdevelopment of the colonies, semi colonies and neo-colonies and development of the metropolitan centres of imperialism are related both as parts of the historical process and through the mutual impact they would continue to exercise in the present as well as the future. Paul Baran has argued that underdevelopment is organically and systematically associated with colonisation, political dominance and exploiter-exploited relationship in the economic sphere.

The concept of economic surplus is crucial for the study of development and underdevelopment. Economic surplus may be defined as the actual or potential excess of a social unit's production which may or may not be invested or exploited. In the present context what is important is not the sacrifice of the loser nation in terms of its actual loss of income or wealth or the absolute gain of the recipient country but the contribution to economic surplus accruing to the imperialist country from the colony. It is the loss of present and potential capital for the colony.

While the peripheral societies are denied the development possibilities of this capital, the metropolitan imperial country can use it for its own economic development. The satellite country's contribution may be great or small in quantity, but the associated sacrifice in terms of underdevelopment for the colony, semi colony or neocolony can readily be much larger. While the imperialist gain a pound of flesh, the dependency may lose ten or twenty times more. Thus, the colony may lose resources, its essential irrigation system, or its civilization or even its physical existence. Many Native American tribes and nationalities were wiped out when the Europeans colonized America, through genocide. Thus development and underdevelopment are not the summation only of economic quantities. They are their cumulation and the whole social structure and process which determines that accumulation.

It is obvious that the incorporation of the underdeveloped countries in the international capitalist system keeps them permanently underdeveloped. This contribution of imperialism and capitalism to the underdevelopment of underdeveloped areas continues even now. It is not so much the resources that the United State draws out of Latin America, as it is the use of her economic, political and military power to keep the structure of underdevelopment in these countries in the economic, political, social, cultural and even military spheres.

This structure of underdevelopment imposes on them mass poverty, loss of political freedom, loss of culture, loss of current production, infant mortality, starvation for the disadvantaged groups, disease and epidemics. The continuous drain of potential capital plays a critical role in the economy of all satellite countries as well as the imperialist economy. The drain of wealth from India and other colonies by Britain promoted the growth of de-industrialization in India and its other colonies. The African slave trade benefited European traders and plantation-owners in America but damaged the economies of many countries in West and Central Africa. No wonder that South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa even now have the lowest per capita income in the whole world.

The control exercised by the multinationals or strategic sectors plays a crucial role in preserving the pattern of underdevelopment. One example has been the extraction of mineral resources from underdeveloped countries. Another was extraction of oil and its distribution. Examples may change from time to time. The most critical sector has been that of foreign trade, which is usually controlled by the dominant country in its dependency.

The domination over a sector by the bourgeois class and the state bureaucracy is sufficient to keep a dependency underdeveloped indefinitely and to aggravate its underdevelopment in future. The bourgeois classes of several Afro-Asian and Latin American countries are highly dependent on the economic power of the multinationals and political power of the governments of advanced capitalist countries. The ruling elites of the underdeveloped countries, therefore, have a vested interest in preserving indefinitely the system and pattern of underdevelopment. The supposed independence of many Afro-Asian and Latin American nations is thus a convenient fiction.

12.3 CLASSICAL CAPITALIST MODEL OF DEVELOPMENT

At the dawn of the 21st century, we find capitalism as the dominant model of development which has successfully overcome challenges posed by socialism as an alternative strategy of development. The industrialization of England was the first successful model of capitalist development. This was accomplished between 1760 and 1820. It was based on free enterprise within and monopoly trade in the colonies, often accompanied by direct plunder of the colonial resources. The other countries, which followed this model with some local variations were France, Holland, the United States, Germany, Italy and later Japan.

The political history of capitalist systems has followed neither a simple nor a linear path of development. Capitalist development reflects a contradiction between the requirements of capital accumulation and the needs of political legitimization. This contradiction was sought to be resolved through six different stages of capitalist growth requiring six successive state formations.

According to Alan Wolfe, the *Accumulative State* corresponded to the first wave of capitalism industrialization. It made accumulation its own mechanism of legitimization. Since any means needed to achieve the accumulation of wealth was justified, the Accumulative State was not committed to laissez faire ideologically. It promoted government intervention to define the parameters of the emerging system of production, to preserve discipline among the workers, to adjust macro-economic conditions, to fight colonial wars, to pursue capitalist interests, to provide subsidies to capitalists, and to support miscellaneous eclectic activities.

When the crisis of accumulation grew, Adam Smith and Ricardo talked of the *Harmonious State* and harmony as the essential elements of capitalist production. Freedom of the market, they said, reconciled the interests of the producers with those of the consumers and the interests of the capitalists with those of the workers. This assumption was internally inconsistent, led to Social Darwinism and failed as a legitimization mechanism.

The *Expansionist State* characterized the third phase of capitalist development. Although an imperialist policy of expansion carried out in the interest of finance capital seemed to relieve domestic pressures from the working class, expansionism meant the erosion of classical liberalism. The end of free trade, unrestricted immigration and export of capital to colonies and semi colonies were accompanied by indoctrination and control of workers through education and mass culture. The World War I put an end to this phase of capitalist imperialism.

The *Franchise State* characterized the fourth phase of capitalist development. It tried to regularise conflicts between classes and strata by delegating public power to private bodies. This reflected a pluralist dispersal of power. The capitalist state of 'pluralist democracy' was supposed to give away power, not to exercise it.

This was mystification. The franchise state declined by the end of World War II. Private interest groups failed to regulate themselves effectively. Economic planning in European countries and military spending in the United States led these states to assume enormous powers.

The *Dual State* came into existence during the fifth stage of capitalist development. This state created two parallel structures, one charged with keeping order through repression and the other with presenting a democratic facade. Capitalism at this stage functioned through a diarchy-one arm being the military bureaucratic apparatus and the other arm, more visible to the public eye, constituting the electoral parliamentary mechanism.

The *Trans-national State* characterizes the sixth and present stage of capitalist development which is dominated by the rise of multinational corporations. It is the product of internationalization of capital and globalization of the market. However, this development did not transcend the problems of nation-state because multinational corporations needed government aid in a manner not seen earlier in the history of capitalist development. During this phase, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and now the World Trade Organisation have emerged to regulate the world economy and the world market.

Neo-liberalism with its slogans of globalizations, liberalization and privatization is the new credo of triumphant, transnational capitalism. However, each of the six stages of capitalism have failed to resolve the tensions between the requirements of accumulation and the needs of legitimation. Despite the fall of Soviet-style socialism, late capitalism has yet to prove its rationality as a world-wide strategy for economic growth.

Check Your Progress 1

Note i) Use the space provided below each question to give your answers.

ii) Check your answer with the answer given at the end of the unit.

1) Distinguish between underdevelopment and undevelopment.

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2) Mention any two stages of capitalist development and the corresponding state formation.

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3) Read the following exercise carefully. Which of the following statements are true?

- a) Underdevelopment is lack of development in quantitative terms.
- b) Colonisation is the cause of underdevelopment.
- c) Germany was the first model of capitalist development.

- d) Accumulation is the first and basic characteristic of the capitalist strategy of growth.
 - e) The Franchise state is not based on self-regulation by interest groups.
 - f) The IMF-World Bank role is significant in the strategies of development adopted by the developing countries today.
 - h) The drain of economic surplus is the main cause of underdevelopment.
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12.4 SOVIET-STYLE SOCIALISM

Marxism-Leninism was the official ideology and the guiding strategy of development in the former Soviet Union and other Soviet-style socialist states of eastern and central Europe. It attempted to change the socio-economic basis of the pre-existing system by abolishing the capitalist mode of production itself.

Marxism aimed at the destruction of the capitalist system, through a revolutionary class struggle of the working class in alliance with the oppressed peasantry, culminating in a socialist revolution and dictatorship of the proletariat led by the Communist Party.

However, no advanced country of the west succumbed to a socialist revolution of Marx's vision. Revolution did occur in Russia which was relatively a less developed capitalist country at that time. After the defeat of the Nazi Germany in World War II, Soviet-style socialism, minus collectivization of agriculture, was imposed upon the "People's Democracies" of eastern and central Europe. China and some neighbouring Asian countries and later Cuba also carried out their socialist revolutions.

Socialist systems in the Soviet Union and other allied countries provided for public or state ownership of all major sectors of the economy. Internal and external market was strictly controlled. The Soviet-style economy was based on comprehensive planning of national resources through successive Five Year Plans. All sectors such as industry, agriculture, trade, banking, transport and communications were brought under centralized planning.

Due to international isolation of Soviet Russia, centralized planning emphasized the development of heavy industry such as steel, machines and armaments. The planned economy was free from capitalist-style slumps and recessions and registered a rapid rate of economic growth. The trade agreements were largely restricted to the socialist bloc but after 1960, China was excluded from these, which opted out from the Soviet block of socialist nations.

Agriculture was collectivized in the Soviet Union but not in other East European countries. It formed a smaller sector of the economy but absorbed a relatively larger labour force. The state largely controlled production and distribution of consumer goods. Labour unions were official state agencies and the workers' councils played a limited role in decision-making.

The political system of socialist countries was based on democratic centralism and the dictatorship of a single political party or an alliance of parties led by the

Communist Party. The Marxist-Leninist Party determined the goals and strategy of development. Strong one-party system dictated all interest articulation and aggregation. Discipline and centralization were the guiding principles of industrial management and administration.

Economic surplus was obtained for investment by denying the people necessary consumption goods. All social strata, particularly the peasants, helped the Soviet state to accumulate capital for rapid industrialization. World War II destroyed lives and properties on a huge scale. The Soviet Union and other Socialist countries were denied assistance by the United States under the Marshall Plan for post-war rehabilitation. The Cold War compelled them to allocate large funds for defense.

Despite, threats of invasion from capitalist countries and destruction caused by war, the Soviet Union did succeed in achieving rapid economic growth both in the Stalinist and post-Stalin periods till 1970. Planned socialist economy did enable Soviet Russia to emerge as a second super-power in the world. Soviet style socialism also transformed the relatively backward economies of some east European countries into industrial societies.

Communist China also emulated the Soviet-style economic planning immediately after its successful revolution in 1949 till 1956. Many states in the Third world like India under Nehru, Egypt under Nasser and Indonesia under Soekarno experimented with state capitalism and creation of a larger public sector mainly under Soviet inspiration.

Though the Soviet strategy of economic development could avoid capitalist-style slumps and recessions for a long time, it ultimately succumbed to the evils of stagnation and excessive militarization. Gorbachev tried to reform the Soviet system through glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring) but paved the way for disintegration of the Soviet Union and restoration of capitalism in Russia and other seceding republics. Other countries of Eastern Europe also succumbed to capitalism counter-revolution. This signified the failure of Soviet-style socialism all over Europe.

12.5 THE CHINESE STRATEGY OF DEVELOPMENT

The Chinese model of economic growth is both a study in contrast and comparison with the Soviet-style development. The Soviet Union had a proletarian revolution under Lenin and straightway proceeded towards socialization of its economy through nationalization of its industry, banking, trade, transport and communication. Agriculture was collectivized under Stalin. The centralized, command economy continued, through its successive Five Year Plans, till its final fall in 1991 with the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

Mao Zedong's revolution in China, which took place in 1949, was called 'new-democratic'. It permitted national and petty-bourgeoisie classes to participate in China's economic development till 1954. During this period, a radical land reform was carried out which abolished ownership of land by feudal landlords and redistributed it among the tillers of the soil. Mao, thereafter, favoured a continued revolution towards socialism. As a result, the Chinese peasants were soon regrouped into co-operatives and collectives.

The aims of the First Five Year Plan (1953-1957) were to lay the foundations of a comprehensive industrial structure at a rapid pace. Priority of investment funds (over 50 percent) was given to the capital goods sector. Relatively less importance was given to the growth of the consumer goods. Agriculture was given only 6.2 percent and left largely for private initiative by peasants. The Soviet Union gave the required help in technology and expertise.

According to Ashbook, the Chinese Communists did not start large-scale mechanization of agriculture during the First Five Year Plan period. This was a correct strategy. It was first necessary to expand the industrial base. By the end of the First Five Year Plan period, China had achieved a considerable momentum in economic development.

The Great Leap Forward of 1958 and the Crisis Years of 1958-1961 saw the creation of the Communes and the industrial policy of 'walking on two legs' which meant the simultaneous development of small and large industry and the simultaneous use of indigenous techniques and modern methods.

The 'People's Communes' were not only a new administrative unit, they were also an exercise in agrarian socialism. They arose out of the merger of co-operatives. 90 percent of peasant households were grouped into Communes by September 1958 all over China. The Great Leap Forward, which encouraged the establishment of steel foundries in every town or village, proved an incorrect strategy of economic growth. National calamities such as floods and famine which according to Amartya Sen killed millions of people, withdrawal of Soviet economic assistance and serious organisational problems in the Communes paralysed the Chinese economy during the Crisis Years of 1958-1961. As a result, the Chinese economic growth slowed down considerably. Consequently, a new economic policy was adopted by the Chinese leadership which was described as 'market-socialism'.

The Chinese leadership recognised that the experiment of the 'People's Communes' had failed because it was trying to skip necessary historical stages in development. The Second Five Year Plan period was marked by a serious economic depression in the first three years and a policy of readjustment during the next two years. Then followed three years (1963-65) of further readjustment. This was regarded as a transitional phase between the Second and Third Five Year Plans.

In 1966 China had successfully readjusted its national economy, had overcome serious economic difficulties and had begun implementing its Third Five Year Plan. Just then, Mao Zedong began his "Cultural Revolution". According to Deng Xiaoping, it was not a revolution at all. It was an internal disorder that damaged China's economic development for a decade.

Mao Zedong started the Cultural Revolution to prevent the restoration of capitalism in China. He thought that Party leaders like Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping were 'capitalist roaders' who wanted China to revert to the capitalist past of development. During 1967-68, China's national economy speedily deteriorated in the social chaos created by the Cultural Revolution.

Zhou Enlai continued as Prime Minister and was able to limit the damage to the economy by following pragmatic policies. Post-Mao leadership regards the Cultural Revolution as a period when "Left" mistakes derailed the process of economic development. During this period, national income suffered a loss of 500 billion Yuan, and the living standard of the people declined.

With the passing away of Mao Zedong in 1976 and the suppression of the "gang of four", who were Mao loyalists, power passed in the hands of Deng Xiaoping and the so called "capitalist roaders". The new leadership instituted large scale economic reforms in the direction of what it described as "socialism with Chinese characteristics". In practice, it meant the repudiation of Maoist strategy of development based on early introduction of doctrinaire socialist features in China's economy. It pushed China in the direction of neo-liberal reforms though Deng officially stated that the new strategy of economic growth had no connection with 'bourgeois liberalization.'

The government introduced the "household responsibility system" in agriculture by parceling out the collectively owned land to peasants on a long term lease-hold basis with provisions for the rights of inheritance. This was, in effect, re-introducing privatized agriculture in China through the back-door. However, new system increased agricultural production immensely though it promoted inequality in rural society to some extent. In contrast with Soviet collectivization, family based agriculture in China has proved more productive despite lower level of mechanization.

In the five years between the 12th and the 13th Congress of the Communist Party, China achieved great progress in economic reforms and the opening of the economy to the outside world also began in a big way. Industrial re-structuring was accomplished. Investment in productive and profitable enterprises was increased. Agriculture, energy, resources, transport and communication were given special support. The annual average growth rate of the GNP reached 10 to 11 percent between 1990 and 1999. During this period, China's economy was liberalized and privatized at a rapid pace. This was done through what the Chinese prefer to call "contractual responsibility system" that conferred long lease-hold rights on the recipient of land and property.

China also encouraged investment of foreign capital and gave favourable terms to all foreign investors. Fourteen special zones were created in the coastal provinces where foreign firms were allowed 100 percent equity. Foreign capital entered China in a big way. The Chinese trade also flourished with various foreign countries particularly the United States, Japan and West European countries. Hong Kong and Macao with their capitalist structures have now become parts of China with a guarantee that these will be maintained so for at least 50 years more. Communist China has also promised that Taiwan's capitalist economy will be preserved perpetually whenever it decides to joint the mainland.

In fact, China is rapidly marching towards system, which some critics describe sarcastically as "capitalism with Chinese Characteristics" where social ownership and socialism are increasingly becoming mere legal fictions. The share of the public sector in China's economy has decreased from 96 percent in 1976 to just 26 percent in 2001. Post-Mao development strategy has largely succeeded in making China an industrial giant and also self-sufficient in the agricultural sphere.

The strength of the Chinese strategy of development consists of the following :

- 1) Abolition of land-lordism, the end of the unproductive commune system, establishment of family leasehold farms in agriculture, peasant initiative in rural enterprises encouraged.
- 2) Abolition of mass poverty, promotion of education and removal of illiteracy, wide-spread health services, population control with a single child norm.
- 3) Economic reforms which have almost liberalized the economy and opened it up to the outside world.
- 4) China's policies recognize the importance of market, profitability, competition and integration with the world economy but on its own terms.
- 5) Chinese leadership regards China at the primary stage of socialism and it may take more than a century to complete the transition to socialism.
- 6) China's development strategy should be based on pragmatic considerations. As Deng said, the cat could be white or black, what is important is that it should be able to catch mice.

According to the IMF criteria of Purchasing Power Parity (PPP), China's GDP is second only to that of the United States, surpassing that of Japan which is in the third place.

Check Your Progress 2

Note i) Use space provided below to give your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the answer given at the end of the unit.

1) State three main features of the Soviet development strategy.

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2) Post-Mao development strategy in China differs from the previous one in these respects.

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12.6 THE THIRD WORLD STRATEGIES

The underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and even Latin America tried to follow from 1950 to 1970 what Charles Bettelheim has called the state capitalist model though role of the state in their economies varied from country to country. The purpose was to strengthen the infrastructure and create an independent economic base for which private capital was not forthcoming. The public sector could be as low as 20 percent (Indonesia) or 70 per cent (Algeria).

However, many developing countries did not follow the state capitalist strategy and did not create any sizable public sector. Most of the Latin American countries like Brazil, Argentina and Chile followed the capitalist model in which foreign capital also played a major role, though foreign capital was not absent in the countries which tried to experiment with the mixed economy model such as Mexico. South-East Asian countries also preferred market based strategy of economic growth. Later, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore emerged as the Asian tigers which were Asian showpieces of capitalist development.

According to Paul Baran, the development strategies of the Third World countries show two different kinds of orientations. He maintained that an overwhelming majority of the backward countries are ruled by regimes of a clearly pronounced comprador character and their strategies are also based on what he calls comprador capitalist development. Secondly, he maintained that some underdeveloped countries have governments which have a 'New Deal' orientation such as India, Indonesia, and Burma.

In the first group, he placed the oil-producing countries of the Middle East and Latin America and Afro-Asian and Latin American countries producing valuable

minerals and food-stuffs. Many of these countries are ruled by pro-Western dictators who are constrained to pursue development strategy based on comprador capitalism. Baran's characterization of such regimes as comprador is considered dated and inapplicable now.

In the second group, Baran placed 'New-Deal' type regimes where a nationalist bourgeoisie was in power which, in alliance with other exploited classes, was trying to create an independent economic base for the country's all round development. As the pressure for social liberation was not great in these countries, the governments there adopted the strategy of evolving an indigenous variety of industrial capitalism in which both the public and private sectors would have a co-operative relationship.

However, the New Deal regime is also plagued with certain contradictions. For example, it is unable to offend the landlords and cannot carry out pro-peasant land reform. It cannot interfere with the privileges of the merchants and moneylenders. It is unable to improve the living conditions of the workers, as it cannot antagonize business. Despite its anti-imperialism, it favours foreign capital.

This regime substitutes minor reforms for radical changes, revolutionary words for revolutionary deeds. It is unable to do the battle for industrialisation and unable to mobilize the masses for a decisive assault on the nation's backwardness, poverty, illiteracy or ill-health. The state capitalist model may create new steel plants, set up fertilizer plants, develop hydro-electric power, build oil and gas producing plants etc in the public sector, but the government never nationalizes any private sector industry. However, the private sector is unable to fulfill the role that is expected. Population growth remains unchecked and generally neutralizes economic growth in real terms.

Development strategies based on the state capitalist model have now been rejected almost in all developing countries. Neo-liberal economic reforms advocated by the IMF-World Bank advisers are being implemented at a varying pace almost in all developing countries. The state sector is being dismantled gradually everywhere including India.

China, South Korea, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines and some Latin American countries have achieved considerable success in implementing neo-liberal reforms. In contrast, India is still debating the trickle down effects of its reform programme. With the exception of South Africa, the IMF-World Bank model of growth has not helped the African countries in any appreciable manner. However, the slogans of liberalization, privatization and globalisation have been universally accepted as the guidelines for development by the ruling elites of all developing nations. This is basically a market-oriented, capitalist strategy of economic growth.

Check Your Progress 3

Note i) Use space provided below to give your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Enumerate the basic features of development strategies followed by the Third World countries.

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12.7 LET US SUM UP

Development is one area of study where at the height of the neo-liberal upsurge, it is recognized that governments have a major role to play. Underdevelopment means not just low per capita income but lack of sound structures, missing markets and external constraints. Proper development strategy requires efficient arrangement of the system of production, a human development and human rights approach, and redistributive policies. Development strategies must be oriented towards reduction of inequalities, across the regions within an economy and across the countries in the international economy. The fall of Soviet-style socialism has not proved the ultimate rationality of capitalist, market-oriented economy, which still suffers from mal-distribution of incomes and periodical recessions. Many countries are still underdeveloped.

12.8 KEY WORDS

Underdevelopment : Perverted development caused by imperialist intervention in a dependent economy.

Genocide : Deliberate destruction of a conquered race.

Multinationals : Companies having subsidiary operations in several countries across the globe.

Capitalism : Economic system based on private ownership of the means of production.

Socialism : Economic system based on social or state ownership of the means of production.

Neo-liberalism : New liberal approach promoting free enterprise and free trade all over the world.

Marxism-Leninism : The official ideology of the former Soviet Union and Communist China presenting a socialist model of development.

Capitalist Roaders : China's leaders such as Deng Xiaoping who, according to Mao Zedong were trying to restore capitalism in China.

Purchasing Power Parity : A method of calculating the GDP in accordance with the purchasing capacity of a national currency.

12.9 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Asirvatham, E. & Misra, K.K. 2001, *Political Theory*, Chapters 12, 13 & 14, S. Chand & Company, New Delhi.

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Kay, Geoffrey, 1975 *Development and Underdevelopment - A Marxist Analysis*, Macmillan Press, London.

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Misra, K.K. & Iyengar, Kalpana M., 1988 *Modern Political Theory*, Part III Chapters, 5, 6, 12, 13, S. Chand & Company, New Delhi.

12.10 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Underdevelopment is a kind of defective development caused by capitalism and imperialism but undevelopment is the historical condition that existed before industrialisation in a country not exploited by imperialism. India in 1947 was underdeveloped but Japan in 1868 was undeveloped.
- 2) Any two of the following six:
 - 1) Accumulation (Accumulative State),
 - 2) Harmony (Harmonious State)
 - 3) Pluralism (Franchise State),
 - 4) Expansion (Expansionist State),
 - 5) Dualism (Dual State) and
 - 6) Multinationals (Transnational State).
- 3) (a) False, (b) True, (c) False, (d) True, (e) False, (f) True, (g) True, (h) True

Check Your Progress 2

- 1)
 - 1) Centralized Economic Planning
 - 2) Nationalization of Industry, Trade, Banking, Transport and Communication.
 - 3) Collectivization of Agriculture
- 2)

Mao's Strategy	Post-Mao Strategy
Collectivization of Agriculture	Family Farms
People's Communes	Abolition of Communes
Dominance of State Sector	Phased Privatization
Opposition to Foreign Capital	Foreign Capital Welcome
Doctrinaire Socialism	Neo-liberal Reforms

Check Your Progress 3

Development strategies followed by the Third World countries were not exactly uniform.

- 1) Some countries like India, Egypt and Algeria followed the state capitalism model and created a state sector of economy.
- 2) But a private sector, which co-existed with public sector, was also encouraged to make its contribution to economic growth.

- 3) Brazil, Argentina, South Korea, Singapore etc. adopted market-oriented strategy of growth from the very beginning.
- 4) Foreign capital was invited in both types of the developing countries, though it preferred to go to market-oriented economies.
- 5) Some countries like Cambodia, North Korea and Cuba emulated a socialist strategy of development.
- 6) All developing countries after 1970 gradually came under the influence of the International Monetary Fund-World Bank guidelines as they faced foreign exchange crises one after another.
- 7) Neo-liberal economic reforms were carried out in phases but at a varying pace in all developing countries including China.
- 8) Neo-liberalism promotes globalization of the Third World economies on the basis of free trade and free enterprise as far as possible.
- 9) All developing countries are striving to combine economic growth with human development and redistributive justice.
- 10) In practice, their development strategies have magnified social inequalities with the exception of a few socialist countries like China, Viet Nam and Cuba.



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UNIT 13 MODES OF CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL REGIMES

Structure

- 13.0 Objectives
- 13.1 Introduction
- 13.2 Problems of Classification
- 13.3 Classification in Ancient Period
 - 13.3.1 Aristotle's Classification
 - 13.3.2 Extension of Aristotle's Classification
- 13.4 Modern Classification
- 13.5 Contemporary Classification
- 13.6 Division of Power as the Basis of Classification
 - 13.6.1 Unitary Government
 - 13.6.2 Federal Government
- 13.7 Legislative-Executive Relationship as the Basis of Classification
 - 13.7.1 Parliamentary Government
 - 13.7.2 Presidential Government
- 13.8 Let Us Sum Up
- 13.9 Key Words
- 13.10 Some Useful Books
- 13.11 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

13.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit deals with the modes of classification of states and governments in historical and comparative perspectives. After going through this unit, you should be able to:

- identify the different models of classification of political regimes;
- describe the bases and principles adopted from time to time to classify the political regimes;
- identify the problems in arriving at a universal mode of classification of political regimes;
- describe the changing patterns of classification; and
- describe different forms of democratic government.

13.1 INTRODUCTION

The classification of political regimes is as old as the study of politics itself. Beginning from the 4th Century BC onwards, there have been numerous attempts to classify the regimes, define the concepts, and specify the basis of classification. During the Greek period, the basis of classification was very limited and revolved around the number of rulers and quality of rule. In the medieval ages, attempts were made by Bodin, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Kant, etc. to improve upon the Aristotelian classification but they could not carry farther. New modes of classification emerged with the rise of modern nation-state. The American and French revolutions gave a blow to monarchy and brought about the republican and democratic forms. They also clearly demarcated the different organs of the government viz. legislature, executive, judiciary. The American Constitution clarified the concept of federation, separation of powers and introduced the presidential form of government. Political scientists adopted modern forms of classifications which categorised government into Limited Monarchy, Democratic Republic, Parliamentary, Presidential, Unitary and Federal.

Further refinements in the classification of governments and regimes became necessary in the post-Second World War period. This was necessitated by the emergence of a number of post colonial societies as sovereign independent states and the establishment of communist/socialist states. Today, there is a great variety of governments in the twentieth century but it is difficult to reach any universal classification of political regimes. Let us first identify some of the problems of classification of political regimes and then proceed to examine modes of classification adopted by political thinkers from time to time.

13.2 PROBLEMS OF CLASSIFICATION

Classification of the political regimes is primarily an attempt to pinpoint the most important elements of the political system from the least important. Classification presupposes a comparative approach; it is to identify the group of like with like to allow for significant comparisons and thereby increase our understanding. The classification scheme may point to the inter-relations between different variables i.e., the connection between the type of political regime. The socio-economic structure is an important factor in this respect. The number of typologies is very wide and the choice will depend upon the type of variables that are being considered and more importantly, the nature of the questions being asked.

It is important to remember that classification depends on what aspect of the political regime one wishes to isolate and emphasise. Therefore, there can be no one scheme of classification that is suitable for all purposes. It is important to ask question— what is the purpose of a particular scheme of classification? Although one's conclusion can only be tentative, the mark of good classification is simplicity.

The aim of classification is simplicity, though even here there are a number of difficulties. First, there is the problem of defining the concepts being used. For example, the meaning of liberty may be different in America and Russia. Secondly, the political institutions with the same level may perform similar functions in different political systems. For example, the British monarchy has similar political functions as those of the West German President. The French President has more powers than that of USA. Again, classification is sometimes used to praise or condemn a particular regime. Regimes are labelled democratic or autocratic not only simply to describe but also indicate preferences.

13.3 CLASSIFICATION IN ANCIENT PERIOD

13.3.1 Aristotle's Classification

The tradition of classification of political regimes goes back to the Greek city states in the 4th century BC. A systematic study of the classification of constitutions was undertaken by Aristotle though Herodotus and Plato before him had also tried to classify the regimes. Herodotus divided the states into three categories : Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy. Plato in his book *Republic* mentions about five types of states, namely, Ideocracy, Timocracy, Oligarchy, Democracy and Tyranny. However, the novelty of Aristotle lays in the fact that he based his classification on the investigation of 158 Constitutions existing in his day and offered a scientific and generally acceptable classification of Constitutions. In his book *Politics*, Aristotle divided the Constitutions into two classes; good and bad or true and perverted, and in each of these two categories, he found three types according to whether the government was in the hands of one, few or many. By applying the two bases of quality (i.e. whether the regime is good or bad) and quantity (i.e. the number of persons), Aristotle provided six

types of Constitutions : three good - Monarchy, Aristocracy and Polity respectively in the hands of one, few and many, and three bad - Tyranny, Oligarchy and Democracy respectively in the hands of one, few and many. His classification can be better understood from the following table.

Aristotle's Classification

Number of Ruler(s)	Normal Form	Perverted Form
One	Monarchy	Tyranny
Few	Aristocracy	Oligarchy
Many	Polity	Democracy

According to Aristotle, monarchy is the rule of one person with supreme virtue as its guiding principle; its perverted form is tyranny that represents force, deceit, selfishness and like. Aristocracy was described as rule of few representing the mixture of virtue and wealth and its perverted form as oligarchy which represented greed for wealth. Finally, there is the polity as the rule of many representing martial and medium virtues, power resting with the middle class people only, whose perverted form is democracy that represents the principle of equality without discrimination with power vested in the hands of numerous poor.

A prominent feature of Aristotle's classification and political analysis is that no form of state remains static for ever. All the states pass through a cycle of revolutions. Every form degenerates over a period of time giving place to a new one. Thus a state began with the best form of government i.e. rule of one man who is supremely virtuous but over a period of time, this gave way to tyranny. But the tyrant would meet one day the opposition of a body who would depose him and rule in his stead. This was aristocracy. Again the spirit of aristocracy would degenerate one day into oligarchy into the rule of the many that is polity. But polity would easily become license and anarchy; the rule of many cannot help negation of the rule. Out of this darkness then again will rise one virtuous man. The cycle thus complete will begin once again.

Aristotle's main concern was to find out the conditions under which the states - whether normal or perverted - may enjoy stability. He held that the underlying cause of political strife and hence of revolution was inequality. Consequently, for him, the best state would have a form of constitutional government in which all citizens have access to at least some offices whereby they rule as well as are ruled - a constitution which in practice blends democratic and oligarchic features and in which the middle class is in control. For if the middle class - those who are neither rich nor poor and are sufficiently numerous was to hold the balance of power, then the state will enjoy greater stability. This form of government was found in **Polity**. It was the golden mean between the ideals of monarchy and aristocracy which is difficult to obtain and sustain and perversions of tyranny, oligarchy and democracy which are undesirable.

The lesson which we learn from Aristotle's classification is that all citizens have one common object, i.e., the safety of their association and for this everything must be sacrificed to maintain a constitution which is the basis of that safety. Hence any action on the part of the citizens outside the bounds of the constitution should not be tolerated. Also history has supplied many illustrations of a cycle of deterioration and revolutions. Nevertheless, Aristotle's classification has been abandoned because it is not applicable to the modern political conditions. For example, it is no longer useful to employ the term monarchy to describe a modern democratic state. Also the term democracy applies to so many modern states that it no longer helps us to a division of them.

13.3.2 Extension of Aristotle's Classification

In sixteenth century, Bodin pushed Aristotle's classification further. Although he was still primarily interested in identifying the best constitution, he insisted that the type of government depended on economic and geographical as well as political factors. He also emphasised the legal sovereignty, a concept which became the hallmark of political science. Another French philosopher Montesquieu in the eighteenth century produced one of the most favoured scheme of classifying governments : Republican, Monarchical and Despotic. His classification was firmly in the classical mould since the type of government depended on the number of people holding power. In Montensquieu there was an important recognition of the relationship between the type of government and the type of society. He suggested that education, morals, patriotism, and the level of economic equality - all help to determine the type of government and the most important variant is the extent of the state's territory. Rousseau, a few years later, classified the forms of government into three - Autocratic, Aristocratic and Democratic - but he held that there was only one form of state, namely, Republic. Kant saw three kinds of states corresponding to Rousseau's three forms of government but only two forms of government - Republican and Despotic. In our own time, a modern German writer, Bluntschli attempted to extend Aristotle's tripe division by adding to it a fourth type of state which he called Ideocracy or Theocracy in which the supreme ruler is conceived to be God or some superhuman spirit or idea. However, such classifications carry us no farther in our endeavour to classify states according to real and existing likeness and differences. For this we must seek our answers somewhere else.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use space provided below each question to write your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the short model answers given at the end of the unit.

1) Describe the basis on which Aristotle classified states.

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2) Describe different types of states as classified by Aristotle with their characteristics.

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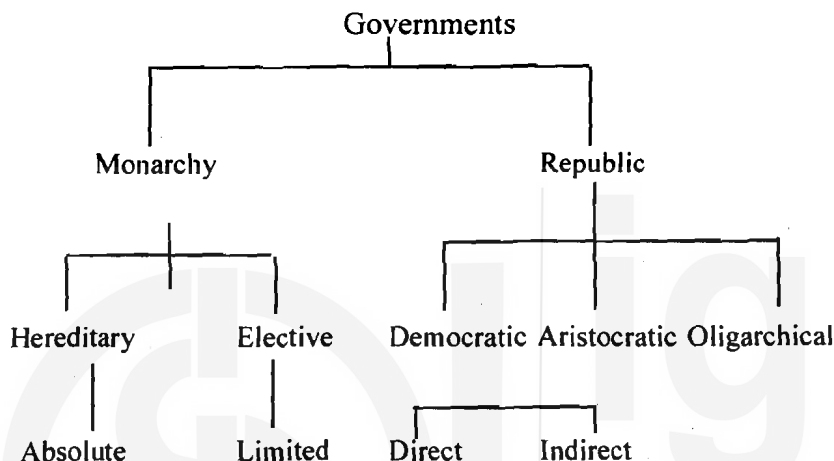
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13.4 MODERN CLASSIFICATION

With the rise of sovereign nation-state, evolution of liberal-constitutional-democratic state, formation of American federation during eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, etc. the old classification of political regimes lost its relevance. The new developments changed the basis of classification dramatically. The new modes of classification which emerged were based upon the nature of constitution, concentration or distribution of power within the state, relation of the executive with the legislature, nature and extent of civil liberties, degree of

public participation or the role of ideology. However, we must keep in mind one important factor, that is that the totality of power of all the states is the same. In other words, every state is a sovereign state; the only manner in which states can be classified is according to the structural peculiarities of the governmental organisation.

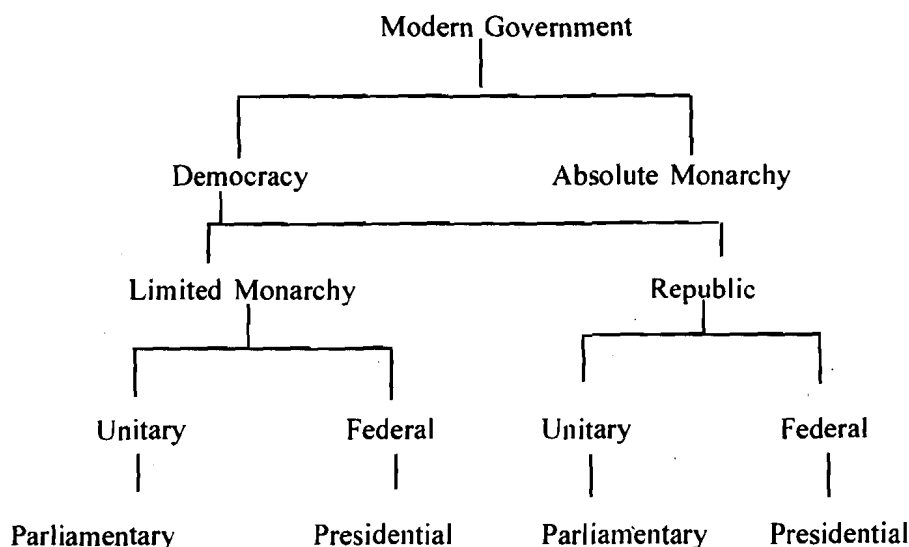
In the context of sovereign state and its structures, attempts have been made by innumerable writers to classify the political organisations from time to time. For example, Jellenick, a German writer classified political regimes into two broad categories: monarchical and republican. He further divided monarchy into hereditary and elective with absolute and limited forms, and republic into three forms - democratic, aristocratic and oligarchic. Finally, he described democratic variety having direct and indirect forms. This can be shown through a table:



Another writer Burgess presented his classification based upon four distinct principles and tried to place several forms of government into those categories. The four principles and the forms of government were :

- identity or non identity with state and government- primary and representative,
- tenure of executive- hereditary or elective
- relationship between executive and legislature-parliamentary or presidential, and
- concentration and distribution of power- unitary and federal.

Leacock presented the forms of government in a simplified form which can be understood by the following table:



F.C. Strong, another important writer of this century has offered his own classification. He suggested five heads under which modern constitutional states could be divided with specific types of governments. The model of Strong is as follows:

Grounds of Division	First Type	Second Type
1. The nature of the state to which the constitution applies	Unitary	Federal
2. The nature of the Constitution itself	flexible (not necessarily written)	Rigid (not necessarily fully written)
3. The nature of legislature	i) Adult suffrage ii) Single member constituency iii) Non elective second chamber iv) Direct popular check	i) Qualified adult suffrage ii) Multi member constituency iii) Elective or partially second chamber iv) Absence of such checks
4. The nature of the executive	Parliamentary	Presidential
5. The nature of the judiciary	Subject to Rule of Law (in Common Law States)	Under Administrative Law (in Prerogative States)

From the above models of classification, we can draw certain conclusions. Firstly, although numerous models have been identified, there is no consensus on a universal and scientific classification. Secondly, all identified models are based upon the institutions of state, government and its organs such as legislature, executive and judiciary, constitution, law, and political organisation. The socio-economic, historical and cultural factors affecting the political system were not taken into consideration. Thirdly, and most importantly, these classifications were exclusively influenced by the type of state institutions which developed in Europe and America. The political systems of Asia, Africa or Latin America were completely ignored. It was only after the Second World War, when these countries got independence from the colonial rule, it was found that their political systems could not be accommodated within the above models. Hence the need was felt to create new models of classification.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use space provided below each question to write your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the short model answers given at the end of the unit.

1) Briefly describe the different forms of governments in Leacock's classification.

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- 2) List the chief characteristics of modern classification of governments.

- a.....
b.....
c.....

13.5 CONTEMPORARY CLASSIFICATION

As explained above, the modern classification was primarily based upon liberal democratic governments as developed in Europe and North America during nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, after the second world war, new types of political regimes emerged at two levels:

- 1) a host of post-colonial states which got independence from the imperialist powers in which the liberal democratic institutions had not evolved, which were economically underdeveloped and had diverse cultural, social institutions and political structures, and
- 2) emergence of a communist/socialist bloc of states whose objective was the building of a socialist society (in contrast to the liberal capitalist society of the West) and which had different conceptions of democracy, parliament, party system, federalism and political powers.

These factors compelled political scientists to evolve new models of classification which would encompass the variety of political regimes that evolved in the post-war period. The lead in this direction was taken by a number of American political scientists who tried to create a classification which could suit the changed circumstances. They tried to integrate the political institutions with development and modernisation. Consequently, they gave new basis for classification such as industrialisation, urbanisation, technological development, level of education, commerce, cultural and social achievements and communication network. In the past forty years several prominent political scientists, such as Edward Shils, Kautsky, David Apter, Almond and Powell, Robert Dahl, David Easton, Jean Blondel, Allan Ball, etc. have studied and classified political regimes. Let us examine some of these.

Edward Shils in his book *Political Development* in New States presented a five-fold classification of modern political systems:

- i) Political democracy as in Britain and USA,
- ii) Tutelary democracy - states which are not democratic but try to copy the ways of political democracy,
- iii) Modernising oligarchy - states where the power is in the hands of a few civilians who rule with the help of armed forces or vice-versa,
- iv) Totalitarian oligarchy of either Communist or Fascist type, and
- v) Traditional Oligarchy - states which are ruled by dynastic rulers and are associated with traditional religious beliefs.

David Apter has laid emphasis on the developing societies. He talks about the type of government they have and the value system they have inherited. In this context he talks about three types of political systems:

- i) Modernising autocracy,
- ii) Military oligarchy, or
- iii) Some patterns of both.

S.E. Finer evolved certain new basis for his mode of classification. According to him, in all the political systems, the essence is that a few rule over the many i.e. those who formulate policies and implement them are very few. In this context, he talks about three types of political systems :

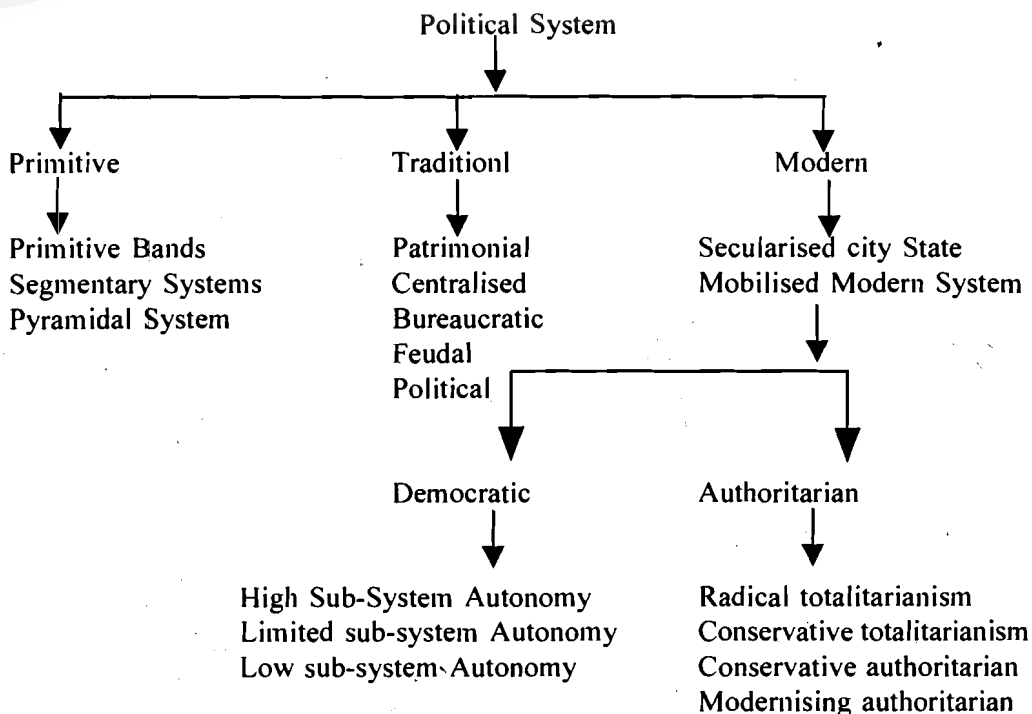
- i) Liberal-democratic such as the liberal-capitalist states of Europe and America,
- ii) Totalitarian system such as prevalent in the communist states,
- iii) Autocracies and oligarchies, i.e. the political systems in which the political activity of the military is persistent. These are the systems which are neither liberal democratic nor totalitarian. These are prevalent in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America where the military is the decisive factor and is an independent political factor, often a decisive factor.

Jean Blondel provides a triple basis for his model of classification of political systems:

- i) Nature of political system,
- ii) Social philosophy and policies, and
- iii) Political ideology and the autonomy of the sub-systems.

On this basis, he classifies two types of political systems under each category:
a) Monarchy and Democracy, b) Traditional and Modern, and c) Liberal and Totalitarian.

Almond and Powell have also given a triple classification of political systems based upon structural differences and functions, and cultural secularisation. They are : a) Primitive, b) Traditional, and c) Modern. The primitive system based upon tribal rule could be of three types : primitive bands, segmentary system or the pyramidal systems, The traditional political systems can also be divided into three categories : patrimonial system, centralised bureaucratic systems and feudal political systems. These are the types of systems based primarily on agriculture, dominated by clergy and feudal lords and lack of industrialisation. The mobilised modern systems are those based upon **structuralisation** as well as cultural secularisation. They can be democratic as well as authoritarian. We can understand Almond's classification through the following table.



Almond and Powell have also classified the political systems on the basis of political culture. Depending upon the nature of allegiance, apathy or alienation of the people towards the political system, the political culture can be of three types: parochial, subjective or participative. On this basis, they classified four types of political regimes : i) Anglo American, ii) Continental European, iii) Non Western, and iv) Totalitarian.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use space provided below each question to write your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the short model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) The twin factors which led to the emergence of contemporary classification system are :

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- 2) Describe the basis and classification of governments as given by S.E. Finer and Jean Blondel.

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13.6 DIVISION OF POWER AS THE BASIS OF CLASSIFICATION

As explained above, modern political regimes are classified on the basis of territorial distribution of powers also, i.e. how the powers of the government are distributed between the centre and the various administrative regions. On this basis we can identify: Unitary and Federal, the salient features of which are discussed below.

13.6.1 Unitary Government

A political regime in which the entire power is centralised in one government is a unitary government. It is based on the principle of geographical centralisation of power. The supreme authority is concentrated in a single organ or a set of organs established at and operating from a common centre. According to Finer, a unitary government is one in which all the authority and powers are lodged in a single centre whose will and agents are legally omnipotent over the whole area.

Similarly, according to Blondel, 'in a unitary state, only the central body is legally independent and other authorities are subordinate to the central government.' The essence of a unitary state is that the sovereignty is undivided.

The Constitution of a unitary state does not admit any other law-making body. It can legislate on all subjects and administer them without reservation. It does not, however, mean that the government can take arbitrary decisions. Even in a unitary state system, the country is divided into several provinces for the sake of administration but what is important to remember is that they do not enjoy any autonomy. The powers of the provinces are delegated from the centre which can be taken away whenever desired by the centre. Thus the two essential qualities of the unitary state are : the supremacy of the central parliament, and absence of subsidiary sovereign bodies.

13.6.2 Federal Government

Federalism is a form of government where the powers are distributed between the central and provincial governments and both have their separate and well defined areas of authority. Here, the totality of government power is divided and distributed by the national constitution between a central government and those of the individual states.

A federal government has an agreement and there are certain essential features that ensure its proper working. They are : i) a written constitution, ii) division of powers, and iii) independence of judiciary.

Firstly, the federal government is the creation of agreement which takes place as a result of a constitution in which the powers of the federal government and the federating units and the details of their rights are listed. This constitution is expected to be written and rigid enough so that neither centre nor the federating units may change it at their own will. Also the constitution is sovereign in the sense that both centre and the units are subordinate to it.

Secondly, an indispensable quality of the federal government is the distribution of powers of government between central government and the federating units. Normally, the subjects of national importance such as defence, foreign affairs, railways, communications, finance are entrusted to the central government whereas subjects like education, health, agriculture etc. are looked after by the provincial units. The powers may also be distributed in one of the two ways: either the constitution states the powers that the federal authority shall have and leave the remainder to the units, or it states those powers the federating units shall possess and leave the remainder to the federal authority. For example, in the American federation the constitution defines the powers of the federal authority and leaves the rest to the federating units. In Canada, it is the reverse i.e. the constitution prescribes only the powers of the federating units and leave the rest to the central government. However, in India both the powers of the centre and the units have been listed.

Thirdly, there should be an independent institution to settle the disputes with regard to the jurisdiction of the centre and the units and among the units. Such an institution can only be the Supreme Court whose function is to see that the constitution is respected in so far as it distributes the governmental powers between the contracting parties and the federal authority ***which by their contract they establish authority to run the administration.*** In a completely federalised state, this court is absolutely supreme in its power to decide in cases of conflict between the federal authority and the state authorities.

Check Your Progress 4

Note:i) Use space provided below each question to write your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the short model answers given at the end of the unit.

1) The two essential characteristics of a unitary state are:

- a)
- b)

2) The essential features of a federal state are:

- a)
- b)
- c)

13.7 LEGISLATIVE-EXECUTIVE RELATIONSHIP AS THE BASIS OF CLASSIFICATION

Political regimes have also been classified on the basis of the relationship between the legislature and executive departments of the government. In this context, historically two forms have been popular: one in which the legislature and executive work together and the executive is responsible to the legislature for all its acts, and two in which they work separately within their own defined spheres. While the former is called Parliamentary form, the latter is known as Presidential form of government.

13.7.1 Parliamentary Government

The parliamentary form of government is the result of historical evolution in Great Britain. It is also known as 'Cabinet government', or even 'Prime Ministerial government'. The chief characteristic of this type of government is that the executive is a part of the legislature and is responsible to it for all its policies and acts.

There are two types of executive in the parliamentary government : nominal and the real. The head of the state is the nominal head whose functions are chiefly formal and ceremonial and whose political influence is limited. This head of the state may be a monarch or a president. The real executive is the Prime Minister who together with his cabinet is a part of the legislature, selected by the members of the legislature and can be removed by the legislature through a motion of 'no confidence'. The real executive is responsible for the formulation of policies. It performs all the administrative functions in the name of the titular head.

13.7.2 Presidential Government

The presidential system is based upon the doctrine of separation of powers. It means that the legislature and the executive are kept apart. According to Garner, it is a system of government in which the executive (including both the head of the state and his ministries) is constitutionally independent of legislature in respect to the duration of its tenure and not responsible to the legislature for its political policies. The chief executive is the real executive as well as the head of the government. He is elected by the people for a definite period. Since the executive is not a part of the legislature it cannot be removed from the office by

the legislature except through the legal process of impeachment. The executive cannot dissolve the legislature nor can it call for a general election. Usually the executive and the legislature are elected for fixed terms.

However, in order to keep the three organs of the government interconnected, a device of checks and balances is adopted so that the President may not become a dictator. Constitutional devices are invented so that each organ acts as a check on the other two organs and thereby act as a sort of balancer to the others. This form of government evolved in the United States of America and was later adopted by many countries of Latin America and Europe with some modifications.

Check Your Progress 5

Note: i) Use space provided below each question to write your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the short model answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) How does the legislature check executive excesses in a parliamentary form of government?

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- 2) How does Presidential form of government differs from the Parliamentary government?.

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13.8 LET US SUM UP

The classification of political regimes is as old as the study of politics itself. As we saw, numerous attempts have been made to classify the regimes, define the concepts, specify the basis of classification. During the Greek period, the basis of classification was very limited and revolved around the number of rulers and quality of rule. In the medieval ages, attempts were made by Bodin, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Kant, etc. to improve upon the Aristotelian classification but they could not carry farther.

The second classification came on the scene with the rise of modern nation-state. The American and French revolutions gave a blow to monarchy and brought about the republican and democratic forms. They also clearly demarcated the different organs of the government viz. legislature, executive, judiciary. The American Constitution clarified the concept of federation, separation of powers and introduced the presidential form of government. Jellinick, Burgess, Marriot, Leacock, M.C. Strong, etc. adopted modern forms of classifications which categorised government into Limited Monarchy, Democratic Republic, Parliamentary, Presidential, Unitary and Federal. But such a classification was based upon the institutions of state and governments developed in Europe and America. After the second world war, a host of colonial countries got independence. They had diverse political structures. A number of communist/socialist states that came into being around this time had different notions of democracy, political parties, parliament, etc. These developments led to a number of new classifications ranging from primitive and traditional forms of

governments to modern liberal and totalitarian ones. These classifications were devised by writers like Edward Shils, David Apter, Almond and Powell, David Easton, etc. Thus there is a great variety of governments in the twentieth century but it is difficult to reach any universal classification of political regimes.

13.9 KEY WORDS

- Monarchy** : A form of political regime in which the supreme and final authority is in the hands of a single person wearing a crown, irrespective of the fact that his office is hereditary or elective. It is the will of one person which ultimately prevails in all matters of government.
- Aristocracy** : It is a form of political regime by the best citizens. It is a form of government in which relatively small proportion of people determine the policies. It can be a combination of priests, soldiers, professionals, landowners, men of wealth of all or a few of them. In aristocracy, power is exercised by a few.
- Democracy** : It is difficult to define democracy in a few words. It is a form of government in which the power is ultimately vested in the people. It is associated with high level of political participation by the people, provision of civil and political liberties, and meaningful and extensive competition among the citizens and groups for political power.
- Authoritarianism** : A form of government which is opposed to democracy. Here, the authority is vested in the hands of a dictator, a military junta or an absolute monarch. The ruler is not accountable to the people nor he is bound by any constitution.
- Totalitarianism** : Believes in the totalist ideology, a single party state, a secret police, overall control and a government monopoly over the economic, cultural and information structure of the society. There is no difference between the state and the society.

13.10 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Ball, A.R., 1971, *Modern Politics and Government*, Macmillan, London.

Blondel, Jean, 1970, *Comparative Government : A Reader*, Macmillan, London.

Gabriel and Powell, 1964, *Comparative Politics : A Developmental Approach*, Vakils, Jeffers and Simons.

Gena, C.B., 1978, *Comparative Politics and Political*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi.

Robert Dahl, 1964, *Modern Political Analysis*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey,

13.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Aristotle applied two basis for classification: Quality and Quantity. By quality he meant whether a regime is true or perverted, that is, whether the rulers ruled for the welfare of the people or served their own vested interests. By quantity, he meant the number of persons i.e. whether a government is ruled by one, few or many. By applying these two basis, Aristotle identified six types of governments.
- 2) Aristotle's classification provides six types of governments - three normal and three perverted. Monarchy is the rule of one person with supreme virtue. Its perverted form is tyranny where the ruler is the symbol of force, deceit, and selfishness. Aristocracy is the rule of few representing a mixture of virtue and wealth. Oligarchy, on the other hand, represents greed for wealth only. Polity is a rule of many representing martial and medium virtues, and power resting with the middle class people. While its perverted form i.e. democracy represents the principle of equality without discrimination with power vested in the hands of numerous poor.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) According to Leacock modern governments can be classified as Democratic or Absolute Monarchy. The Democratic state can be divided into Limited Monarchy and a Republic. On the basis of the relation with the executive and the legislature, and the concentration or distribution of power within the states, the limited monarchy and the republic can be further classified as unitary or federal and parliamentary or presidential. For example, India is a republic, it is parliamentary democracy and a federal government while England is limited monarchy, unitary and parliamentary democracy.
- 2) They are the result of the rise of sovereign nation-state, evolution of liberal constitutional democratic states in Europe and America. They are based upon the nature of the constitution, concentration or distribution of power within the state, relation of the executive with the legislature, nature and extent of civil liberties, and degree of public participation. There is no agreement on a universal or scientific classification. All modern classification are based on the institutions of state, government and its organs.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) In the post Second World War period, a large number of countries having diverse cultural and social and political structures emerged as sovereign states. Some of them had different notions of democracy, parliament, party system, federalism etc. These factors led political scientist, the writers to evolve new models of classification which would cover the post-colonial states.
- 2) Finer's basis is that in all political regimes, a few rule over the many. On this basis he identified three types of political systems: i) liberal democratic such as in liberal capitalist countries of Europe and America, ii) totalitarian systems such as prevalent in the communist states of USSR, China, Cuba etc. and the iii) autocracies and oligarchies such as regimes in some countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America where military or the traditional authorities are the decisive factors.

Blondel provides three basis for his model of classification: i) nature of political system, ii) social philosophy and policies and iii) political ideology and the autonomy of the sub system. On the basis, he classifies two types of political systems under each category. Depending upon the nature of political system, the government can be monarchy or democracy; its social philosophy and policies can be traditional or modern, and its political ideology can be liberal or totalitarian.

Check Your Progress 4

- 1) Supremacy of the central parliament, and absence of subsidiary sovereign bodies.
- 2) A written constitution, division of powers between the central government and the federating units, and an independent judiciary to disputes between the central government and the federating units or among the federating units.

Check Your Progress 5

- 1) The executive is a part of the legislature and is immediately and legally responsible to the legislature for its policies. The legislature can remove the government (i.e. the executive) through a motion of 'no confidence' in it, and can compel the executive to dissolve the parliament and go for fresh elections.
- 2) The presidential government is a system of government in which the executive (head of the state and his ministers) is constitutionally independent of legislature in respect of duration of its tenure and is not responsible to it for policies. Since the executive is not a part of the legislature and cannot be removed from the office except through impeachment. Executive and legislature are elected for fixed terms and are governed by the constitution. The system works on the theory of 'checks and balances'.

UNIT 14 DEMOCRATIC AND AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES

Structure

- 14.0 Objectives
- 14.1 Introduction
- 14.2 Government, Political System and Political Regime
- 14.3 The Purpose of the Classification of Political Regimes
- 14.4 Evolution of Democratic Regimes
- 14.5 Democratic Regimes in the Developed States
- 14.6 Democratic Regimes and the Developing States
- 14.7 The Nature of Authoritarian Regimes
 - 14.7.1 Characteristics of Authoritarian Regimes
 - 14.7.2 Authoritarian Regimes in the post-Second World War Period
- 14.8 Let Us Sum Up
- 14.9 Some Useful Books
- 14.10 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

14.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit examines contemporary democratic and authoritarian forms of government, a broad classification of political systems/regimes that has been adopted since the inter-War period. After going through this unit, you should be able to:

- distinguish the terms government, political system and political regime;
- explain the evolution of democratic regimes;
- analyse the nature, forms and characteristics of modern democratic regimes;
- identify the features of authoritarian regimes; and
- analyse the forms of authoritarian regimes established in the post-Second World War period.

14.1 INTRODUCTION

As we saw in the last unit, classification as well as characterisation of the various forms of political regimes began with Aristotle, the Greek philosopher of 4th century BC. In his attempts to describe the political regimes then in existence, he coined the terms 'democracy', 'oligarchy' and 'tyranny'. Comparative political theorists working in the context of modern nation states continue to use these terms to describe modern political regimes.

Contemporary political systems/regimes are broadly categorised as democratic or authoritarian. As we shall see, this categorisation was a response to the events of historical significance in the 20th century-the emergence of Stalinist Russia, Fascist Italy and Spain and Nazi Germany. Before we proceed to examine the nature and evolution of modern democratic and authoritarian forms of government, it is necessary to address to a theoretical issue of critical significance. This relates to the different connotations of the terms government, political system and political regime.

14.2 GOVERNMENT, POLITICAL SYSTEM AND POLITICAL REGIME

Though the terms government, political system and political regime are used interchangeably yet there are differences. Government refers to institutional process through which collective and usually binding decisions are made and implemented. The core functions of government are law making (legislation), law implementation (execution) and law interpretation (adjudication) which are performed by its three organs namely legislature, executive and judiciary.

A political regime or political system, however, is to be analysed in a much broader perspective in the sense that they encompass not only the organs of the government and the political institutions of the state, but also the structures, processes and values through which these interact with the civil society. It follows that different political regimes have tended to prioritise different sets of criteria. Among the parametres, most commonly used to classify the nature of political regimes, are the following:

Who rules?: Does the process of political participation involve only elite, or does it involve the people as a whole?

How is compliance achieved?: Is the political regime obeyed as a result of the use of coercion, or through consensus, bargaining and compromise?

Is the political power of the regime centralised or fragmented? : What kind of mechanisms are needed to ensure separation of powers and checks and balances exist within the political regime?

How is government power acquired and transferred?: Is a regime open and competitive, or is it monolithic?

What is the relationship between the state and the individual?: What is the nature of distribution of rights and responsibilities between government and the citizens?

What is the nature of political economy?: Is the political economy geared to the market or to State's regulation and planning?

Within what limits and scope the political regime operates?: Whether it is a limited or unlimited Government and what is the proper extent of democratic rule?

Under which conditions and constraints?: What are the socio-economic and cultural problems coming in the way of the functioning of the political regime?

How stable is a political regime? Has a particular regime survived over a considerable period of time, and has it shown the capacity to respond to new demands and challenges?

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the answer given at the end of the unit.

1) How would you differentiate between government and the political regimes?

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14.3 PURPOSE OF THE CLASSIFICATION

The process of classification of political regimes serves three purposes: First, classification of a political regime is an enabling exercise as far as the understanding of politics and government is concerned as it involves the issues related to them mentioned in the second section. Second, the process of classification facilitates a meaningful evaluation of a particular political regime which leads to a better governance; Third, apart from involving the normative issues, the process helps in tackling the questions at the concrete level like 'should the transition to liberal democratic regime in the former communist countries from people's democratic regime be welcomed?' 'Should developing countries favour a 'guided' democratic regime on the pattern of South East Asian countries?' etc.

14.4 EVOLUTION OF DEMOCRATIC REGIMES

The term democracy is an ancient political term whose meaning is derived from the Greek words demos (people) and Kratia (rule or authority). Hence it means 'rule by the people'. The Word demokratia was first used by the Greeks towards the middle of the fifth century to denote the political regimes of their City States. The usage was part of the 'classical' classification of regimes that distinguished rule by one (monarchy), several (aristocracy or oligarchy) and the many (democracy).

The advocates of democracy have always debated the question as to who should compose the demos. Both the classical Greece as well as in modern times the citizen body has always excluded some individuals as unqualified. When Athenian democracy was at its height in the fifth century BC, only a small minority of the adult population of Athens comprised the 'demos', or those able to participate in the political process. It is only in the twentieth century that universal suffrage and other citizenship rights were extended to all, or almost all, permanent residents of a country. For instance, universal adult franchise was introduced in Germany in 1919. A year later it was introduced in Sweden. France introduced universal adult franchise only in 1945, just a couple of years ahead of India..

Along with the changing notion of what properly constitute the people, the conceptions as to what it means for the people to rule have also changed. The political institutions and the systems have evolved in the contemporary democratic regimes primarily to facilitate 'rule by the people'. The ideas about political life that lend legitimacy to these institutions and systems enshrined in them are radically different from the democratic regimes of classical Greece, the Roman Republic, or the Italian republics of the middle ages and early Renaissance. Thus with the winning of universal suffrage, the democratic theory and practice turned to issues of democratic nation building as there was shift of the locus of democracy from the small scale of the city-state to the large scale of the modern nation state.

The assertion of national independence got reformulated in democratic terms as democratic regimes came to be identified with the right of collective self-determination. Consequently even where the 'new' post-colonial regimes could not ensure self-government, they nevertheless called themselves democratic on the strength of their experiences of anti-colonial struggle. In the similar vein, one can refer to the people's democratic regimes of the second and third worlds which asserted their democratic legitimacy in the language of economics,

pointing to their collective ownership of capital production and distribution, work for all under planned economy, while neglecting the political and legal rights, multi-party electoral system and parliamentary politics. The democratic regimes in the western countries relied on traditional political and legal language, emphasised electoral and civic rights, democratic constitution and institutions and the formal liberty and equality of the political system.

The above brief historical sketch of the evolution of democratic regimes shows that democracy has been subjected to marked ambivalence and intense philosophical and ideological debates. It acquires distinct characteristics depending on the nature of the countries they are based : East or West, developed or developing ones.

14.5 DEMOCRATIC REGIMES IN THE DEVELOPED STATES

The liberal democratic regimes in the developed states have been categorised as polyarchical regimes by Robert Dahl in his work '**Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition**'. The term 'Polyarchy' has been preferred to 'liberal democracy' by the western comparative political theorists primarily because of two reasons. First, liberal democracy as a concept has been treated mostly as a political ideal than a form of regime, and is thus invested with broader normative implications. Second, the usage of the concept of 'polyarchy' tends to acknowledge that the democratic regimes in the developed countries, mostly western, still fall short, in significant ways, of the goal of democracy as theorised in political theory.

The liberal democratic or polyarchical regimes are to be found in the states of North America, Western Europe and Australia. However, there are states like Japan and South Africa who also exhibit the same characteristics. Some of these characteristics may be identified in a brief manner as given below:

- These democratic regimes represent political institutions and practices which include universal suffrage. Elections of representatives for a specified period makes them directly responsible to people. These regimes also provide equal opportunities to the citizens to compete for public office. The political parties and the political leaders enjoy the rights to compete publicly for support. Free and fair elections are the basis of the formation of governments. A competitive party system is supplemented by the pressure groups and the lobbying organisations. These pressure groups influence the conduct of the government by mobilising the people.
- The democratic regimes reflect a high level of tolerance of opposition that is sufficient to check the arbitrary inclination of the government. The existence of alternative sources of information independent of the control of the government and of one another is helpful in this regard. Institutionally guaranteed and protected civil and political rights are further strengthened by the presence of the new social movements. It all results into a vigorous and democratically conscious civil society.
- The democratic regimes accept the presence of political cleavages due to diversity in the civil society. As such political conflicts are seen as an inevitable aspect of political life. Political thought and practice, enshrined in these democratic regimes accept conflict as a normal and not aberrant feature.
- Modern democratic regimes are distinguished by the existence, legality and legitimacy of a variety of autonomous organisations and associations which are relatively independent in relation to government and to one another.

- These democratic regimes derive their underpinnings from the western liberal individualistic tradition of political thought. Thus besides guaranteeing the individual rights they also support free competitive market society. The cultural and ideological orientation of these regimes likewise is also derived from western liberalism.
- The democratic regimes in the developed World are not considered all alike. Some of them tend to favour centralisation and majority rule whereas others favour fragmentation and pluralism. Thus the comparative political theorists like Lijphart distinguishes these regimes between 'majority' democratic regimes and the 'pluralist' democratic regimes.

The 'majority' democratic regimes are organised along parliamentary lines in accordance with the Westminster model. Such democratic regimes are to be found in United Kingdom, New Zealand, Australia, Canada and Israel. Some of the significant features these regimes share are single party government, a lack of separation of powers between the executive and the legislature, a simple plurality or first past the post electoral system, unitary or quasi-federal government, legislative supremacy, etc.

The pluralist democratic regimes based on the US model represent the separation of power and checks and balance. The provisions of the Constitution allow institutional fragmentation. The states like Netherlands, Belgium, Austria and Switzerland which are divided by deep religious, ideological, regional, linguistic and cultural diversities have adopted such regimes which are also called the consociational democratic regimes. These regimes promote the value of bargaining and power sharing which can ensure consensus. The common features these regimes share are coalition Government, a separation of power between the legislature and executive, an effective bicameral system, a multiparty system, Proportional representation, federalism or devolution of political power, a Bill of rights, etc.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What are the features of the 'pluralist' democratic regimes?

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14.6 DEMOCRATIC REGIMES AND THE DEVELOPING STATES

A number of newly independent states of Africa and Asia emerged from colonial rule after the Second World War. Decolonisation brought forth the hope that the modernising political elite of the 'new' states might successfully transform the nationalist, anti-colonial movements into democratic Government and thereby advance the gigantic task of nation building and State building. Most of these States, however, suffered from severe handicaps, some in the shape of objective conditions like lack of literacy and industrial development and others because of their traditional cultures like lack of democratic experience. Thus even when

most of these Asian and African post-colonial states adopted democratic form of regimes, many of these regimes developed authoritarian tendencies. Many states in the developing world alternate between democratic and authoritarian forms of regime. Pakistan is such an example. Then, while some regimes maintain the democratic form, they are authoritarian in actual working.

A major obstacle to the success of the democratic regimes in the developing states has been the deep ethnic divisions along the linguistic, tribal and religious lines - affecting their civil societies. These ethnic groups remain at different stages of socio-economic and political development. The ethnic diversities are naturally reflected in political organisations and form the basis of political mobilisation on the part of the ethnic groups for the fulfilment of their demands in a resource-scarce economy. The political regimes in the face of the increased level of political participation by the wider groups with their increased expectations find it necessary to introduce measures that would co-ordinate and control these groups and their demands. Often such measures are the beginnings of the authoritarian measures. Participation explosion has forced most of the democratic regimes into authoritarian military or bureaucratic regimes in the States of Latin America.

Another major problem before the democratic regimes in the developing States has been that of under development as the dependency theorists have put it. This calls for strong initiatives on the part of the regime. Thus the democratic regimes in the East and South East Asian states are oriented more around economic goals than the political ones. Their overriding economic priority has been to boost growth and deliver prosperity, rather than to enlarge individual freedom in the western sense of civil liberty. This essentially practical concern is evident in political economies of these countries i.e. South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Indonesia, Thailand and Malaysia. Second, in these countries of East and South East Asia, there has been broad support for strong regimes. Powerful ruling parties tend to be tolerated, and there is general respect and faith in the ability of the regime to guide and regulate the decisions of private as well as public bodies, and draw up strategies for national development. Third, these Asian democratic regimes command legitimacy based on Confucian values which stress on loyalty, discipline and duty. All the above three factors qualify the democratic regimes of East and South East Asian States as they reflect implicit and sometimes explicit authoritarian tendencies.

People's democratic regimes in the Asian states like China have not been formal democracies in terms of competition, accountability and political liberties. However, unlike the erstwhile communist party regimes in Eastern Europe, these regimes have been noted for the extensive participation as citizens have got used to voting periodically in local elections.

Islam, as Samuel P. Huntington has argued in his work '**Clash of Civilisations**' has had a profound effect on politics in the States of North Africa, the middle East and parts of South and South East Asia. As a consequence of the challenge to the existing regimes in the last two decades by the pro-urban poor militant Islamic groups, 'new' democratic regimes have been constructed or reconstructed on Islamic lines. Iran, Sudan and Pakistan among others are the pertinent examples.

Such Islamic democratic regimes have been considered by the western comparativists as **illiberal** on two counts. First, these regimes violate the distinction between private and public realms, in that they take religious rules and precepts to be the guiding principles of both personal life and political conduct. Second, these regimes invest political authority with potentially

unlimited power, because temporal power is derived from spiritual wisdom. As such these regimes cannot claim to be based solely on the popular consent or follow the constitutional framework. It would be apt to note, in this context, that Islam has been found compatible with the political pluralism followed by the 'guided' democratic regime in such countries like Pakistan and Malaysia. In essence, however, authoritarian tendencies have remained in the Islamic regimes even if it may not be correct to call them 'fundamentalist' in character.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) List out the major obstacles to the success of the democratic regimes in the developing states.

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14.7 THE NATURE OF AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES

Democratic and authoritarian regimes may be distinguished both in terms of their objectives as well as means to achieve them. Authoritarian regimes decide what is good for individuals. The ruling elite impose their values on society irrespective of its members' wishes. Authoritarian refers to a form of government which insists on unqualified obedience, conformity and coercion. It is in essence negation of democracy.

When power is based on consent, respected willingly, and recognised by wider masses, it is legitimate and binding. This is called authority. Authority is power raised in a moral or ethical level. Authority involves legitimate exercise of power, and in that sense it arises 'from below'. Democratic regimes uphold this type of authority and are authoritative. However, when a regime exercises authority regardless of popular consent and with the help of force, it can be called authoritarian. As such authoritarianism is a belief in, or practice of, government 'from above'.

The practice of government 'from above' is also associated with monarchical absolutism, traditional dictatorships, most single party regimes, and most forms of military regimes. They all are authoritarian in the sense that they are concerned with the repression of opposition and political liberty.

Authoritarian regimes are distinguished from the totalitarian regimes. Totalitarian regimes depict modern dictatorship in terms of a model government by complete centralisation and uniform regimentation of all aspects of political, social and intellectual life and in these respects transcending by far the earlier manifestations of absolute or autocratic or despotic or tyrannical regimes and their capacity to control and mobilise the masses. In this sense totalitarianism is truly a phenomenon of twentieth century. The term has been applied to the three radical dictatorial regimes of the inter-war period: Italian Fascism, German National Socialism and Stalinism in Russia.

It follows that though totalitarian regimes are authoritarian - all authoritarian regimes are not necessarily totalitarian. No doubt the authoritarian regimes are

concerned with the repression of opposition and political liberty. However, unlike the totalitarian regimes, these regimes do not aim to achieve far more radical goal of obliterating the distinction between the state and civil society. Authoritarian regimes tend to tolerate a significant range of economic, religious and other freedoms.

14.7.1 The Characteristics of Authoritarian Regimes

In the authoritarian regimes the techniques of decision by public discussion and voting are largely or wholly supplanted by the decision of those in authority.

- The authoritarian regimes exercise sufficient power to dispense with any constitutional limitations.
- Those in power in an authoritarian regime claim to derive their authority not necessarily and always from the consent of the governed but from some special quality that they claim to possess.
- Based on force, authoritarian regimes are likely to use violence against the citizens who do not receive any importance in the governance. Power is controlled, change of government or even of leaders, is not smooth and peaceful under authoritarian regimes. Such changes take place either by means of coup d'état or as a result of revolutions. Coup has been a normal feature as far as the authoritarian regimes in Africa are concerned.
- Authoritarian regimes are likely to employ force also in their relations with other countries. Since institutions of such regimes are not based on the participation of the people, and are not accountable to people, the moderating influence of public opinion is not effective. As such the authoritarian regimes do not help the cause of international peace.
- The authoritarian regimes are characterised by low and limited political mobilisation. Depoliticisation of the mass of the citizens falls into the intent of the ruling elite, fits with their mentality, and reflects the character of the components of the limited pluralism supporting them.
- Contrary to the democratic regimes which represent almost unlimited pluralism in institutionalised form, the authoritarian regimes represent limited pluralism. The limitation of pluralism may be legal or de facto, implemented more or less effectively, confined to strictly political groups or extended to interest groups.
- Moreover, political power is not legally accountable through such groups to the citizens, even when, it might be quite responsive to them. This is in contrast to democratic regimes, where the political forces are formally dependent on the support of constituencies.

14.7.2 Authoritarian Regimes in the post-Second World War Period

Authoritarian regimes have been mostly established in the developing states of Latin America, the Middle East Africa and South East Asia. Developed states of the West like Spain, Portugal and Greece, however, have also experienced it in the post World War period. These regimes-more than political, economic, cultural or ideological factors-have been dependent on the use of military power and systematic repression. Democratic institutions-both formal and informal-have been either weakened or abolished and the political and legal rights have been non-existent.

These military regimes have been mostly under the control of a junta comprising of the officers of the three wings of armed forces like in Argentina during 1978-1983 or in present day Myanmar. However, there are other forms of regimes where a military backed personalised dictatorship is established. In such cases a single individual acquires pre-eminence within the junta or regime, often being bolstered by a cult of personality drawing on charismatic authority. The military regimes headed by Colonel Papadopoulos in Greece, General Pinochet in Chile, General Abacha in Nigeria, General Zia-Ul-Haq in Pakistan, Ft. Lt. Jerry Rawlings in Ghana, Sergeant Samuel Doe in Liberia are among the pertinent examples. Still other forms of such regime is one where the civil regime survives primarily due to the backing of armed forces. In such cases military often prefers to rule behind the scenes and exercise power covertly through a civilianised leadership. Zaire under Mobutu, who came to power in a military coup in 1965, but later allowed the army to withdraw progressively from active politics by ruling through the popular movement of the revolution in the sixties can be cited as an example and so is the case of Egypt which experienced transition from military regimes to authoritarian civil rule under Gamel Nasser and Anwar Sadat, both military figures, in the 1960's and 1970's.

Check Your Progress 4

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with the answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What is the difference between authoritarian and totalitarian regimes?

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- 2) State three main characteristics of the authoritarian regimes.

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14.8 LET US SUM UP

Government in its broadest sense represents any mechanism through which ordered rule is maintained, its central feature being its ability to make collective decisions and implement them. A political regime, or system, however, involve not only the mechanisms of government and institutions and instructions of the state, but also the structures and processes through which these interact with the society.

Classification of political regimes enable us in the understanding and evaluation of politics and government. It also helps us in analysing the problems of a particular regime.

The inter-war period saw the alteration in the nature of classifying the regimes. Broadly speaking, two kinds of regimes, democratic and authoritarian can be unjversally accepted.

Democratic regimes have undergone a process of evolution beginning with the Greek city States to the modern nation-states.

Post Second World War period saw the emergence of 'three worlds' classification of political regimes. The first world liberal capitalist, 'Second World' communist and 'Third World' 'new' democratic regimes were found to have material and ideological differences.

In the developed states, the democratic regimes are polyarchal in the sense that they operate through institutions and political processes of modern representative democracy which force the rulers to take into account the interests, aspirations and rights of the citizens.

In the developing states of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the democratic regimes have been under considerable constraints due to ethnic diversities and socio-economic backwardness. Role of religion like Confucianism and Islam has provided a uniqueness to the political regimes of some developing states.

Authoritarian regimes are anti-democratic in the sense that such regimes limit democracy, liberty and law. Such regimes insist on unqualified obedience, conformity and coercion. Authoritarianism can be distinguished from totalitarian in the sense that the former does not seek to obliterate the distinction between the state and civil society.

Authoritarian regimes during the post-second World War period, whether in the developing or developed countries, have been primarily established with either the covert or overt role of military.

14.9 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Bodganor, Vernon (1987) (ed.), *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Political Institutions*, Blackwell Reference, Oxford

Heywood, Andrew (1997), *Politics*, Macmillan, London.

Millar, David, (1987) (ed.), *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Political Thought*, Blackwell Reference, Oxford.

14.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) While the former refers to the institutional process through which collective and binding decisions are made, the latter is a much broader term involving structures, processes and values through which the political institutions interact with civil society.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) These promote values of bargaining and power sharing through institutional arrangements like checks and balances among different organs of the government, multiparty system, and division or devolution of power.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) High levels of political participation in the context of deep ethnic divisions, the problems of underdevelopment and the need for strong initiatives of the regimes.

Check Your Progress 4

- 1) Totalitarian regimes are characterised by complete centralisation and uniform regimentation of political, social, economic and intellectual life. The distinction between state and civil society are obliterated. Authoritarian regimes tolerate some amount of pluralism and do not seek to control all aspects of an individual's life.
- 2) Based on force, law and limited political mobilisation, absence of constitutional accountability etc.



Structure

- 15.0 Objectives
- 15.1 Introduction
- 15.2 Civil-Military Relations
 - 15.2.1 India
 - 15.2.2 Russia
 - 15.2.3 Nigeria
 - 15.2.4 Iraq
 - 15.2.5 Pakistan
 - 15.2.6 United States
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- 15.3 Military Regimes: Meaning and Features
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15.0 OBJECTIVES

The relationship of super-ordination and subordination existing between the armed forces and the lawfully constituted public authorities of the state is another important basis for classification of governments. This unit focuses on military regimes in the developing world. It also examines the nature of civil-military relationships prevailing under different forms of governments. After going through this unit, you should be able to:

- Explain different patterns of civil-military relations;
- Describe military regimes and their features;
- Identify various types of military regimes; and
- Describe the consequences of military rule for society, economy and polity.

15.1 INTRODUCTION

The military is a powerful institution in contemporary society of states. Irrespective of the form of government, the military is expected to be subservient to the executive and assist it when called upon. On its part, the executive is expected to cater to the genuine requirements of the armed forces and give them their due. In other words, the civilian executive and the military are expected to perform their respective duties and not encroach upon one other's space and, thus, not impede the smooth functioning of the other. However, among the newly emergent countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, there has been a wide prevalence of the military's intervention in politics. More than half of these newly established states have witnessed military coups. Despite the current wave of democracy sweeping across East Europe, military governments continue to flourish in most developing countries. In our own neighbourhood, the military regime in Myanmar has been unwilling to surrender power, and Pakistan once

again came under military dictatorship, in the year 1999. The relationship of super-ordination and subordination existing between the armed forces and the lawfully constituted public authorities has, therefore, emerged as an important basis for classification of political systems. We will first examine the patterns of civil-military relations by taking countrywise studies of varied governments. Later, we will examine the features of military regimes and the impact that military rule had in the developing part of the world.

15.2 CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS

The terms civil-military relations in a broad sense is used to refer to the attitudes and behaviour, which the general public and the members of the armed forces of society exhibit towards each other. In a narrower and, specifically, a political sense, it refers to the relationship of super-ordination and subordination existing between the armed forces and the lawfully constituted public authorities of the state. However, the distinction between the two terms, civil and military, has not been applicable in practice. There have been societies in which the ruler and the tribesmen were also war leader and the armed hoard. Similarly, in the feudal monarchies of Europe, the barons were both the warriors and political leaders. It is only in the late 18th century, particularly after the French Revolution, that the loyalty of the officer corps to their dynastic sovereign, or even to elected authorities, was replaced by loyalty to the nation. This development, combined with the development of the officer corps into a career-oriented institution with distinct life styles, training, social status and material interests made possible the divergence of outlook between the armed forces and the government of the day. The nature and content of the discussion on civil-military relations varies from one political system to the other. In other words, civil-military relations vary from one country to the other and the issues of concern differ at different points of time. Let us examine, civil-military relations in a select group of countries with varied political systems and identify the range of civil-military relations prevailing in the present times.

15.2.1 India

In **India**, the world's largest democracy, there has been the established tradition of the apolitical nature of the military since the country gained Independence from British colonial rule. For a long time since Independence, the military had practically been a neglected arm of the state. It was more or less totally excluded from any decision making in matters of foreign and security policies. This had had the negative effect of the country suffering humiliation at the hands of the People's Liberation Army of China in the 1962 War. Matters had altered since then, but the military is not accorded any significant role in the affairs of the state.

The relationship between the civilian leadership and the military has not always been smooth. There have been occasions in the Indian case when the military had entered into a tug with its political masters. These have, however, been limited both in their number as well as scope. By far, the best known example is that of the then head of the Indian Army, General Thimmayya tendering his resignation to the then Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, hours before his Pakistani counterpart was due to arrive in Delhi. Several years later, a detachment of the Army had been moved from its peacetime location without the required permission from the civilian leadership anticipating a serious law and order problem. Much later, as late as in December 1999, the Chief of the Naval Staff, then Admiral Vishnu Bhagawat, was sacked for 'compromising national security and wilfully disobeying the orders of his Defence Minister. A lesser-known instance is that of

the then Chief of Army Staff, General S. F. Rodrigues, calling some countries names and then there was a demand in the Indian Parliament for his removal because he had made a political statement. The crisis soon blew over and the General remained in office.

The sacking of Admiral Bhagwat is, by far, the most controversial episode in the gamut of civil-military relations in India. The actual dismissal and the days preceding the dismissal witnessed an acrimonious slanging match between the military and civilian arms of the government. It had prompted a debate on the subject in the country. Though the results of the debate are yet to manifest themselves in concrete terms, it had provided the occasion to seriously probe the limits to civilian, either of the leaders or of the bureaucracy, control over matters concerning the day-to-day functioning of the Armed Forces. It was argued at that time that the civilian arm should define policy and strategic objectives and it was for the military to implement them. Interference in the day-to-day running of the Armed Forces would imperil discipline and gnaw at its professionalism. The debate had also suggested the creation of the post of a Joint Chief of Staff to provide inputs to the Cabinet in framing strategic policies.

15.2.2 Russia

In **Russia**, the most important of all the successor states of the Soviet Union, the military preferred to stay away from assuming any role political role or running the day-to-day affairs of the state. It has been suggested by a noted scholar that the Russian military suffers from the 'Tbilisi syndrome', and hence, stays away from politics. At a place called Tbilisi in Russia, the Army was called in to perform internal security duties and act against civilians in the year 1989. This had earned great disrepute for the military and it was at the receiving end in the media campaign. Also, the military was asked to move in on two other occasions to perform internal security duties. However, on these occasions, too, the actions of the military were severely criticised. Therefore, the Russian military exhibits 'great reluctance' to assume any role in matters of internal security. Not only this, as much as the military is anchored in the society to which it belongs, political changes and evolving orientations do get reflected in the military, too. This holds a serious threat to the professional character of the Armed Forces, as there is always the potential for the military splitting on political lines. Hence, if the military intervened in the internal politics of Russia, one scholar explains, it was because it was ordered to discharge internal security duties by the legitimate civilian leadership, which it did with 'great reluctance'.

15.2.3 Nigeria

In **Nigeria**, which was ruled by the military for nearly three decades, the highest priority of the democratic government that had assumed office there was reducing, if not altogether eliminating, the role and influence of the armed forces in the affairs of the country. Having been in power for such a long duration, and for a larger part of its post-Independence existence, the military became a supreme power. The balance in civil-military relations rested more on the side of the military. The military was more or less a law unto itself. It was the military that decided the course of the country.

In fact, the earlier democratic interregnum and the present democratic dispensation, both owe their existence to the blessings of the military. Having played a significant role in the coming to power of the present civilian government, the military has not simply disappeared from the political scene. In any case, given its prolonged political role, it commands sizable influence. To elaborate, several former military leaders found an elected position in the new

dispensation, including the President himself. The military as an interest group wields considerable influence. Therefore, to satisfy this constituency, huge amounts had to be allocated to the armed forces in the annual budget.

15.2.4 Iraq

In **Iraq**, a conformed dictatorship, the President is both the civilian head of the government and the commander-in chief of the armed forces in the rank of a Field Marshal. President Saddam Hussein maintains absolute control over the military and has skilfully employed it to pursue political aims. The purging of the military that Saddam Hussein had undertaken soon after he came to power and also subsequently, in recent times, and the 'Kurdish Campaigns' are a case in point.

Hussein's party, the Baath Party had successfully organised a coup in 1963 and seized political power in Iraq. The avowed objective of the party is to create an 'ideology-based army'. Not only this, enlistment into the armed forces is a tightly controlled affair, and only party cadres were permitted to make it into the Services. Besides, the party established control over the military through appointing civilians to key military positions. It is over such a dispensation that Saddam Hussein gained control, posited himself in the seat of power and presided over the military and its affairs. His increasing participation in military affairs also enabled him to rein the military to implement his policies as well as to establish control over it, though there were sections in the military that were not favourably disposed either towards his accession to power or its consolidation by him.

Through his foresight, Saddam Hussein established control over the military. Even as he was rising in the party hierarchy, Hussein pleaded for and secured the appointment of trusted friends and relatives to important military positions. To illustrate, his cousin was appointed Defence Minister even before Saddam Hussein became the President. These appointees provided immense support to the Hussein regime and had, in a sense, also contributed to his establishing control over the military as well as the country.

15.2.5 Pakistan

Pakistan is an illustration of a country that has been under military rule for a larger part of its existence, and has once again slipped into the control of the armed forces in the year 1999. On October 12 that year, General Pervez Musharraf seized executive power in a bloodless coup dethroning the elected Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharief, who was imprisoned and later sent into exile in Saudi Arabia. There were no demonstrations against the coup, nor was anger expressed. The people of Pakistan, 'generally speaking', were rather unmoved, if not pleased, that the reign of the incumbent Prime Minister came to an end.

The Musharraf regime lost no time in suspending the Constitution as well as in securing the loyalty of the judiciary. The sitting Judges of the highest Court of the land, the Supreme Court of Pakistan, were, within days after the coup, asked to once again swear an 'oath of allegiance' under the new military dispensation. Subsequently thereafter, they had granted legal sanction to the act of the coup per se and its continuance. The military administration, however, assured that it would restore democracy within three years from the date of the coup, that is, before October 2002.

According to one scholar, the 1999 coup is different from the earlier ones in that the regime had not taken to imposing martial law, unlike during the earlier

instances when it usurped power in Pakistan. Earlier, Pakistan was directly governed by the military between the years 1958-62, 1969-71, 1977-85. And, it was indirectly ruled by the military between the years 1962-69, 1971-72 and 1985-88.

The consequence of long spells of military has been that democratic tradition failed to gain ground. A Pakistani scholar notes, "persistent military rule [in Pakistan] has undermined democratic values, norms and institutions that promote democracy, i.e. political parties autonomous groups, and a free and responsible press... Each military intervention met the needs of particular interest groups at a given moment... [Resultantly], these particular interests spawned powerful groups within the government that threatened democratic norms and values, and violated the legal and constitutional procedures."

As a result of the domineering role that the military plays, and because of civilian political institutions being weak in Pakistan, elected civilian Prime Ministers neither had the ability nor the desire to bridle the military. At least privately, the military made no secret of its ability and willingness to seize power if the Generals so desired. Consequent to the death in an air crash of military dictator General Zia-ul-Haq, elections were held and a civilian government took office. The then army chief, General Mirza Aslam Beg, disclosed subsequently that restoring democracy was a gift that the Army bestowed upon the citizens of Pakistan, but had put the civilian leadership on a constant watch.

Importantly, the military plays a decisive role in the political affairs of the country when competing elements of the civilian leadership are not in a position to come to terms with one another. For instance, the then President of Pakistan, Farooq Ahmad Leghari, and the Prime Minister, Benazir Bhutto, entered into tug with one another. Then, Leghari dismissed Benazir. But, subsequently he, too, had to go. Though the military did not publicly play any role, it is widely believed that it had acted from behind the scenes.

15.2.6 United States of America

In the **United States of America** there prevails a sound system of checks and balances. The American leaders who drafted the Constitution in the late 18th century did not vest the control over the military in any one single political institution, but had separated it between two key offices. While the President of the country is the Supreme Commander of the armed forces, it is Congress (that is, the legislature) that wields power on matters relating to organisation, financial allocations and the right to declare war. Through this, they sought to remove the scope for the military emerging as a powerful institution, and at the same time ensured civilian control over military.

Over a period of time, as the American military establishment increased in size the role it was required to perform, too, has enlarged. With the United States emerging as a global power, the nature of civil-military relations, too, had witnessed some shifts. Thus, according to some scholars, during the period till and immediately after the Vietnam War, the civilian leadership had exercised tremendous influence over the military in decision-making.

Such a trend nearly continued into the mid-Eighties when Ronald Reagan was the President. During this time the might of the American armed forces was steadfastly enriched and large amounts of funds were allotted to the armed forces. There was, as some scholars note, more of convergence of interests and, therefore, civil-military relations were generally harmonious.

However, in recent times, the military in the United States has come to assume a greater role than ever before in security decision-making. Offering an explanation for the shift, two American scholars said, “the recent increase of military influence in national security decision-making has been caused by qualitative changes over time in the experience levels of key senior civilian and military officials”.

15.2.7 China

In **China**, a country guided by Marxist ideology, the Communist Party of China controls the affairs of the state. The military is at once a part of the ruling structures and yet under the firm control of the Party. The military and the Party were closely inter-linked, at least in the earlier years. Mao Tse Tung had drawn a clear line of distinction between the military and the Party and said ‘the Party must always control the military’, though he had also said that ‘political power grows out of the barrel of the gun’. Over a period of time, the military has acquired ‘professionalism’ and this had, on occasion, brought it into a conflicting role with the Party, though it is the Party that still controls the military. In other words, the military has not always remained totally subservient to the Party.

The military was often a member of the highest decision making structures in the country, like in the Standing Committee of the Politburo. However, it should also be noted that in the year 1987 the military was not represented on the Standing Committee, for the reason that reforms initiated during that time sought to draw a clear line of distinction between the Party, the government and the military. Having realised during the events that unfolded later—the 1989 demonstrations against the policies of the Party—that military did not evince expected levels of enthusiasm in performing internal security duties assigned to it, the military was, subsequently, in 1992, made a member of the Standing Committee. One analyst has observed that there is a greater interdependence between the Party and the military at the higher levels than at the lower levels of the hierarchy.

Whether the military would go on to acquire significant influence over the Party, meaning political power, is a matter of debate among several analysts. The debate commenced especially after the military was initially included in the economic modernisation drive and was asked to take up tasks that would eventually contribute to the country’s treasury. In 1998, the military was asked to cease all business operations as it had been found that it was increasingly getting out of civilian control. Not only this, among other things, there were also allegations of corruption and hoarding against the military, besides having provided the inspiration to the police forces and the judiciary, too, to undertake business activity. There is also the view that having taken-up business activity the military has, to an extent, suffered professionalism.

From these case studies, we see that there are three broad categories of civil-military relations.

First, from the Indian and the American example, we can identify a civil-military relationship in which the armed forces are depoliticised to a large extent and in which the military is entirely subservient instrument of the political incumbents of the day, irrespective of who they are or what their views are. Our case studies also bring out that this form of civil-military relationship need not preclude the military from exercising very considerable political influence, providing only that the civil authorities have the final say.

Second, in countries like China and Iraq we have seen that there exists a symbiotic relationship between the armed forces and the ruling party. This pattern

of civil-military relationship is prevalent in all Marxist states and in a number of others where an ideological single or hegemonic party holds rule. The former Soviet Union and Myanmar are good examples of this type.

Finally, in Pakistan and Nigeria, we have seen that the military had overthrown the lawful governments and installed its own members as rulers. Military regimes or states in which the armed forces have a final say in all political decisions are largely restricted to the developing and modernising part of the world, although a few European states-Spain (1920s and 1930s), Portugal (1920s and 1970s) and Greece (late 1960s and mid-1970s) came under military rule. The wide prevalence of military rule in the Third World can be gauged from the fact that in the five decades since the Second World War, about 56 percent of the Third World states (excluding the communist states and mini-state with a population below 10 lakhs) had undergone at least one military coup de etat. In Latin America, civilian governments have been restored in Ecuador (1978), El Salvador (1980), Bolivia (1982), Guatemala (1985), Honduras (1986), and Paraguay (1993), but military governments persist in much of sub-Saharan Africa. Here the military coup de etat has almost become an alternative to elections as a means of changing governments. Until 1990, there have been 64 successful coups (and many more unsuccessful coups) in twenty-five African countries. Let us examine the meaning and features of military regimes in detail.

Check Your Progress Exercise 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Try to answer in your own words

iii) Check the answers with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

1) What is 'Tbilisi syndrome'?

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2) What is the nature of civil-military relationship in states guided by Marxist ideology?

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3) How did the prolonged absence of political activity affect Pakistan polity?

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15.3 MILITARY REGIMES: MEANING AND FEATURES

As we observed earlier, military regimes are states where members of the armed forces make the top political decisions exclusively or predominantly. Although

the term covers the cases where an alien army of occupation rules a conquered state (as the Allied military governments in Germany and Italy during the second world war), the term, military regime, is frequently used with reference to states whose military forces have supplanted a former civilian government and rule in their own name.

Military governments usually have large civilian component-bureaucrats, managers, politicians and technocrats. Some scholars therefore argue that the dichotomy between military and civilian rulers can hardly be sustained. Amos Perlmutter, for instance, has argued that 'modern military regimes are not purely military in composition. Instead they are fusionist, that is, they are military-civil regimes'. But the presence of civilian technocrats and political renegades in the governing council does not blur the distinction between military and civilian regimes. Civilian advisors joining the military government, it should be noted, hold office on the sufferance of the military rulers. Moreover, in a military regime, it is the military ruler and his advisors from the armed forces who play the predominant role in all 'decisions of decisive consequence'. Thus military regime emerges as a distinct sub-type of authoritarianism.

Military regimes differ from other forms of authoritarianism in terms of origin or legitimacy or range of governmental penetration into the society or in combinations of all these factors. Modern military regimes differ from the civilian autocratic regimes in their sources of legitimacy. The civilian dictators in the Third world derive their legitimacy from their leadership in the independence struggle or from the leadership of the single parties founded by them or from some rigged election. They retain their power by maintaining 'a vertical network of personal and patron-client relations'. Military rulers also resort to this strategy of rulership, but their regimes suffer from an innate sense of lack of legitimacy.

Military regimes should also be distinguished from totalitarian regimes. One can identify three differences between the two. First, totalitarian regimes claim legitimacy on the basis of their ideologies, which, they state, are higher and nobler forms of democracy. Military regimes on the other hand, do not generally espouse elaborate and guiding ideologies. Secondly, unlike military regimes, which come into being as a result of intervention by the armed forces in politics, totalitarian dictators seize power by organising armed political parties. Once in power, totalitarian dictators establish the supremacy of their parties over all organisations, including the armed forces. Finally, military regimes allow limited pluralism, though there is no responsible government. Totalitarian regimes on the other hand, try to control the whole society through the single-party system and widespread use of terror.

15.3.1 Types of Military Regimes

Broadly speaking, different military regimes can be distinguished by the place the military hold in the decision making structure of the state and or by what they do with the power they wield.

The role played by the military in top decision-making varies. We can broadly distinguish two types here. First, there is the military-junta type in which the supreme policy making organ is a junta or command council of officers representing the three services (army, navy and the air force). The military junta usually appoints a civilian cabinet to administer under its authority. Parties and legislatures are suppressed or else only a single official party is permitted. Often parties and legislatures are nominal and subservient artefact of the military executive. The military, as represented by its senior officers, plays the active and supreme role in policy making in the military junta type of regime. Secondly,

there is the presidential type in which the military play a supportive role rather than a creative or active role. Here the cabinet is formed largely or wholly from civilian rather than military personnel. In Zaire for instance, the army's role is supportive of the president, while the official party is largely nominal. In Iraq and Syria, however, the local Ba'ath parties are true vanguard parties, in a symbiotic relationship with the officer corps. Here the military's role is not limited to being supportive, but extends to play a more active role. However, the existence of the party enables the president to arbitrate, and so exert independent leadership over both civilian and military sectors.

Military regimes can also be distinguished by the way they wield power. Some military governments confine themselves to supervising or 'patrolling' the society. In Thailand, for instance, the largely military cabinets permit the civil service a wide autonomy in running affairs, and preside over what is on the whole a free wheeling economy. In Ghana and Nigeria, however, the governments go further: they direct a national programme, but they leave the civil service to administer it. Finally, there are those military regimes, such as those in Burma and in Indonesia, in which the armed forces not only exert supreme authority in policymaking but also play a large part in actual administration.

15.3.2 Strategies of Rulership

Despite these differences, one can discern strategies of rulership that are common to military regimes. The first strategy of rulership of military rulers is to manage their 'constituency', that is, to keep their hold on the armed forces. The military leaders group seeks to establish its dominance over the whole army. The establishment of this dominance often requires the use of ruthless violence to suppress the opposition factions within the armed forces.

Crude and ruthless violence is also resorted to terrorise the population into total subjugation. As repression becomes a part of the strategy of rulership, military rulers develop an elaborate network of intelligence services to monitor the aggregation and articulation of protest. General Zia-ul-Huq in Pakistan, for instance, developed an Inter-Service Intelligence Directorate with nearly one-lakh employees for surveillance of politicians as well as officers.

Violence and intelligence surveillance are, however, negative strategies of rulership. Military rulers adopt positive strategies to keep the armed forces satisfied. Increasing the salaries and other allowances and prerequisites of the members of the armed forces does this. Military rulers almost invariably increase the defense budgets soon after take over. Once raised, defense allocations usually remain at high levels in subsequent years.

15.4 MILITARY IN POLITICS: THE CONSEQUENCES

In the 1950s and 60s, when armed communist cadres threatened the countries of Southeast Asia, Western capitalist countries, came to see the military as an important institution to fight and defeat the onward march of armed communists. Social scientists, particularly those in the United States, keen on making their studies policy relevant, overestimated the role of the military in the modernisation of the developing countries. Lucian Pye, M. Halpern and J.J. Johnson for instance, developed theoretical models depicting the military as a highly modern force, capable of transferring its organisational and technical skills to fields of government and administration. However, these expectations were belied by several studies done later. Most empirical studies conducted on military

regimes in the developing countries revealed that they had a negative or at best, no unique effect on social and economic modernisations.

The performance of the military regimes in the sphere of political development has been more disastrous than in the sphere of economic development. It was argued that in the developing countries, which are mostly divided on religious, ethnic, linguistic and regional lines, the military alone can bring about the national integration that is a prerequisite for political development. The performance of military regimes till date does not support this hypothesis. It was the military dictatorship in Pakistan in the 1950s and 60s that produced the first successful secessionist movement in the Third World. In a similar fashion, the process of Nigerian disintegration started after the coup of January 1966 when the military launched a ruthless attack on prominent military and political figures. The military presided over the civil war in Nigeria for two years with combat deaths running into hundreds of thousands. Similarly, the Sudanese military rulers have been fighting the guerrillas in the southern part of the country since 1958.

In fact, military intervention in politics, in most cases creates a vicious circle that perpetuates the conditions of political underdevelopment, which initially must have brought the military into power. As Huntington has argued, the key factor in political development is the growth of durable political institutions. The primary resources for developing political institutions in any country are the political skills of its politicians. The political skills needed for developing a viable and self-sustaining political system involve, among others, ideological commitment, the capacity to respond to new challenges, and the arts of administration, negotiation, representation and bargaining. These skills can be acquired only in the hard school of the public life.

Military regimes however, restrict the free flow of political process. In order to retain their power, military leaders prevent the aggregation and articulation of protest. Often their first acts in office are to impose censorship on the press and ban political activity. Political leaders either move into a self-imposed exile or are forced into exile into far-off countries. With would-be politicians failing to acquire political skills, civilian democratic traditions fail to take root. Among the military regimes in the developing countries, in one-third of the cases, civilian governments have been restored. In most cases of civilian restoration, civilian leaders, that is, politicians have failed. They have demonstrated their inability to match their official performance with the expectations of the people. While this is partly due to the intractable of the problems faced by these nations, to a large measure this is due to absence of political skills in the civilian leaders resulting from the preceding period of military rule. This provides scope for the military to intervene in politics once again asserting the vindication of their self-fulfilling prophesy of the 'inevitable failure of the self-seeking politicians'. Thus, the chain of political underdevelopment gets perpetuated.

The political role of the military also corrodes the military vitality of the armed forces. Several armies have been compromised by their political role expansion and suffered humiliating defeats at the hands of other armies encouraged only to excel in professionalism. In the Arab-Israeli War of 1967, the Syrian army's performance suffered immeasurably because of fratricidal feuds among its officers. The Iraqi army was similarly debilitated by internal political strife. The political role expansion of the Egyptian armed forces, similarly robbed its professionalism. More professional Israeli armed forces inflicted a quick and humiliating defeat on the Egyptian army. Armed forces in Uganda, which first acted as an instrument of Idi Amin's terror and brutality simply disintegrated when faced with poorly equipped Tanzanian troops and an Ugandan exile force in 1979. Argentina's armed forces, spoiled by politics, were easily defeated by Britain in the Falklands war.

Check Your Progress Exercise 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Try to answer in your own words.

iii) Check the answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

1) In what ways do military dictatorship differs from totalitarian dictatorship?

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2) According to Huntington, a key factor in the political development is

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3) What are the typical strategies of rulership adopted by military regimes?

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15.5 LET US SUM UP

A military regime is a usurper of political power through force. Unlike most civilian forms of government, a military government is characterised by absence of legitimacy.

We have seen that the soldier-politicians seem incapable of furthering major socio-economic developments in the countries they rule. The military's performance in the field of political development has been even more dismal. Military regimes accentuate the problems of political development with which the civilian regimes were initially faced, and they deprive the would-be civilian politicians of the opportunity to acquire much needed political skills, thus perpetuating the chain of political underdevelopment. The role expansion of the military also robs the armed forces of its professionalism, resulting in external and internal security vulnerabilities.

A harmonious relationship between the executive and the military is essential for a healthy all round development of a country. Civil-military relations in countries having different forms of government are varied. While in some countries the military had remained subservient to the civilian leadership, in some others, it had many a time organised a coup and had overthrown elected governments. However, even in countries where it had assiduously remained loyal to the government of the day, there have been instances when it had differed with the civilian leadership. There is more or less a general agreement among scholars that in the present times the balance in civil-military relations has somewhat tilted more towards the military than ever before.

15.6 KEYWORDS

Executive	: The law implementing and administrative wing of the government
Coup d' etat	: Usurping political power by overthrowing a government
Subservient	: Subordinate
Democratic interregnum	: Brief spells of rule by elected civilian leaders in a country habituated to military rule

15.7 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Finer, SE (1969) *The Man on the Horseback: the Role of the Military in Politics*, London, Pall Mall Press.

Johnson JJ, Ed, (1962) *The Role of Military in Underdeveloped Countries*, Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Londregan JB and Poole (1990) 'Poverty, the Coup Trap, and the Seizure of Executive Power', *World Politics*, 42 Vol 2.

Maniruzzaman, T (1987) *Military Withdrawal from Politics: A Comparative Study*, Cambridge, Ballinger Publications.

Huntington S. and CH Moore Eds, (1970) *Authoritarian Politics in Modern Society*, New York, Basic Books.

Zoleberg, A.R, Ed, (1966) *Military Intervenes: Case Studies in Political Development*, New York, Russel Sage.

15.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) When the Russian army was called to perform internal security duties and act against civilians in Tbilisi, it was not welcomed by wider sections of the society. Since then the Russian army has been reluctant to perform internal security duties.
- 2) Marxist regimes are characterised by a symbiotic relationship between the armed forces and the ruling party.
- 3) Political institutions became weak. In the absence of political skills that can be acquired through participation in political activities, civilian leaders demonstrate a lack of ability to deal with issues confronting the nation. Moreover, the armed forces remain powerful as a pressure group, often directing civilian rulers from behind.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Totalitarian regimes are different from military regimes in the sense that they are guided by ideology, come to power by organising armed political parties and seek to control all aspects of an individuals life.
- 2) The growth of durable political institutions.
- 3) In order to manage the armed forces and political opposition, military rulers resort to ruthless violence and surveillance on press and political activities. They also increase salaries and other allowances and prerequisites of the members of the armed forces.

Structure

- 16.0 Objectives
- 16.1 Introduction
- 16.2 Secularism and Secular Regimes
 - 16.2.1 Protestantism
 - 16.2.2 Social Basis of Secularism
 - 16.2.3 Secular Regimes: Meaning and Features
- 16.3 Theocratic Regimes
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16.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit examines the nature of the relationship between state and religion which constitutes an important basis for the classification of contemporary political system. After going through this unit, you should be able to :

- Define secularism and explain its origins;
- Identify the features of secular regimes;
- Describe the meaning and features of theocracy; and
- Recognise the importance and relevance of secular polity.

16.1 INTRODUCTION

The relationship between religion and politics has always been fraught with potential conflict. Religion is acknowledged to be a crucial source of legitimacy and political mobilisation in all societies, ranging from those that are avowedly secularist, such as communist regimes, to those that are theocracies. This factor, combined with the developments in the last three decades or so- the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the late 1970s, the growth of politically committed religious movements in the 1980s, the resurgence of the New Right in the West and the collapse of secular communist regimes- draw our attention to the role of religion in public life. It is in this context that the nature of relationship between the state and religion has emerged as an important basis for classification of contemporary political systems. We will first examine the concept of secularism and its evolution, before identifying the features of secular and theocratic regimes. Later, we will examine the trends in secular polity and relevance of secularism in contemporary world.

16.2 SECULARISM AND SECULAR REGIMES

The word secular, from which secularism is derived, refers to something concerned with temporal, that is with matters of this world than with something religious or otherworldly. Secularism as a doctrine can be defined as the attempt to establish a body of principles concerning human behaviour based on rational knowledge and experience rather than theology or the supernatural. In sphere of politics, secularism advocates that the domain of operation of religious influence should be restricted in society, and that in particular the state should be

independent of religion. It must be noted that when we talk here of religious influence or independence from religion, we are referring to religion as an organised socio-political force and not merely as a system of sacred beliefs.

Secularism is a dominant feature of modern times. Secularisation or the decline of the prestige and power of religion began in Europe and is closely associated with the break up of the medieval feudal order in the 14th and 15th centuries. Beginning in the 4th century, when the Roman Emperor Constantine adopted Christianity as a state religion, Christianity had acquired a powerful hold over medieval Europe. The Church came to combine both spiritual and temporal authority. The Church (and therefore the Pope) directly ruled over small regions around Rome, but its influence extended over the entire Europe. It had more political power than any government in Europe. This was because in those days the power and authority of Emperors and kings was limited by the fact that land was divided into feudal estates. The holder of the estate, the feudal lord, was for all practical purposes, an independent ruler. Most rulers were virtually puppets placed in position by the Church (usually from among large wealthy families who were considered to be benefactors of the Church). With the Church becoming deeply involved in the political and non-spiritual affairs, its leaders like the Popes, bishops and clergy amassed great wealth, indulged in earthly pleasures and behaved like princes and military men. The political intrigues and manipulations, combined with the Church's increasing power and wealth contributed to the bankruptcy of the Church as a spiritual force.

The most important consequence of the domination of religion and the Church was on the intellectual climate of Europe. Man's thoughts and feelings were expressed in terms of religious values. Christianity believed that human mind and its reason are not reliable, as sources of knowledge and that through the help of Christian faith and God's grace alone, human beings can know what is true or untrue. In other words, faith was more important than reason. This attitude dominated so much that the quest for knowledge was mostly confined to 'spiritual' matters like the interpretation of the Bible and of the writings and sayings of Popes and religious writers. In the universities of Padua and Bologna in Italy, Sarbonne in France and Oxford and Cambridge in England teaching and learning was mostly on religious subjects and they trained priests, and theologians (scholars in Christian religious subjects). Although non-religious subjects such as astronomy, geology, medicine, chemistry and law were studied, Christian view of the world limited the scope of human enquiry. No one dared to question the Church (and therefore the Pope) as it was believed to be infallible and in direct contact with God. People who questioned the authority of the Church or disagreed with its teachings were imprisoned, exiled or executed. Many scholars therefore describe the medieval period as the Dark Age.

The seemingly impregnable intellectual and political edifice of Christianity began to crumble under the assault of Humanism, the Renaissance, and the Protestant Reformation. From the 14th century onwards, several developments combined to undermine the medieval feudal order. The Crusades and the contacts with the East established by medieval travellers like Marco Polo, brought to Europe new knowledge and information. It also increased the trading activity. Consequently new towns emerged in Europe, especially, in the Mediterranean region. A new class in society, the middle class began to emerge. It was in these circumstances that there was a revival of Greek learning and values. An important development contributing to the Renaissance or 'rebirth' of classical ideas was the fall of Constantinople, the capital of Eastern Roman Empire to the Muslim Turks in 1453. Many scholars in Constantinople fled westward, carrying with them Greek classics and manuscripts. The rediscovery of Greek learning in Europe changed the intellectual climate of Europe in many ways.

Classical humanist ideas emphasising the dignity of man became popular. These were reflected in literature and arts, which turned to themes about man and nature from themes about religion. The humanist concern with the condition of man here on earth and with enquiries about to make man's life better and happy can be taken as the first manifestation of secularism

The new intellectual awakening in turn created a new spirit of enquiry among the people. Human reason and pursuit of learning, which were not confined to religious learning alone, began to receive priority. This resulted in important scientific discoveries being made and known to people. Discoveries made by scientists like Copernicus, Isaac Newton and Charles Darwin directly challenged the Christian view of the world. We can therefore say that the Age of Faith was effectively questioned and began to be replaced by the Age of Reason because of the Renaissance.

In politics also, important changes were brought about. Several thinkers challenged the authority of the Church and Christian morality over emperors and kings. In the 13th century, Aquinas, the greatest scholar of the age, borrowing from Aristotle, aided in raising the dignity of the civil power by declaring the state a perfect society (the other perfect society being the church) and a necessary good. The Renaissance writer Niccolo Machiavelli advocated the important idea that princes and rulers need not be guided by religious morality but should be able to conduct politics mainly with the purpose of increasing the power of the state. Sometimes, this idea itself was dangerous, as it could mean that kings and rulers need not follow morality in politics. But in another sense this idea was very crucial. It helped to strengthen the powers of the rulers as against the Church. Politics in Europe became free from religious control. This political thinking coincided with the desire of many princes and kings who wanted to become independent. The result was that independent kingdoms based on the idea of nationalism got established in important areas of Europe and gradually spread to other regions.

16.2.1 Protestantism

The intellectual stimulation provided by the Humanists provided the spark for the Reformation, which further weakened the authority of the Church. In the 16th century, a pious Catholic priest in Germany, Martin Luther, sought to rid the Church from corruption by re-establishing the Christian concept of the secular and the spiritual found in the words of Jesus: "Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's". He not only attacked corruption in the life of the Church but questioned the role of the Church. He argued that the individual Christian was free to approach God directly without the intermediary role of the Church. Although he left the Catholic Church in 1520, many churchmen joined Luther in challenging the Church. This resulted in the Reformation becoming a great movement. In many parts of Europe, the obedience and loyalty to the Church were withdrawn and a new branch of Christianity arose which was later termed as Protestantism. Protestantism was not a single and unified movement. There were some who joined Luther against the Catholic Church but differed with Luther on some important philosophical and religious issues. Today there are more than a hundred varieties of Protestant sects in the world. But the main point is that the authority of the Catholic Church was successfully challenged in the name of freedom of the Christians to understand the Bible and approach God.

The fragmentation of the Church provided an opportunity for strong rulers to consolidate state authority. For instance, in England Henry VIII ended ties with the Church in Rome and assumed the headship of the Church of England. The

fragmentation of the Church also resulted in a series of wars between the Catholic and Protestant nations between the 16th and 18th centuries. It was only from the 18th century onwards that tolerance of ideas and real freedom of enquiry and thought became pronounced in Europe. These wars of religion furthered the secularisation of state by encouraging the notion of a neutral public power that gave priority to the secular purposes of protecting life and maintaining order. Therefore, by the end of the wars of religion, nation-state had emerged as a primary force influencing the lives of citizens. Christianity that had split into numerous sects had lost its authority to challenge this fact.

16.2.2 Social Basis of Secularism

Secularism and secularisation of state authority in Europe was a more complex affair than has been described above. The rise of modern capitalistic economy had an important role in the secularisation of state authority. As we saw, trade and commerce played an important role in stimulating the renaissance and reformation movements. Strong rulers who created the nation-states made active use of the rising middle classes in overcoming the feudal aristocracy, the chief barrier in the unifying process. The strength of the middle class lay in the wealth they accumulated through trade and commerce. The middle classes who did not like the obstacles placed by landed feudal aristocracy in pursuing trade and commerce supported strong rulers who can regulate trade and commerce within and outside country. As the capitalism spread and moved into a higher stage of development, the industrial phase, regulation of economic activity by despotic rulers was seen as an obstacle for further development of industrialisation. Moreover, the new class of men- artisans, industrial workers and middlemen- from humble origin began to demand social and political opportunities. These pressures ultimately gave rise to liberalism and democratic institutions in Europe.

From the above, it is clear that secularism has been a part of a process of human liberation from domination- initially from that of the Church and latter from despotic rulers. In Europe, it has played an important role in checking absolutism, bigotry and fanaticism, in ensuring that the values enshrined in a particular religion did not trump other values and in managing religious conflicts. It has also been an element of the process of democratic transformation.

Even though secularism as a political force had established its hold over most of Europe, there was in practice no formal separation of religion and politics until 1791, when the first amendment to the constitution of the United States was passed. This amendment laid down that the Congress would not pass a law respecting an establishment of a religion, or prohibiting the free exercise of religion.

With time, secularism spread to other parts of the world making the laws of the state independent of religion. In most of the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, secularism was introduced during the colonial period. In the post-colonial period, these countries found secularism useful to avoid religious conflict and promote national integration.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use space provided below to write your answer.

ii) Check your answer with those given at the end of this unit.

1) Define secularism and explain its origins?

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2) How did the Reformation contribute to the growth of secular authority?

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3) Why did the emerging middle class support the rise of strong nation-states?

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16.2.3 Secular Regimes: Meaning and Features

A secular state involves three distinct and interrelated sets of relationships concerning the state, religion and the individual. First, a relationship between the individual and religion from which the state is excluded. Second, a relationship between the individual and the state from which religion is excluded. That is, an individual is a citizen independent of membership of any particular religious group. The institutional arrangement for these relationships is a separation between state and religion. That is, there is neutrality of state in matters of religion. There is no state religion.

Some of the characteristic features of secular political systems are as follows:

- a) The secular state is not based on any particular religion. This means that such a state does not owe any allegiance to any particular religion. Nor such a political system adheres to the principles of a particular theology.
- b) Though the secular state does not favour any particular religion, it is not anti religion or irreligious. It cannot be said to non-religious. We cannot call such a state immoral or an atheistic state. Secular states do follow principles that are characteristic of any religion such as truth, non-violence, love, and morality, but they do not align with any particular religion. In other words, a secular state may tie itself to certain universal ethical principles without allowing any particular religion to dictate its policies.
- c) A secular state does not bother whether its members belong to this religion or that religion. Primarily concerned with an individual's external life, a secular state does not concern itself with religious affiliation of its citizens. Religion is seen as something concerning an individual's internal life, that is, a matter of purely individual and private faith.
- d) Separating religion and politics, a secular state treats all religions alike. It does not allow religion to influence political issue. Religion does not impede or interfere in any decision of the state. To that extent, religious discrimination is absent in a secular state.
- e) A secular state admits numerous religions under its jurisdiction. It advocates religious harmony, accommodation and co-operation. All religious organisations are accorded equal treatment and are equally respected. To that extent, a secular state is multi-religious state.
- f) A secular state by its very nature is a democratic state. It is democratic because it treats individuals as individuals and not as a member of this or that particular faith.

Secularism is the most widely established policy on religion today. In most countries of the contemporary world, there is a strong tendency to limit the role of religion to the 'religious' sphere of society. Secular regimes can be broadly categorised into two- the liberal and the Marxist. The liberal secular regimes are those which regard religion as a societal resource and allow for individual as well as corporate religious freedom to a greater or lesser extent. Religion in these liberal countries may in practice have a significant role in political life. A vast majority of modern political regimes, including the United States of America, Canada, Australia, India, South Africa, most European states and others belong to this category. In the Marxist version of secular regimes, we have countries like the former Soviet Union and China that have an ideologically defined negative view of religion. In these and other countries inspired by a Marxist critique of religion, there is a strong ideological divide between religion and politics, and corporate religious freedom is often subordinated to the prerogatives of political organisations.

16.3 THEOCRATIC REGIMES

Theocracy is a society governed by priests, or one whose government is heavily influenced by religious leaders. Originally, theocracy meant a system where divine law was the basis of all humanly enacted law, and in which religious and political hierarchies were merged. Today, the term theocracy is applied to refer to the dominance of religion over state.

A theocratic regime by its very nature is a religious state. It is wedded to a particular religion. It believes and functions on particular theological principles. Theocratic regimes are not merely dominated by particular theology; they are, in fact, controlled by that theology. In other words, in these regimes, politics and religion get assimilated into each other: religion dominates politics and politics is carried on religious principles. Since these states are uni-religious states, allowing only one particular religion to flourish and shape its policies, their attitude towards other religions is one of 'distance'. People belonging to other faiths are treated as second-class citizens. There is neither religious harmony nor any religious tolerance.

Some of the characteristic features of theocratic regimes are as follows:

- a) A theocratic state is associated with a particular religion. It believes in the principles and precepts of the religion it advocates. All the rules and regulations, laws and by-laws framed by the state are in tune with the state religion.
- b) A theocratic regime preaches, practices and promotes the religion it follows. It expects its citizens to follow the state religion. Here, religion is not merely a private faith of the individual; it is a public faith. It is the faith of the state and also of its members. The theocratic state demands its people true and faithful allegiance to the religion of the state.
- c) A theocratic state does not separate religion from politics, nor politics from religion. For such a state, religious precepts become political precepts and the laws of the state are so framed that they do not interfere into the religious dictates of the states faith.
- d) A theocratic state does not treat other religions, whether within its boundaries or outside, with equal respect as given to its own religion. In fact, such a state treats other religions with the sense of imputability, that is, as a secondary kind of religious faith only to be condemned and curbed.

- e) A theocratic state is predominantly a totalitarian state, or it tends to become totalitarian. It attempts to control every aspect of an individual's life by projecting itself as the torch bearer of not only 'this' world, but also of 'heavenly' other world.
- f) A theocratic state by its nature is a rigid state; and therefore, by those standards, a fundamentalist state, an authoritarian one and hence an anti-democratic one.

Theocratic regimes, with more or less intimate interaction between religion and politics, are few in contemporary international relations. In this category we have pure theocratic regimes as well as other regimes having close relationship with religion. A good example of the former is the Islamic Republic of Iran, where the state apparatus is subordinated to Islam and religious leaders have a decisive say in political affairs. There are also countries where even though there is a state religion, religious leaders and institutions are to some extent subordinated to the interests of the state. Countries with Muslim majority populations like Egypt, Malaysia, Indonesia and some predominantly Christian and Buddhist countries such as Sweden and Thailand fall in this category.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use space provided below to write your answer.

ii) Check your answer with those given at the end of this unit.

- 1) What is the relationship between the individual, state and religion in a secular polity?

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- 2) Describe the features of theocratic regimes.

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- 3) Identify a couple of theocratic regimes in India's neighbourhood.

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16.4 RELEVANCE AND TRENDS IN SECULAR POLITY

As we have observed in the earlier section of this unit, secularism has been a part of a process of human liberation from domination and a dominant feature of modern times. Even religion could not remain immune to secular philosophy and outlook. For instance, the Catholic Church in Latin America has witnessed the secularisation of religion. In the 1960s, when great disparities in wealth and

poverty bred social unrest and revolution in Latin America, many Catholic clergymen, bishops as well as parish priests, joined the people in their resistance to exploitation and oppression. In so doing they fashioned a theoretical foundation for their actions in what is called liberation theology. This theology rejected the traditional distinction between religion and politics, and analysed history in terms of the philosophy of Karl Marx as a series of class struggles leading to a classless society. The Roman Catholic Church in Vatican has rejected liberation theology as an approach for social renewal. But the attempt made by liberation theology to combine Christian faith with a commitment to social change clearly reflects the hold secularism has come to have in contemporary times.

At the same time, however, there has been a growth of anti-secularist movements in the last three decades or so. Anti-secular movements seeking to strengthen the political role of religion became pronounced after the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979. Much attention has been bestowed on the Islamic movements in the Middle East with articulate political objectives. However, as we shall see, anti-secular or politically oriented religious movements, often described as 'fundamentalist,' are not limited to a particular religion or region.

In Africa, the Islamic Salvation Front in Algeria sought to establish a Islamic state based on the sharia. The Muslim Brotherhood in Sudan has similar objectives and has been successful in achieving far reaching Islamisation. In Senegal, a country with more than 90 per cent Muslim population, Islamic groups have been anti-secular and in conflict with Sufism. In Togo, Sierra Leone, the Central African Republic, Liberia and Kenya, fundamentalist Christian Church, even while claiming to be apolitical, has become a strong support base for autocratic rulers. In Tanzania, neo-fundamentalist kind of Christianity has emerged on the political arena to counteract 'Muslim threat'.

Asia has also witnessed the rise of anti-secular forces. In India, since the early 1980s, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad has been seeking to strengthen Hindu identity with the objective of establishing a Hindu state. In Sri Lanka, movements aimed at strengthening the political role of Buddhism have emerged, partly in struggles against minority groups like the Tamils. Pakistan has witnessed Islamisation of successive constitutions since the mid-1970s. The most significant development in this regard has been the takeover of major parts of Afghanistan by fundamentalist Taliban groups.

In the United States, a group called the Nation of Islam has voiced strong protests against conservative Christians as well as against secularism and the whole of American political system. In Russia, following the demise of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, Orthodox Christianity in association with Russian neo-liberalism has appeared as the most important political alternative to a Western liberal democratic development in Russia. In several countries of east Europe, there exists a distrust of the West and of the Catholic Church and religious nationalism appears as an important alternative to communism.

The increased significance of religion in politics is partly related to the problems of nationalism and ethnicism. Juergensmeyer, refers to these religious activists, who strive for a revival of religion in public sphere, as religious nationalists. According to him, religious nationalists 'are concerned about the rationale for having a state, the moral basis for politics, and the reasons why a state should elicit loyalty', and they strongly dismiss 'secular nationalism as fundamentally bereft of moral and spiritual values'. Thus, the success of the Islamic movement in Iran, the rise of Orthodox Christianity in Russia and in Serbia, Bulgaria, Rumania and Greece in the 1990s is attributable to religious nationalism based on distrust of the West and rejection of Westernisation.

Elsewhere, the rise of religious activism can be traced to the problem of ethnicity. For instance, minority ethnic groups in Myanmar, Philippines and Thailand believe that they are increasingly coerced into conforming with the requirements of the dominant national group. These groups do not perceive themselves as fully part of the nation, believing that their religious, political and economic rights are violated. Similar sentiments among Sikhs in Punjab and Christians in Nagaland have led to religious activism among minority groups in India. Their activities have often provoked clashes with the government and contributed to violent confrontations between adherents of different religions.

It has been argued by several scholars that one of the reasons for the success of the Islamic movement in Iran was that the religious institutions and leaders were not completely, or even largely, incorporated into and controlled by the state. Hence, it retained the possibility of autonomous action and organisation. A striving for institutional or organisational independence from the state has been a typical feature of the Islamic revival in many countries. Elsewhere, religious movements are serving as important channels of political opposition. This is particularly the case in countries lacking democratic traditions or where the regime has failed in stimulating economic development or in spreading the fruits of economic growth.

In dealing with politically oriented religious movements, secularists have to keep in mind the specific role of religion in politics in a particular context. As we saw, in some cases, it seeks to reform society in accordance with religious tenets and create a tradition oriented, less modernised society. In others, it is part of the democratic struggle, serving as a channel for political opposition or participating in social transformation. A democrat or a secularist must not dismiss religion but must take into account its social base and expose its hegemonic role and differentiate the democratic element wherever available and invite it into struggle against class and social domination.

16.5 LET US SUM UP

Religion has played an important role in the life of the individual. It has made his life ethical and has introduced to him the efficacy of a moral life. Its role in politics has been even greater. The medieval period was the period of the dominance of religion over politics; most of the states were part of the Christendom.

With science and reason replacing divine will and divine laws in the modern age, state laws became independent of religion. This marked the decline of theocratic states, though the remains of theocracy are found still.

Observing the relevance of secularism we saw that it gives that political system a democratic and modern culture; it gives the government a popular base; it gives people a code of conduct where they are equal to each other. By providing equal opportunities for all the people irrespective of their membership in a religious group, secularism provides security and guarantees to religious minorities.

During the last two centuries emphasis has been on secular regimes and most democracies today are secular both in theory and practice. However, in the last three decades or so there has been a growth of anti-secular movements in several parts of the world. These movements seek to strengthen the political role of religion and are generally opposed to the idea of a secular state. Appropriate secular programmes have to be launched to counter them.

16.6 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Bhargava Rajeev (2000) *Secularism and its Critics*, Oxford University Press, Calcutta

Sankhader, MM (Ed) (1992) *Secularism in India*, Deep and Deep, New Delhi

Madan TN (1991) *Religion in India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi

Martin, David (1978) *A General Theory of Secularisation*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford

Smith Donald (1963) *India as a Secular State*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.

16.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) The attempt to establish a body of principles concerning human behaviour based on rational knowledge and experience rather than theology or the supernatural.
- 2) It freed the individual and the state from the authority of the Church. Individuals no longer regarded the Church as a mediator between them and God. The division of the Church into numerous sects weakened the authority of the church. Conflicts between different sects strengthened the state by freeing it from the hold of religion.
- 3) Feudal lords had become obstacles to free trade. Also, they wanted a strong authority to regulate trade and commerce, within and outside the national boundaries.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) State is not concerned with the relationship between the individual and religion. Religion is not concerned with the relationship between the state and individual.
- 2) The Church or institutionalised religion dominates over state. It preaches, practices and promotes state religion. It does not treat other religions with equal respect. It is rigid and authoritarian and has a tendency to become totalitarian.
- 3) Afghanistan, Bhutan, and Tibet (prior to Chinese occupation).

UNIT 17 ORGANS OF GOVERNMENT : EXECUTIVE, LEGISLATURE AND JUDICIARY

Structure

- 17.0 Objectives
- 17.1 Introduction
- 17.2 Organs of Government
- 17.3 Executive
 - 17.3.1 Meaning and Types of Executive
 - 17.3.2 Composition of Executive
 - 17.3.3 Functions of Executive
 - 17.3.4 Increasing Role of the Executive
- 17.4 Legislature
 - 17.4.1 Representation of People
 - 17.4.2 Organisation of Legislature - Unicameral and Bicameral
 - 17.4.3 Functions of Legislature
 - 17.4.4 Decline of Legislature
- 17.5 Judiciary
 - 17.5.1 Functions of Judiciary
 - 17.5.2 Judicial Review and Judicial Activism
 - 17.5.3 Independence of Judiciary
- 17.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 17.7 Some Useful Books
- 17.8 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

17.0 OBJECTIVES

In this unit, we will examine the three main functions of modern governments, viz., legislation, administration and justice. After studying this unit, you should be able to:

- explain the three principal organs of modern governments;
- describe the composition and types of executive;
- recall the organisation of a legislature;
- analyze the functions of the executive, the legislature and the judiciary;
- describe the decline of legislatures and the increasing role of the executive; and
- explain how independence of judiciary is ensured.

17.1 INTRODUCTION

Effective and efficient governance is the expectation of every civilized society. This role is performed by the government which is one of the four essential elements of the state. No state is possible without a government which not only provides security to the people, but also looks after their basic needs and ensures their socio-economic development. Thus, we can say that a government is a set

of institutions that exercises control through legal devices and imposes penalties on those who break the law. For this purpose, social acceptance of the power of the government to control people must be accepted by the people voluntarily and recognized by them. A government normally functions by dividing its functions between its organs, with each organ performing some specific functions. It primarily performs three main functions i.e. making of laws, enforcing the laws, and adjudicating disputes.

This unit attempts to explain the three main organs of a government and the functions performed by it as well as the various provisions related to it. It also explains the relationship between various organs of a government. The organs of government which correspond to its three functions, mentioned in the previous paragraph, are: the legislature, the executive and the judiciary.

17.2 ORGANS OF GOVERNMENT

As stated earlier, there are three organs of a government - the legislature which makes the laws, the executive which implements them, and the judiciary which interprets laws and decides disputes. The organs of the government are so structured that they can adequately perform the functions required of them. This system of dividing powers among the three organs of a government is called "separation of powers". This political tradition is most prevalent in the U. S. There, the Congress makes the laws, the President administers them and the Supreme Court, along with other federal courts, interprets them and imparts justice. The three branches of a government are independent of one another. The legislature should comprise the people's representatives, since they perform the most important duty of making the laws by which the people are to be governed. Thus, efforts are made to secure a fair and wide representation of people in the legislature. The executive implements the laws made by the legislature. It is, therefore, necessary that the executive should comprise competent and efficient people. The third organ of the government, judiciary, interprets the laws and decides cases in accordance with the laws and the constitution.

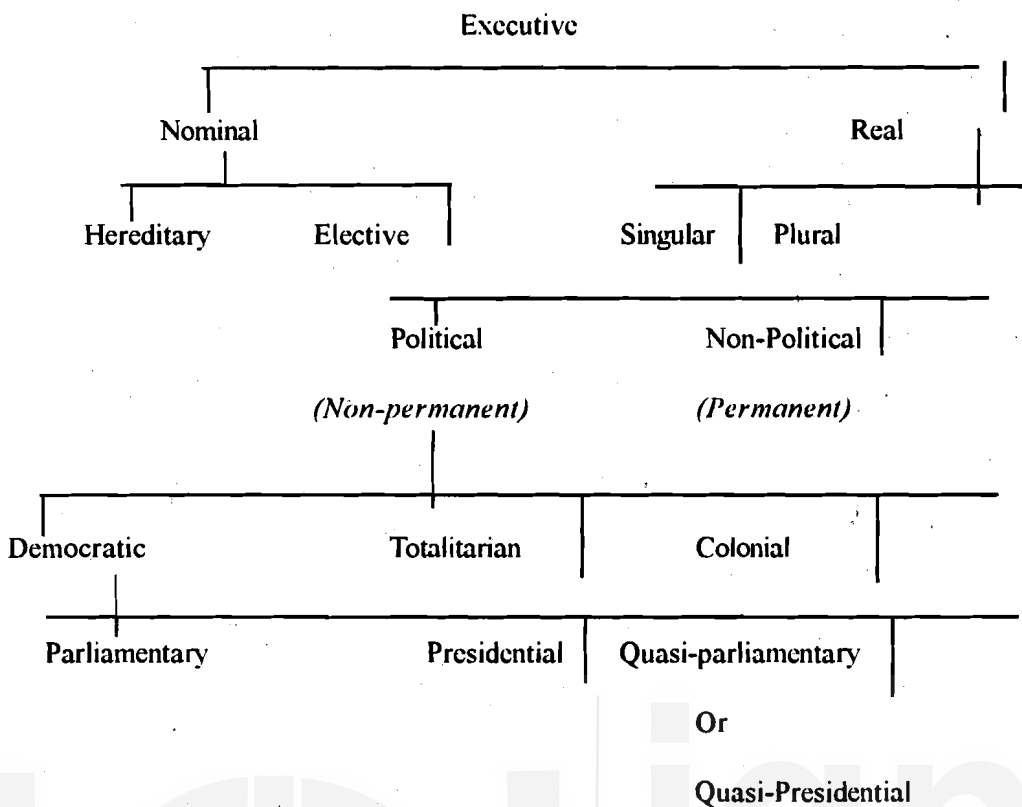
17.3 EXECUTIVE

17.3.1 Meaning and Types of Executive

The executive is the implementing arm of the government. It is the executive which formulates and then implements various policies. The dictionary meaning of the word 'executive' is the power to put important decisions into effect, i.e. to execute. As J. W. Garner says, "In a broad and collective sense, the executive organ embraces the aggregate... of all the functionaries and agencies which are concerned with the will of the state as that will has been formulated and expressed in terms of law...thus, it comprehends the entire governmental organisation. Thus tax collectors, inspectors, commissioners, policemen and perhaps the officers of the army and navy are a part of the executive organisation."

Though the term 'executive' is understood both in broad and narrow senses, in the realm of the study of politics, its narrow meaning is applied. It is the executive head and his principal colleagues who run the machinery of government, formulate national policy and see that it is properly implemented.

The following tabular illustration describes various types of 'executive' that exist in the world:



The nominal executive may be either a monarch or an elected President. What makes him a 'nominal' executive is the fact that he does not enjoy any real powers. He is just a constitutional figurehead, performing some ceremonial duties but enjoying little or no powers, though the entire administration is carried on in his or her name. The monarch may assume office in hereditary succession as in U.K. or through direct or indirect election as in Malaysia. The system of hereditary succession is still prevailing in some countries such as U. K., Nepal, Japan and Saudi Arabia. Wherever there is constitutional monarchy, as in U. K. the real power is not vested in the monarch but in the elected council of ministers headed by the prime minister, and that council is collectively accountable to the legislature.

However, not all existing monarchs in the world are figureheads; there are still some monarchs who enjoy absolute power as they do in Jordan and Saudi Arabia. Such monarchs may be placed in the category of 'real' executives, since they enjoy absolute and limited powers.

The real executive may also be divided into two categories - singular and plural. A singular executive is one that is headed by a single leader who does not share his powers with others as in the U. S. In the U. S., the constitution vests all powers in one person, namely the President. In the case of a plural executive, all powers are vested in a group of ministers. Its only example in today's world is found in Switzerland where the authority of the government is shared by seven ministers (called Presidents) who are elected by the legislature for four years. It is known as the Federal Council. One of the Presidents is formally designated as the President of the Confederation and he performs the ceremonial functions normally exercised by the Head of State in any country.

17.3.2 Composition of Executive

The executive generally consists of two types of officials: (a) the political executive, i.e. President, Prime Minister, Cabinet or Council of Ministers; and (b) the permanent executive or the bureaucracy which remains in office for a fixed

period of tenure regardless of which government comes to power. The political executive is elected directly by the people as in the U. S. where the Presidential type of government prevails, or he may be elected indirectly by the legislature as in the case of India and Great Britain. In China, the President is elected by the National People's Congress and is the head of state and the highest ceremonial functionary of the state.

The political executive may be further divided into three categories as shown in the tabular illustration given above. It is democratic, when its members are chosen by the people and remain accountable to their constituents. For instance, the British cabinet may be removed from office by an adverse vote in the House of Commons. The American President can also be removed from office, not through a vote of no-confidence but by the process of impeachment. Recently, President Bill Clinton of the U.S. went through the process of impeachment but was able to survive because the Senate failed to convict him.

In a totalitarian state, the real executive can not be removed by the people or their chosen representatives. In such a state, people have no freedom to criticize or censure the conduct of the government. Today, such totalitarian states, with the executive enjoying absolute power, exist in Burma, Iraq, Nigeria or in Afghanistan. In the past, the totalitarian regimes existed in Nazi Germany headed by Hitler or in Fascist Italy headed by Mussolini.

Finally, a colonial executive is one who acts under the authority of the colonial government.

The democratic model may be divided into two categories -parliamentary and presidential forms of government. In the parliamentary form of government, the government is run by a cabinet (under the leadership of the Prime Minister) collectively responsible to the legislature, as in India and U. K. The Head of State is a nominal executive in whose name governance is done by the cabinet. The President of India and the Queen of U. K. are nominal heads of state. The second variety of democratic model, namely the Presidential form of government, exists in the U. S. In the United States, the basis of executive-legislature relationship is separation of powers. The President is the real executive. He is neither a member of the legislature, nor removable by it. His tenure is fixed.

In between these two models, there is the model of French executive that can be called as quasi-parliamentary or quasi-presidential as here the President is the real executive; the Prime Minister and the cabinet are under his control and, at the same time, they are accountable to the Parliament. So, the French model imbibes some features of both parliamentary and presidential forms of governments.

17.3.3 Functions of the Executive

In the modern political system, distrust in executive dominance has been replaced by a confidence in its leadership. Today, the classical theory of the three organs of government with equal powers needs restatement because the executive has now become the government in the real sense of the term. Among its many functions, the first and the foremost function of the executive is to run the administration of the country. The government has to ensure and maintain internal peace and order. The executive has also to conduct external relations, make treaties with foreign states, declare war and conclude peace, mobilize troops, proclaim emergency when required, re-value or devalue currency, fix prices of essential commodities and perform other activities relating to the well-being of the people of the state.

In recent times, the executive has started performing some legislative functions also, even though this work does not fall in its domain. The executive is taking considerable initiative in drafting and proposing laws to the legislature. This is particularly true of parliamentary governments as in the United Kingdom and India. In India, the executive can issue ordinances when the legislature is not in session. Also, the bills passed by the legislature are subject to the veto power of the Head of the State. Even in the U. S., where the separation of power prevails, the President manages to influence the legislative sphere by sending his 'messages' or having a bill passed by the Congress through his 'friends'.

What has added to the expanding functions of the executive is the growth of delegated legislation. The laws made by the Parliament generally do not contain the details which are subsequently filled in by the executive.

The executive also performs some judicial functions. In all the countries, the Head of the State is entrusted with the power of granting pardon or reprieve or amnesty to the offenders. This is called his 'Prerogative Of Mercy.' He also performs functions like the appointment of judges, and a host of disputes are also settled through administrative tribunals. In certain countries, the ministers are given the power to act like appellate tribunals. In France, there is a separate system of administrative laws and courts.

The executive also controls the 'purse of the nation'. It is the executive which prepares the budget and presents it to the parliament for its approval. It is the executive that actually decides the taxation structure of the country; the parliament only puts its seal of approval. Also, it is the executive which has to see that the provisions of the budget are implemented after being passed in the Parliament. For this, the executive also has auditing and comptrolling agencies to act as the financial watchdog of the country.

The permanent executive, i.e. the bureaucracy, is involved at every stage of the decision-making process and maintains continuity in administration. Often, the political executive depends upon the bureaucrats because of their technical expertise and knowledge.

Chester Barnard, in his work titled "The Functions of the Executive" relates the function of the executive 'with the determination of the objectives, the initiation of policy, the manipulation of means, control over the instruments of action, and stimulation of action, and stimulation of coordinated action.'

17.3.4 Increasing Role of the Executive

Today, the representative democracy has been somewhat replaced by what may be termed as 'executive democracy' or even 'bureaucratic democracy', according to R. H. S. Crossman. The executive is the most important organ of the political organisation. As Rodee remarks, "On the one hand, the earlier enthusiasm for the wisdom and competence of representative assemblies has declined, on the other, a century or more of experience with popularly elected executive power has dissipated earlier suspicions and established confidence. Moreover, the rapidly multiplying problems and functions of democratic governments have virtually compelled the transfer of many powers from the legislature to the executive." This is especially the case with parliamentary democracies. The political executive, by virtue of being in the majority in the lower chamber of the legislature, is able to push through all legislations. Strict party discipline, as in the U. K., makes the legislative control of the executive very nominal. Also, usually the executive is united and single whereas the members of the legislature are divided on party lines, and this gives the executive an edge over them. What

Greaves has said about the English model of government is largely applicable to the systems of other countries as well — that the executive “has become in practice the first chamber in our law-making mechanism.”

However, the need of the hour demands a proper check on the leadership of the executive. The fate of the political system depends on the role of the political leaders who are said to be entrusted with three important functions, namely, founding, implementing and stabilizing a regime. What is thus needed is the imposition of proper checks on the authority of the executive. This will enable it to efficiently as well as properly perform the manifold functions entrusted to it, which include the “creation of a welfare service, the extension of social welfare to the whole population, and the ‘restoration of compassion’, in the words of Adlai Stevenson.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with that given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Bring out the main differences between parliamentary and presidential executives.

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- 2) Describe briefly any two functions of the executive.

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- 3) Why has the modern executive become more powerful ?

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17.4 LEGISLATURE

Legislature in the field of comparative politics is technically known as the rule-making department. Legislature, most commonly known by the name of parliament, forms the first important organ of a political organisation. The word ‘parliament’, which originally meant ‘a talk’, is derived from the French word ‘parles’ and the Latin word ‘Parliamenuni’. Framing laws is the most important function of the present day legislatures and they are often known by the quality of their legislation. However, today, the normative interpretations describing legislature as a ‘mirror of the nation’, ‘embodiment of the general will of the community’, ‘a committee of grievances’, ‘a congress of opinions’ and the like.

have been overshadowed by the empirical statements hitting at its real significance as a 'talking shop', an institution of class exploitation and oppression, a 'demised body' and the like.

17.4.1 Representation of People

In modern states, direct democracy, as it functioned in Greek city-states, is impossible. Therefore, people in a democracy elect their own representatives to perform the tasks of the government. Representation, is actually, "the process through which the attitudes, preferences, viewpoints and desires of the entire citizenry or a part of them are, with their expressed approval, shaped into governmental action on their behalf by a smaller number among them, with binding effect upon those represented." The legislatures are supposed to reflect public opinion. Elections are held periodically in order to register changes. Devices like reservation of seats or functional representation are also adopted for certain sections of the population who do not get fair representation. For example, in India, seats are reserved for Scheduled Castes/Tribes in the legislature as well as in the bureaucracy.

In a parliamentary democracy, the executive is elected by the people and it is the legislature which claims to represent the sovereign will of the people. Even in non-democratic states, the executive seeks to rely on a body of people who, it thinks, can express popular wishes.

17.4.2 Organisation of Legislature - Unicameral and Bicameral

Legislatures are either unicameral or bicameral. The issue of bicameralism has, however, gained more importance. A unicameral legislature has only one chamber based upon popular representation and is responsible for the entire function of law-making. Unicameral legislatures exist in some countries such as New Zealand, Denmark, Finland, and China. It is also existing in some of the Indian states like Punjab, Haryana, Orissa, and Kerala.

A bicameral legislature consists of two chambers: (a) the upper and (b) the lower chamber. The lower chamber is generally more popular in character and has a greater say in law-making. The lower houses are directly elected as in India, U.K., France, Germany, etc. Upper houses are also directly elected in some countries such as the Senate in the United States. In Britain, members of the upper house, the House of Lords, are nominated. In India, the upper chamber, the Rajya Sabha, is indirectly elected. In a bicameral legislature, there is a lot of party politics and the process of law-making is much more complex, since both the Houses have to give their assent to the bills. The federating units have their representatives in the upper chambers, which enables their viewpoints also to be represented in the parliament, and which also enables them to safeguard their rights. A bicameral legislature easily manages to maintain a balance between the centre and the federating units, which is very essential for the successful functioning of the federal system.

In some upper chambers (as in India), there is also provision for giving representation to learned and well-known individuals, to represent literature, art, science and social services. In India, the President can nominate 12 members in the Rajya Sabha. Thus, the legislature, on the whole, can benefit from their experience and wisdom. The upper chambers, in fact, can act as a check upon the popularly elected lower chambers. However, in actual practice, it is very difficult to say if the upper chambers are really more sober, less partisan or better guardian of states' rights. It is rather a tradition than utility which justifies their existence in many states.

17.4.3 Functions of Legislature

The place and significance of the rule-making bodies, from a functional point of view, varies from the 'sovereign' English Parliament to the non-sovereign Supreme Soviet of the erstwhile USSR, or from the 'powerful' American Congress to the 'powerless' Cortes of Spain - a body 'supinely acquiescing in the will of the ruler'. While taking a synthesized view of the functions of legislative bodies, Curtis enumerates them in the following manner:

- 1) Legislatures choose the head of the state; they may also remove him by the process of impeachment, or they can change the law of his succession or election. For instance, the British Parliament can change the law of primogeniture or the method of abdication. The parliaments of India and Israel elect the President of the Republic, the House of Representatives of the United States has the right to elect a President in case no candidate gets absolute majority in the Presidential poll. The legislatures of the U. S. and India can also remove their Presidents by the process of impeachment. The parliaments of Canada, New Zealand and Australia recommend three names to the English Sovereign and one of them is nominated by him/her to act as the Governor-General of the country.
- 2) The Legislatures also approve the choice of the Prime Minister and his ministers in some countries. All ministerial nominations by the President in the U. S. have to be ratified by the Senate. The list of ministers comprising the cabinet has to be approved by the Knesset in Israel. The Federal Assembly of Switzerland elects its seven presidents of the Federal Council. The nomination of the Prime Minister made by the King must be approved by the Diet in Japan. The Prime Minister nominated by the President in France has to seek a vote of confidence in the Parliament. In countries having a cabinet form of government like Britain and India, the ministers can remain in office only as long as they enjoy the confidence of the legislature. Recently, the Vajpayee government lost a confidence motion in the legislature. In a theoretical sense, this provision also applies to countries like Russia and China.
- 3) Legislatures may also influence or control government behaviour or seek to make the executives accountable to them. Votes of no-confidence, censure motions, interpellation procedures, debates on budgets and major policies of the government, process of impeachment, etc. are the various devices in the hands of the legislators to exercise their control over the government. The American Congress took up impeachment proceedings against Bill Clinton in 1998. The exit of the British Prime Minister Attlee in 1949, Eden in 1956 and Macmillan in 1968 confirms the fact that the parliament possesses the controlling authority. Thus, the legislatures also perform certain judicial functions. In India, they have the power to impeach the President as well as the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and so on.
- 4) Legislators choose their office-bearers and they can also remove them. They can also disqualify their members on the charge of proved 'misbehaviour' or committing an act of corruption or treason or breach of privileges. Speakers and Deputy Speakers are elected by the rule-making bodies and they may remove them by a vote of no-confidence.
- 5) The most important function of the legislatures is to make rules, because they are the rule-making departments of the government. The bills are moved, debated and then passed with or without amendments. In most of the countries having a 'democratic' form of legislative behaviour, the bills are

given three readings. Often the bills are referred to the committees of the parliament for more detailed scrutiny. In a communist country, as in China, it is not the legislature as such, but its small committee that first adopts a bill at the invisible behest of the party in power, and it is adopted by the legislature subsequently. Also, the ordinance issued by the head of the state when the parliament is not in session has to be ratified by the legislature within a period of six weeks from the date of commencement of the session.

- 6) A Legislature often holds the purse strings. Its approval is necessary for the annual budget or for the imposition of taxes. Through committees, they also scrutinize the expenditure of the government. In India, this is done by Public Accounts Committee. (PAC)

The legislatures also reduce 'tensions', provide reassurance and generally enhance satisfaction with the policies and programmes of the government. They also provide scope for the articulation of interests. They perform 'exit functions', meaning thereby that, when the political system seems to have reached an impasse and the normal decision-making process seems incapable of providing a way out of the situation, the elites sometimes turn to the legislatures for either the substance or the form, or both, of a decision which will take the system out of the impasse. They also serve as a training ground for the future leadership of the country. Besides, they strengthen 'consensual institutional continuity', and they often constitute the only means of administrative overview available in the country.

It is these functions that enable the rule-making bodies of the developing countries to play their significant role. However, Packenhan also refers to the obstructionist role of the legislatures. They "tend to represent all over the world more conservative and parochial interests than executives, even in democratic politics. This seems specially to be the case in presidential, as contrasted with the parliamentary, political system. In societies that need and want change, and where political modernisation may be defined as the will and capacity to cope with and generate continuing transformation, it may not make much sense to strengthen the decision-making power of an institution that is likely to resist change."

Legislative bodies all over the world make use of the committee system for the sake of efficiency of work and economy of time. In actual practice, the legislative body is known by the committee it keeps. As More suggests: "No legislature can function effectively without the aid of some committee. Discussion of details is impossible at a large meeting which is too unwieldy to debate anything but broad principles. For this reason all democratic legislatures elect smaller groups to discuss matters in detail and these bring the result of their discussion back to the larger body for decisions."

17.4.4 Decline of Legislature

A very critical examination of the functions and powers of the legislatures, confirms that the old distrust of the executives has been replaced by a new confidence in their leadership. The strong position of the Cabinet working under the leadership of the Prime Minister in a parliamentary form of government, confirms the doctrine of Ramsay Muir that the emergence of a powerful cabinet has, to a remarkable extent, diminished the power and position of the Parliament, robbed its proceedings of significance, and made it appear that the Parliament exists mainly for the purpose of criticizing the omnipotent Cabinet. The Cabinet has emerged as the main forum where the policies are discussed and finalized, while the parliament merely discusses them, more or less as a formality, and is in no position to alter them if the cabinet enjoys absolute majority in the parliament.

It is the Cabinet that has the final say in a parliamentary form of government. This is applicable to all the legislatures based on the English model. The American Congress has lost much of its legislative autonomy because of the Presidential check on one hand and, the power of judicial review on the other. The legislatures of communist countries do not have even that truncated area of authority; rather, they are used as an agency for propaganda purposes. They are "a rubber stamp for decisions made elsewhere in the Russian political system."

The charge of the decline of the legislature draws support from the following points. Firstly, the area of authority which originally belonged to the legislatures has been usurped by the executives. It is the Cabinet that decides about many things like summoning and proroguing the session of the Parliament, writing the text of the inaugural address to be delivered by the Head of State, preparing a daily time-table of the session of the House and doing a host of other things that constitute the stock of parliamentary business. In a country like the U. S., though the legislature remains separated from the executive, the President vetoes the bill passed by the Congress as per his judgement. He can also send 'messages' to the Congress, and, through his 'friends', get certain kind of bills passed. In a country like France, where we find a mixture of the parliamentary and presidential forms, the President may even go to the extent of dissolving the legislature.

Secondly, the power of the courts to look into the constitutional validity of a legislative measure has affected the authority of the legislatures. Though this factor does not apply to Britain, it applies to the United States where the federal judiciary has been given the power of judicial review, under which it can declare a law 'ultra vires', in case it finds that it is not consistent with, or it violates, the constitution of the country.

Lastly, what has really led to the attenuation of the authority of the modern legislatures is the role of party politics. The top leaders of the party keep the members under their strict control with the result that the latter have no alternative but to toe the official line.

Though the power and prestige of the legislatures is declining, they are working with varying degrees of authority. The legislature is still treasured as a formal centre and focus in every political system. Thus, it is rightly observed: "Decline is in the eye of the beholder and depends on his analytical perspectives."

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with that given at the end of the unit.

1) Distinguish, with examples, between unicameral and bi-cameral legislatures.

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2) Mention any three functions of the legislature.

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3) Account for the decline of the legislature.

17.5 JUDICIARY

Judiciary, also known as the rule-adjudication department of the government, in quite simple terms, may be defined as the third organ of government concerned with the job of doing justice. It interprets law and awards punishments for the violation of laws. The primary objective of any political system is to protect the rights of the individual, and this work is done by the judicial organ of the government.

17.5.1 Functions of Judiciary

The judges may be nominated by the Head of the State, or appointed by following a process of selection, or elected or co-opted by the fellow judges.

The functions of the judiciary differ from one political system to another, but generally they are as follows:

The first and the foremost function of the courts is the administration of justice. The courts hear and decide cases of all civil, criminal and constitutional nature. In countries having written constitutions, the courts are also entrusted with the power of interpreting the constitution. They act as the guardian of the constitution.

Secondly, though legislation is the work of the legislatures, the courts also legislate in a different way. Where a law is silent, or ambiguous, the courts decide what a law is and how it should prevail.

Thirdly, the courts in a federal system of government also play the role of an independent and impartial umpire between the central and regional governments.

Fourthly, the courts are important agencies of legitimizing the outputs of government. It is expected that the courts should keep themselves aware of the growing urges and aspirations of the people and should interpret the meaning of law dynamically in the light of obtaining situation. They should see that any law or executive action does not infringe upon the various rights of the people.

Fifthly, the courts should also stabilize and support the existing political system. The behaviour of the courts must not be obstructive or destructive so that the smooth running of the political organisation becomes a problem.

The most controversial function of the courts lies in their power of judicial review under which they have the capacity to examine the validity of a legislative or administrative measure, and then declare it, either in part or full, 'intra vires or ultra vires of the constitution.' This power had its origin in the United States and also has its best form there. Its second best example can be found in India. Its weaker instances can be found in other countries also like Italy, Australia and South Africa.

As stated earlier, the functions of the courts differ from one political system to another, though most of them, as described above, are common to all, and that lay down the basic line of distinction between the executive / legislative and judicial powers.

17.5.2 Judicial Review and Judicial Activism

The Encyclopaedia Britannica defines judicial review as "the power exerted by the courts of a country to examine the actions of the legislative, executive and administrative arms of the government and to ensure that such actions conform to the provisions of the nation's constitution." Ferguson and McHenry defined judicial review as "the power of a court to hold unconstitutional any law or official action that it deems to be in conflict with the basic law, or the constitution." Judicial review is, thus, a power in the hands of the courts to look into the constitutional validity of a legislative or administrative measure and then give a judgement in regard to its being *intra vires* or *ultra vires* of the constitution.

The study of judicial review virtually relates to the two democratic countries of the world, i.e. United States and India, both having written constitutions and a federal system of government. Both the American Supreme Court and the Indian Supreme Court recognize judicial supremacy. The American judiciary can also declare an Act unconstitutional, if it fails to satisfy the requirements of the "due process of law". The "due process" clause and "judicial supremacy" has turned the American Supreme Court into a kind of super legislature. In communist countries there is no place for judicial review where judges are elected by the legislatures and they are required to honour the 'will of the people'. In Britain too, the English courts can not look into the constitutional validity of a legislative measure made by the sovereign Parliament. However, they may exercise the power of judicial review over delegated legislation. If an executive action contravenes the law of the Parliament, in letter or in spirit, the courts may strike it down. The Federal Tribunal of Switzerland has the power of judicial review that it may exercise in relation to the laws made by the Cantonal legislatures only. Article 81 of the Japanese constitution also empowers the Supreme Court to exercise the power of judicial review.

This power of judicial review in the hands of courts has led to what has recently been called as judicial activism. In recent years, at times there has been a vacuum in the executive, and the judiciary has on many occasions filled that space. In India, the first push came after the Emergency phase when the Supreme Court came up with the device of public-interest litigation (PIL), a tool meant to ensure justice for the under-privileged and the marginalised. The recent regulations of the Indian Supreme Court and High Courts, like making helmet compulsory for 2-wheeler drivers, no felling of trees, ban on vehicles more than 15 or 20 years old or ban on hoardings on the roadside in Delhi are a few examples of judicial activism. The United States Supreme Court's decision regarding the ban on abortions also shows how activated the judiciary has been in these countries.

It is said that judicial review opens scope for more and more judicial debates, and ushers in a 'paradise' for the lawyers. It leads to a confrontation between the executive and judicial departments. It makes the courts virtually a 'third chamber' or the 'super-house of the legislature'. Thus, there is politicisation of the judiciary that undermines the authority of the chosen representatives of the people. On the other hand, it is by virtue of this power that the judiciary can save the people from the onslaughts of the executive or legislative despotism.

17.5.3 Independence of the Judiciary

The enormous powers and functions of the judiciary make the courts responsible for the well-being and protection of the rights of the nation on the whole. Thus, to perform these functions effectively, it is necessary that it should be independent and impartial. Even though in some countries (e.g., Switzerland and the U. S.) judges are elected, in most others they are appointed by the executive. However, once appointed, they cannot be easily removed except by the process of impeachment on the grounds of proven misbehaviour and incapacity. Their salary and service conditions are placed beyond the control of the executive or legislature. While making an appointment, the President is not guided by party considerations, but by merits and capability of the persons concerned. The salaries and allowances of the judges are placed beyond the control of the executive or legislature so that it cannot be altered to their disadvantage. In many countries like India, an oath is administered so that the judges can perform their duties to the best of their ability without fear, favour, affection or ill-will.

In the words of Shri Aiyar, the Supreme Court of India "has more powers than any other Supreme Court in the world." A comparison of the Supreme Courts of India and America shows that if the former has wider jurisdiction with regard to appeals from the lower courts, the latter has advantage over the former with regard to original jurisdiction which, in addition to the settlement of disputes between the units of the federation, extends to all cases relating to ambassadors, consuls, ministers, treaties, naval forces and maritime matters. On the appellate side, the Indian Supreme Court enjoys wider powers than its counter-part which does not deal with appeals in civil and criminal cases except the constitutional ones. The Indian Supreme Court has advisory functions also which the American Supreme Court does not have. Above all, the Indian Supreme Court is a court of record. The American Supreme Court is deprived of these privileges.

Thus, the courts have a very important share in the political process of a country, though this varies with the nature of the political system and the culture of the people. Cooperation and conflict between the real administrators and the honest adjudicators should go hand in hand so that the political system develops further and is not decayed. It is rightly observed: "The courts are the part of the political process and one should stress cooperation as much as conflict. They interact with other parts of the political system not as illegitimate outsiders but as part of the stable ruling political alliance."

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with that given at the end of the unit.

1) What are the main functions of a judiciary ?

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2) Describe, with reference to the United States, the working of judicial review.

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3) How is the independence of a judiciary ensured ?

17.6 LET US SUM UP

The governance of any country requires the making of laws, their execution and interpretation which is carried out by the legislature, executive and the judiciary respectively.

The executive includes the political executive and the bureaucracy. It implements the laws and directs the administration. In parliamentary democracies, it initiates laws also. Currently, the role of the executive has increased tremendously.

In democracies, the legislature is elected by, and represents, the people. It claims to represent the sovereign will of the people. The legislature may be bicameral or unicameral. Bicameral legislatures are better because they are supposed to represent special interests: to check hasty legislation and, in federal states, to represent the federating units. Legislatures not only make laws but, seek to control the administration and perform some functions of judicial nature. However, recently there has been a decline in the role of the legislature because of party conflict, dominance of the executive, and other reasons.

The judiciary settles disputes and interprets laws and the constitution. It protects individual rights, and is the guardian of laws and the constitution. It has also got the power of judicial review which has led to judicial activism in recent years. All this requires it to be independent and impartial.

Thus, all these organs of government have their own assigned roles and, at the same time, they are also linked to each other. It is upon their harmonious functioning that a political system acquires stability as well as vitality.

17.7 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Almond, G. A., Powell, C. B., 1975, *Comparative Politics: A Development Approach* (New Delhi, Amerind Publishing Co.)

Blum, W. T., 1971, *Theories of the Political System* (Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall).

Crick, B., 1964, *In Defence of Politics* (Harmondsworth, Penguin).

Deutsch, K., 1980, *Politics and Government* (New York, Houghton Mifflin).

Eckstein Harry, Apter, David, eds., 1963, *Comparative Politics* (New York, The Free Press).

17.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Parliamentary and Presidential governments are two most popular forms of democracy today. While a parliamentary government is based on intimate relationship between the executive and the legislature, separation of powers is the basis of the Presidential System. India and U. K. have a parliamentary form of government where the Head of State is the nominal executive, while the cabinet, in actual fact, exercises real executive functions, and is answerable to the legislature. The United States offers the best example of a presidential form of government, the tenure of the real executive, the President, being fixed.
- 2) Formulation of internal and external policies; enforcement of law, maintenance of order, regulation of currency, declaration of war and making of peace, are some of the functions of the executive. The executive often drafts bills and ensures their enactment into laws. It controls purse, raises revenues and manages economic planning. The Head of State, in exercise of his prerogative of mercy, may pardon the criminals or reduce their sentence. The political executive formulates policies which are then implemented by the civil servants.
- 3) In the highly interdependent world, the executive everywhere tends to become more powerful. Since it largely controls legislation, finance, war and peace, it tends to acquire more powers. Every major crisis enables the executive to assert its authority, and numerous laws passed by the legislature tend to vest more powers in the executive.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Modern democratic legislatures are either unicameral i.e. having only one House as in China where the National People's Congress is the representative of the people and does not share power with any other House, or bi-cameral in which the legislature has two Houses. The U.K. the U.S.A., India, Switzerland etc have bi-cameral legislatures. The lower house is always popularly elected, while the upper house may be nominated as in U.K., or directly elected as in the U.S., or indirectly elected as in India. The U.S. upper house, the Senate, is more powerful than the lower house, namely the House of Representatives. Generally, the lower house (Lok Sabha in India) enjoys more powers than the upper house.
- 2) Legislature's primary function is to enact laws, and adopt budget. In U. K. and India, the legislature exercises direct control over the ministers, as the lower house can remove the Prime Minister. Legislatures also enjoy some elective powers, e.g. the Indian President is elected by the Union Parliament and State Assemblies. Presidents and judges can be removed only through impeachment.
- 3) Old distrust in the executive has been replaced by a new confidence in its leadership. Legislatures have large size; they have to debate numerous issues and are generally over-worked. Party system often allows great powers to the executive which even controls its party members in the legislature. In one-party states, the party dominates all organs of government leading to the decline of legislature.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) To administer justice, decide disputes and punish criminals. In a federal set-up, the centre-state disputes are resolved by the highest courts as in the U.S. and India. Higher judiciary protects the constitution and can annul laws which are violative of the Constitution. Rights of the people are protected by the courts, and for that purpose writs are often issued by the higher courts.
- 2) The judiciary has the power to review and examine laws and executive orders with a view to determining whether or not they are in conformity with the constitution. Laws which violate the constitution are wholly or partially declared void or unconstitutional by the judiciary. The power to declare a law or an executive action invalid and ultra vires of the constitution originated in the U.S. in 1803 in Marbury vs. Madison case. The Indian Supreme Court also frequently exercises this power.
- 3) Judges should be free from executive and legislative control. They should be appointed by the Head of State on merit; should have fixed and long tenure; should not be easily removable; and should get handsome salaries and allowances. The Judiciary in India, the U.S. and most democratic countries enjoys independence. It acts as the guardian of the constitution and the rights and liberties of the people.

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UNIT 18 UNITARY AND FEDERAL SYSTEMS: PATTERNS AND TRENDS IN FEDERAL SYSTEMS

- 18.0 Objectives
- 18.1 Introduction
- 18.2 Distinguishing Features of Unitary and Federal Systems
 - 18.2.1 Purposive Decentralisation
 - 18.2.2 Centralisation
 - 18.2.3 Source of Power and its Arrangement within the System
- 18.3 Examples of Federal Political Arrangements
 - 18.3.1 The Concept of Federation
 - 18.3.2 Decentralised Union
 - 18.3.3 Condominium
 - 18.3.4 Other Arrangements
- 18.4 Changing Nature of Federalism
 - 18.4.1 Johannes Althusius on Federalism
 - 18.4.2 American Federalists and the Theory of Dual Federalism
 - 18.4.3 Cooperative Federalism
 - 18.4.4 Interdependent Federalism
- 18.5 Distribution of Powers in Federations
 - 18.5.1 Legislative Distribution
 - 18.5.2 Distribution of Finances
- 18.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 18.7 Some Useful Books
- 18.8 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

18.0 OBJECTIVES

The main objective of this unit is to tell you about the basic features of unitary and federal systems. After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- distinguish between unitary and federal systems;
- discuss different types of federal political arrangements;
- describe the distribution of powers in federations; and
- comment on changing nature of federalism.

18.1 INTRODUCTION

The present unit deals with the unitary and federal types of political arrangements. The distinction between the two is often not clear even to specialists and so, an effort has been made here to clearly explain the contrast between the two types. As you will learn, the distinction between the unitary and the federal political systems essentially rests upon the mode of distribution of powers. Then, there are variations within the two systems. More of these are given in the following pages.

18.2 DISTINGUISHING FEATURES OF UNITARY AND FEDERAL SYSTEMS

There is no universally accepted definition of the term 'unitary' and 'federal'. This is because there have emerged varieties of political arrangements like unions, constitutionally decentralised unions, federations, confederations, federacies, associated states, condominiums, leagues, hybrids etc., which share or combine the structural features of both these two. Also in their actual workings many unitary and federal systems have developed or deliberately included the features of each other.

18.2.1 Purposive Decentralisation

One finds 'Purposive Decentralisation' - a process through which the central or the national government transfers its authority to the local/provincial governments in a given jurisdiction - within an otherwise unitary system such as the U.K. and France. Decentralisation may be effected either through formal constitutional amendments, seeking formal and irreversible devolution of powers or through mere executive orders providing for temporary delegation of central authority. Similarly, we notice marked centralisation of powers within federal polities like the U.S.A. and India.

18.2.2 Centralisation

Centralisation, in this context, refers to a growth in the ability of the federal government to exercise its authority and control in the areas, which have been traditionally reserved for provincial competence. Centralisation is due to the implied powers, either judicially constructed as in the case of the U.S.A., or as provided in the Constitutions of India and Canada, of federal government to seek national uniformity in policy making by the provinces, especially on subjects like health, education, environment and forest management, water resources trade and economic development etc., which have inter-state implications and pan-national bearings. The federal government does this either through formal transfer of subjects from provincial jurisdictions to concurrent or federal jurisdiction, or through extension of its executive authority to provide guidelines to the provinces as to how to legislate and what to include within the laws framed by the State.

The federal Constitution of Germany has specifically empowered the federal government to enact framework legislation broadly covering the above mentioned subjects for the Legislation of the States. Article 75 of its constitution provides "if the Federation adopts framework legislation, the States are bound to adopt the necessary State statutes within an adequate time frame stipulated by the legislation." Thus, it is on the pretext of seeking minimum uniformity of law and policy-planning that the federal governments in many federal states have encroached upon the autonomy of the federating units.

Yet, we can broadly attempt to differentiate unitary from federal on the basis of varying methods of allocation of powers and its arrangements within the system. But for a neat distinction between the two, we have firstly to look at the source of power.

18.2.3 Sources of Power and its Arrangement within the System

Usually within a federal system, it is the written constitution, which allocates powers, authority and competences to each level of government (federal and

regional governments). Competences here refer to the relative autonomy of legislation and execution by a government on the subjects assigned to it by the constitution. It is, therefore, non-centralisation that is the most important feature of a federal system.

Non-centralisation is quite different from decentralisation in the sense that the latter envisages a power-centre, (usually central government) which according to its need, may either devolve or delegate authority to the lower or subordinate units of government, or when the need arises, it may recentralize the power again. Therefore, decentralisation is always conditional and limited. Contrary to this, non-centralisation is a constitution-based diffusion of power among plurality of self-sustaining centres within a federal system. In this mode of distribution, competence of a regional government can hardly be abrogated or taken over by the federal government. Both the levels of government are coordinate authorities enjoying relative independence and autonomy of decision making. Any change in the constitutional schema of distribution of powers can be effected only with mutual consent of each government, and that too through a very complex process of constitutional amendment. Non-centralisation is usually achieved and secured through the doctrine of separation of powers with checks and balances.

On the contrary, centralisation and hierarchy are two essential features of a unitary system. The powers are heavily concentrated within the central or national government. Unlike the federal pre-requisite of a written constitution, the unitary system not necessarily needs a formal written constitution. The source of power is not the constitution, but to draw the U.K. experience, it is the 'King-in-Parliament' from which emanate all the powers. The local governments draw their authority from the central government. Also within a unitary system, powers are arranged hierarchically where each subordinate structure of the government acts as an extended arm of the superior apex authority i.e., the central government. The regional/ local administration enjoys only limited functional autonomy. As a matter of fact, autonomy within a unitary system is a matter of functional convenience, rather being an essential constitutional principle of 'power-sharing' and 'self-rule'. Therefore, the extent of functional autonomy is relative to the degree of administrative-political decentralisation at a given point of time within a unitary system. Administrative decentralisation is one of the mechanisms of devolution through which the central authority 'off-load' some of its functions to the local government for their better management, and to ensure an efficient national service delivery system. Thus, it is only in the 'off-loaded' area where the regional government enjoys autonomy and independence of decision-making.

Another noticeable difference between unitary and federal system lies in the manner and purpose of territorial delineation of administration. While in a unitary system, territorial administration is formed purely from functional perspective and broadly to serve as an agency of the central government, territorial formation of politics within a federal system is intended to accommodate pluralism within a federal state. It is probably, the reason that the territorial units enjoy considerable constitutive autonomy and competences.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer

ii) Check your answer with that given at the end of the unit

1) Compare and contrast a unitary political system with a federal one.

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18.3 EXAMPLES OF FEDERAL POLITICAL ARRANGEMENTS

On the basis of the extended meaning of autonomy and self-rule, varieties of political arrangements are brought within the ambit of the study of federalism. This includes firstly, the federations.

18.3.1 The Concept of Federation

It is a compounded polity consisting of strong regional governments and a general or central government, each possessing considerable amount of autonomy in the exercise of competences allotted to them by the constitution. Federation is formed on the basis of sharing of state's sovereignty. The examples include well known federations like India, Canada, U.S.A. etc.

18.3.2 Decentralised Union

Next to it is the decentralised union which, though primarily a unitary state, include historic sub-national units enjoying considerable amount of local/regional functional autonomy to manage their exclusive identity. Thus, in the U.K. Scotland enjoys considerable amount of autonomy to manage its own legal system, education, health, local administration, banking etc. The other examples of decentralised unions include Japan, Italy, Ukraine, Indonesia, Netherlands etc. Unions, unlike the above two forms of polities, are compounded polities in which constituent units retain their respective integrities not through the system of self-government, but through the general government. New Zealand and Lebanon are important examples of Unions.

18.3.3 Condominium

When a territorial political unit with internal self-rule is governed jointly by two or more external states, it is termed as a 'Condominium.' An example of this is the Andorra, which till the other day (1278-1993) functioned under the joint rule of France and Spain.

18.3.4 Other Arrangements

While these forms of political arrangements are operative at the national level, confederations, (eg. European Union, Common Wealth of Independent States, etc.); Leagues (for example, the various regional arrangements like the South Asia Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), Arab League, Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) etc.); and Joint Functional Authorities like International Labour Organisation (ILO) etc. are arrangement working at the international and trans-regional levels. All these arrangements, work through a joint-decision making process and are formed through a collective desire of individual countries to address jointly the common economic and political interests and motives.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with that given at the end of the unit.

1) What is a federation? Give examples.

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2) What is a decentralized union? Explain with examples.

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3) Write a short note on other federal political arrangements you know of.

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18.4 CHANGING NATURE OF FEDERALISM

Federalism, originating from the Latin word *foedus*, meaning 'compact', has always been an integral part of thoughts on nation-state, democracy, sovereignty, autonomy and constitutionalism. However, there have been varied views on its nature and type.

18.4.1 Johannes Althusius on Federalism

The first ever systematic treatment of the subject was provided by the German theorist, Johannes Althusius (1557-1638). In his celebrated work, *Politica Methodice Digesto*, Althusius holds that every human association is formed by a "pactum expresseem vel taeitum" that is, the pact or covenant is the first fundamental principle of 'living together', and subsequent formation of a federal union. From this followed the emergence of federalism as an important political principle of organising society and polity.

18.4.2 American Federalists and the Theory of Dual Federalism

The next important stage in the development of federalism is the discovery of 'federal state' in America by the Federalists - Hamilton, Jay and Madison, who premised American federalism on the concept of a dual federalism. The theory of dual federalism, according to Edward Corwin, represents the synthesis of four axioms:

1. The national government is one of enumerated powers only;
2. Also the purpose which it may constitutionally promote are few;
3. Within their respective spheres, the two centres of government are "sovereign" and hence "equal";
4. The relation of the two centres with each other is one of tension rather than collaboration."

As observed by Carl J. Friedrich in his book *Trends of Federalism in Theory and Practice*, 1968, the federalist further argued "that in a federal system of

government, each citizen belongs to two communities, that of his state and that of the nation; that these two levels of community should be clearly distinguished and effectively provided each with their own government; and that in the structuring of the government of the larger community, the component states as states must play a distinctive role. Contrary to the earlier notion... the federal system here is not composed merely of states, as is a league, but creates a new community, all inclusive of the citizens of all the states". This stress on the creation of a larger national/political community had over the years led to the emergence of the notion of cooperative federalism.

18.4.3 Cooperative Federalism

Unlike dual federalism, which viewed two governments as separate and coordinate entities, the cooperative federalism viewed two levels of government as mutually complementary parts of a single federal political system. The basic objectives of cooperative federalism have been defined as: (i) maintaining the union; (ii) promoting common welfare of all the citizens; and (iii) seeking joint solution to a common problem. This system is based on the 'internal give and take' between the federal government and the regional governments. But as its working in the Australian, Canadian and American federalism shows, this notion of cooperative federalism caused the tremendous centralisation of powers and subsequent reduction in the autonomy and authority of the regional governments.

18.4.4 Interdependent Federalism

In recent times 'federal theorists like M.J.C. Vile, Daniel J. Elazar, Ronald L. Watts have developed the notion of 'interdependent federalism' in which two governments would neither be fully independent as is the feature of dual federalism, nor would be subordinate to other, as is the case in the cooperative federalism. Thus, M.J.C. Vile in his book *The Structure of American Federalism*, 1961 defines (interactive) federalism as "a system of government in which central and regional authorities are linked in a mutually interdependent political relationship; in this system a balance is maintained such that neither level of government becomes dominant to the extent that it can dictate the decision of the other. Usually, but not necessarily, this system will be related to a constitutional structure establishing an independent legal existence for both central and regional governments, and providing that neither shall be legally subordinate to the other. The functions of government will be distributed between these levels (exclusively, competitively or cooperatively), initially perhaps by a constitutional document, but thereafter by a political process, involving where appropriate the judiciary; in this process, the political interdependence of the two levels of government is of the first importance in order to prevent one level from absorbing all effective decision-making power".

What is stressed here is the fact that federalism as an institutional arrangement is founded on the principles of, to use Daniel J. Elazar's phrase, self rule plus shared rule, "which, involves some kind of contractual linkage of a presumably permanent character that (1) provides for power sharing, (2) cuts around the issue of sovereignty, and (3) supplements but does not seek to replace or diminish prior organic ties where they exist." (*Exploring Federalism*, 1987). Self-rule is permitted exclusively in the matters of local importance, and shared rule is exercised through interactive partnership between two levels of government to take decisions on matters of common interests. This takes out federalism from a mere structural category to a process "by which a number of separate political communities enter into arrangements for working out solutions, adopting joint policies, and making joint decisions on joint problems." (Carl J. Friedrich, *Trends of Federalism in Theory and Practice*, (1968). What appears from the above is

that a federal polity is essentially a participatory polity, attempting always to seek equilibrium between two essential principles of 'autonomy' and 'integration'.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with that given at the end of the unit.

1) What were Johannes Althusius' views on federalism?

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2) What do you understand by Dual Federalism?

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3) Explain what is Cooperative Federalism?

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18.5 DISTRIBUTION OF POWERS IN FEDERATIONS

The federal-political system is operative in 25 countries namely, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Comoros, Ethiopia, Germany, India, Malaysia, Mexico, Micronesia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Russia, South Africa, St. Kitts-Nevis, Spain, Switzerland, United States of America, Venezuela and Yugoslavia. The manner of distribution of powers varies across these federal systems. The Constitution may either enumerate only the powers of federal government and leave the rest for the states as in the case of U.S.A. or like the Canadian and Indian Federal constitutions, the powers of both the levels of government along with their concurrent jurisdictions can be enumerated. It is also not necessary that legislative divisions of powers will follow a similar division of executive authority. Thus, while in the U.S.A. Canada and Australia, each unit of government has been assigned executive responsibilities in the same fields in which they enjoy legislative competence, the same is not true in the case of Switzerland, Austria and Germany. In these federal systems, the federal government only broadly lays down the uniform framework legislation 'while leaving this to be applied by the regional governments in ways that take account of varying regional circumstances'. The Indian and Malaysian Constitutions also provide for the state administration of federal laws, especially in the areas of shared concurrent jurisdiction.

18.5.1 Legislative Distribution

Generally speaking, in most of the federations, matters like foreign affairs, defence and security, transport and communication, major taxing powers and

regulation of inter-state trade, post and telegraph etc. have been kept within the legislative competence of federal government; and matters relating to social affairs like health, education, culture, social development, local self-government, local administration have been kept within the purview of states' legislation.

However, in federations like India, Canada and Australia the respective constitutions put the matters like civil and criminal laws, personal law, administration of Justice, bankruptcy and insolvency, environment and forest management, protection of wild life, higher education, weights and measurement, factories and electricity, immigration and emigrations etc. in the concurrent jurisdiction. On the concurrent list, both levels of government are competent to make laws, and in-case of an inconsistency between the two sets of laws, the federal laws usually prevail. Further, the residuary powers on matters not enumerated in either list may be vested either with the federal governments or with the regional governments. While residuary power is vested with federal governments in Canada, India, Belgium, it rests with the state governments in the U.S.A., Australia, Switzerland, Germany, Austria and Malaysia. But in Spain, residuary power is co-shared by the federal and state governments.

18.5.2 Distribution of Finances

Most of the federations provide for the collection, sharing and revenue raising powers of the two orders of government. Usually, the federal powers of taxation include income tax (except the agricultural income in the case of India), custom and excise duties and corporation tax. The state powers of taxation include generally, subjects like excise on alcoholic liquors, taxes on agricultural income, estate duty, sale tax on the sale and purchase of goods within the territorial Jurisdiction of a state, and land revenue. However in all the federations, there have occurred vertical and horizontal imbalances in terms of available resources to the states and its constitutional responsibilities to carry out the costly social welfare programmes. To put more sharply, vertical imbalances occur when the constitutionally assigned revenues of both the levels of government do not match with their assigned expenditure responsibility. Horizontal imbalances occur "when the revenue capacities of different constituent units vary so that they are not able to provide their citizens with services at the same level on the basis of comparable tax levels." (R.L. Watts, *Comparing Federal System*, 1999) Horizontal imbalances may also be because of the varying level of development among the federating units due to the variation in their endowments of natural resources, administrative efficiency, and standards of public services.

For correcting these imbalances, a federal constitution usually provides for the fiscal transfer, from centre to states. To begin with let us note the range of fiscal transfers in India. These include:

- 1) levy of duties by the centre but collected and retained by the states;
- 2) taxes and duties levied and collected by the centre but assigned in whole to the states;
- 3) mandatory sharing of the proceeds of income tax;
- 4) permissible participation in the proceeds of union excise duties;
- 5) statutory grants-in-aid of revenues of states;
- 6) grant for any public purposes; and
- 7) grant for any specific public purpose.

(B.P.R. Vithal and M.L. Sastry, *Fiscal Federalism in India*, 2001).

The above transfers are usually made on the basis of the recommendations of the Finance Commission. Horizontal transfer to the states are computed on several

individual criteria such as population, per capita income, level of backwardness, poverty ratio and revenue deficit ratio. Compared to India, the Australian Constitution specially provides for two types of arrangements to correct the horizontal and vertical imbalances. They are:

- i) tax-sharing grants, calculated on the basis of computation of the basic entitlement; the revenue and expenditure disability of each state; and
- ii) specific purpose grant, an important Australian innovation, aimed at financing social schemes like education, health and infrastructure building in the states. These two modes of transfer, besides correcting imbalances, are also intended to equalize the fiscal capacities of each state. On the other hand, the Canadian Federation has embarked on several mechanisms of fiscal transfers. These include:
 - i) Statutory subsidies paid to each province as part of the terms of confederation;
 - ii) Equalisation grants to less endowed provinces;
 - iii) Stabilisation payments on one-time basis;
 - iv) Established programme financing (i.e. national government's contribution to the provinces) of the hospital insurance, medicare and post-secondary education; and
 - v) Specific matching grants to the programmes especially devised by the provincial governments. Similarly, in U.S.A, mechanisms of fiscal transfer include:
 - i) Categorical grants for insuring uniform level of public services provided across the country;
 - ii) Bloc grants, to be used by the states on discretionary basis, for the community development programmes, health, employment and training and other social services; and
 - iii) General revenue sharing as provided in the statute.

In Germany, revenue from income taxes, corporation taxes and turnover taxes belong jointly to the federal government and the states, besides special grants to weak states to ensure minimum level of financial equalisation among the states. The other federations follow either of the above mentioned methods of fiscal transfers.

Check Your Progress 4

Note: i) Use the space given below your answer.

ii) Check your answer with that given at the end of the unit.

1) Examine legislative distribution in federations.

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2) How are financial powers generally distributed in a federation?

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18.6 LET US SUM UP

In this unit you have read about the unitary and federal political systems. It is hoped that now you are in a position to understand the differences between the two types of systems. You have also studied the different types of federal political arrangements: viz, classical federation, decentralised union, condominium etc. Changing nature of federalism has also been touched upon. Thus, dual, cooperative and interdependent federalism have been explained to you. Overall, basic features of unitary and federal systems as well as patterns and trends in the two types of political systems have been explained to you.

18.7 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Austin, Granville, *Working A Democratic Constitution: The Indian Experience*, New Delhi: OUP, 1999

_____, *The Indian Constitution: Cornerstone of a Nation*, New Delhi, OUP, 2000

Burgess, Michael, and Alain-G. Gagnon, eds, *Comparative Federalism and Federation: Competing Traditions and Future Directions*, New York, Harvester, Wheatsheaf, 1993.

Dikshit, R.D., *The Political Geography of Federalism: An Inquiry into Origins and Stability*, New Delhi, Macmillan, 1975.

Duchacek, Ivo D., *Comparative Federalism: The Territorial Dimension of Politics*, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, INC, 1970.

Elazar, Daniel J., ed, *Exploring Federalism*, Tucaloosa, University of Alabama Press, 1987

_____, *Federalism: An Overview*, Pretoria, HSRC, 1995

_____, ed, *Federal Systems of the World: A Handbook of Federal, Confederal and Autonomy Arrangements*, 2nd edn., Harlow, Longman Group Limited, 1994.

_____, ed., *Federalism As Grand Design: Political Philosophers and the Federal Principle*, Lanham, University Press of America, 1987.

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Khan, Rasheeduddin, *Federal India: A Design for Change*, New Delhi, Vikas, 1992

King, Preston, *Federalism and Federation*, London, Croom Helm, 1982.

Rath, Sharada, *Federalism Today: Approaches, Issues and Trends*, New Delhi: Sterling, 1984.

Srinivasavardan, T.C.A., *Federal Concept: The Indian Experience*, New Delhi: Allied Pub., 1992

Watts, Ronald, *Comparing Federal Systems in the 1990s*, 2nd edn., Kingston, Ontario, Queen's University, Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, 1999.

18.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) See Section 18.2

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) See Subsection 18.3.1
- 2) See Subsection 18.3.2
- 3) See Subsections 18.3.2 and 18.3.4

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) See Subsection 18.4.1
- 2) See Subsection 18.4.2
- 3) See Subsection 18.4.3

Check Your Progress 4

- 1) See Subsection 18.5.1
- 2) See Subsection 18.5.2

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UNIT 19 REPUBLICANISM

Structure

- 19.0 Objectives
- 19.1 Introduction
- 19.2 Republicanism as an Antonym of Monarchy
 - 19.2.1 Monarchy as a Form of Government
 - 19.2.2 Evils of Absolute Monarchy
 - 19.2.3 From Monarchy to Republicanism
- 19.3 Republicanism as a Form of Government
 - 19.3.1 Republicanism: Meaning
 - 19.3.2 Republican Form of Government: Its Characteristics
 - 19.3.3 Democracy and Republicanism: Compared
- 19.4 Republicanism: Strengths and Weaknesses
 - 19.4.1 Merits of Republicanism
 - 19.4.2 Weaknesses of Republicanism
- 19.5 Trends in Republicanism
- 19.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 19.7 Key Words
- 19.8 Some Useful Books
- 19.9 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

19.0 OBJECTIVES

The objective of this unit is to explain the concept of republicanism as a form of government, to state its chief characteristics, to distinguish it from monarchical system, relate it both to a theory of government implying popular rule and to a theory of freedom implying a system of inalienable rights of the people. After studying this unit, you will be able to:

- explain the meaning of republican government;
- distinguish it from monarchical, absolute and dictatorial regimes characteristic of arbitrary rule;
- relate it to a system of democratic and popular rule; and
- assess its strength and weaknesses within the framework of liberal political theory.

19.1 INTRODUCTION

Government ensures administration and administration implies establishment of systematic social relations of external life. Whatever their forms, governments tend to provide an ordered rule for their people. This is as much true about a monarchical system as is about the democratic one. Even dictatorial regimes make claims of giving their people peace, order and administration. What distinguishes numerous forms of government is not the administration they provide to their people which, in fact, every form of government does, but the manner in which they are constituted, the way they relate themselves to their internal structural institutions through which they function, the objectives they are supposed to achieve, and so on.

Political thinkers and scholars have sought to classify governments from time to time. From Aristotle onward, numerous classifications of government have come our way. A passing mention of these categories and classifications may not be out of place: monarchy, aristocracy, polity; monarchy or tyranny; aristocracy or oligarchy; polity or democracy; monarchical (both absolute and constitutional) and republican; secular and theocratic; democratic and dictatorial, parliamentary, presidential or a combination of two; unitary, federal and confederal; liberal, liberal-democratic and socialist-Marxist. Each such form of government explains the way it administers the affairs of its respective people.

The republican government, as one such form refers to a government based on the principles of popular rule, majoritarianism, sovereignty of the people, inalienable rights, limited government, constitutionalism. It is more than an opposite of the monarchical system, though its origins suggest it so. Understood in the modern sense, republicanism is a theory of government on the one hand, and a theory of freedom of the people on the other. It does imply a democratic system in which there is a synthesis of popular rule and individual freedom. It is, in short, a system which may, very aptly, be associated with a variety of liberal political forms including, among others, parliamentary government, presidential system, radical democracy and limited government with responsiveness and accountability as its chief norms.

The strength of republicanism lies in its belief in and concern for democratic values. Its weakness, on the other, lies in its vagueness for it encompasses a variety of governmental forms, which, at times, contradict one another.

The brief sketch as outlined above should make it clear to you that republicanism is a democratic phenomenon related to every form of government, which claims to have adopted a democratic system. Its essence lies in its being accountable and responsible towards those over which its government extends its control. Its values are i.e. in a system of self-rule, rule through reason, majoritarian principle, and the right of the people to act as sovereign. We will know more about it as we proceed to understand it.

19.2 REPUBLICANISM AS AN ANTONYM OF MONARCHY

The origins of the idea of republicanism may well be traced to its opposition to monarchical regimes. Monarchy, as understood in historical terms, is not merely the rule of a dynasty, a hereditary rule where the prince son/daughters succeeds the father king/queen. It is the rule of a person with absolute powers over whom there is no check or control. It is an unbridled rule with no limitations.

Republicanism arose, if not as protest but as a contrast to absolutist monarchical systems promising people a government with rules or under prescribed rules. As against monarchy, where there is the rule of man, republicanism instead ensures the rule of law. Monarchy lends and extends support to absolutism; republicanism, to constitutionalism.

19.2.1 Monarchy as a Form of Government

Monarchy is the world's oldest political institution. It is a form of government in which the supreme power is actually or nominally lodged in a monarch. "It is absolute or despotic monarchy when monarch's authority is not limited by laws or it is a constitutional monarchy when the monarch's authority is so limited."

Historically, monarchy means the absolute rule of a king or queen. The rise of republicanism is a reaction to the despotic monarchical rule, though the idea of constitutional monarchy is consistent with that of the republican government in its essence, if not in form.

Monarchy is a form of government where a hereditary sovereign rules and is the absolute ruler of the state. What is particular about monarchy is that it is a hereditary regime: a dynasty rules through successive generations. The monarch rules as long as he lives, unless he is killed or dethroned. He rules with absolute powers. There is no one to challenge his authority and none to make him accountable. Thus the idea of monarchy is the idea of absolute rule. It is the idea where the powers of the monarch are said to be derived from God and where he is made accountable only to Him. The doctrine of the Divine Rights of Kings expresses clearly the idea of monarchy as the rule of the despotic monarch.

Monarchy relates the business of administration to a monarch, usually hereditary and dynastical. It works on the principle that administration is the privilege of a particular dynasty and that the monarch alone knows what is best in the interests of the people. This is why the monarchy possesses the power to make laws: usually his word becomes the law; he alone executes them and he alone issues the quantum of punishment for those who violate the laws ordained by him.

The characteristic feature of monarchy is that the powers of the monarch, absolute as they usually are derived not from the people, and hence he is not accountable to his subjects for what he does. The relationship between the monarch and his people, in a monarchy, is the relationship between the ruler and the ruled, between a dominant sovereign and the docile subjects. In a monarchical regime where absolutism is the major feature of administration, the people have only duties and no rights; they live as subjects and not as citizens.

Monarchy means absolute and totalitarian powers of the monarch, absolute in the sense that there are no limitations whatsoever, and totalitarian in the sense that the monarch can issue any law he likes. Monarchy, thus, is another name for totalitarianism and absolutism.

19.2.2 Evils of Absolute Monarchy

The absolutistic nature of monarchy has much to its discredit. It has, on its side, only the past. No one advocates it, nor anyone admires it. Its evils have overshadowed its merits. Because monarchy is hereditary in its character, it is, by that standard, ludicrous. The principle of heredity does not guarantee that a ruler would be good. History has thrown numerous monarchs who were eccentric and despotic. It is ridiculous to believe that great wisdom and good character will be passed from one generation to the other. Thomas Paine had very aptly said once: "An hereditary governor is as inconsistent as an hereditary author."

The absoluteness, in a monarchical regime, of the ruler is a great evil. To be absolute in the exercise of power is natural for a person who is not accountable to anyone. Power corrupts such a person and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Tyrannical rule is next to absolute rule. Absolute monarchy thrives on discriminatory system where only sycophancy matters.

Totalitarianism and absolutism go together. The absolute system has to be totalitarian and a totalitarian regime has to be absolute. The monarchical system is both absolute and totalitarian. The monarch has not only powers, which have no limitations, he has the authority which is not only total but complete as well. The

monarch has all powers over his subjects: his command extends to the region he reigns as well as rules.

Absolute monarchy is undemocratic. It is, in fact, an inherently undemocratic concept. The monarch is neither elected by the people nor is he accountable to them. History shows that a monarch would govern a state in an autocratic manner and would wield vast powers, including powers over life and death. The idea of a ruling monarch is in direct opposition to the idea of democracy. A monarch knows no idea of responsiveness, and accountability. It is the rule of irresponsibility and of a totalitarian regime with fascist tactics.

Though the idea of absolute monarchy no longer exists, yet absolute monarchy has been assailed, and assailed very severely. Its principle of heredity has been condemned and its autocratic rule, damned. All attempts to project monarchy as having only influence and no powers, as in modern times, have not earned much support. Monarchy has become a pre-modernistic idea; Indeed, a medieval one.

19.2.3 From Monarchy to Republicanism

The transition from monarchy to republicanism in western societies has not been alike and always smooth. In Great Britain, the Britishers, without declaring themselves as republicans, became democratic by slashing the autocratic powers of the monarch through Magna Carta (1215), Petition of Rights (1628), and Bill of Rights (1689), and by democratisation of the House of Commons, introduction of local self-government acts, and so on. Britain emerged as a democracy without being a republic gradually over a long period of a couple of centuries. In France, on the other hand, the transition to republicanism was through a revolution in 1789 by abolishing monarchy as an institution. In other European countries such as Germany and Italy (1840), for example, the transition to republicanism was due to intense growing nationalism while in Russia, monarchy was abolished through events like the first World War (1914-1918) and the socialist revolution (1917).

Much before the actual transition from monarchy to republicanism, political analysts had vouched for the cause of republicanism. Machiavelli (1469-1527) sought to revive a form of republicanism based on his admiration of the ancient Roman Republic: he argued that a republic was the best way of reconciling tensions between patricians and the people and that liberty with self-government was possible only in a republican form of government. Montesquieu (1689-1755) had condemned monarchy for establishing a tyrannical rule and denying people their rights and liberties: he argued for separation of powers as a guarantee for ensuring a form of parliamentary and liberal government. Thomas Paine (1737-1809), a British-born revolutionary not only opposed the monarchical system fiercely, but also supported fervently the republican cause: he sought to fuse the idea of individual rights with popular sovereignty. James Madison (1751-1836), an exponent of constitutional republicanism, advocated political liberty as a guarantee for a limited form of government: he thought of "power as a check on power", and accordingly supported the adoption of the principles of federalism, bicameralism and separation of powers in any form of constitutional government.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space provided below each question to write your answer.

ii) Check your answer with that given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Define monarchy and describe its features. (Your answer should be restricted to ten lines.)

- 2) What is a monarchical form of government? State its evils. (Your answer should be restricted to ten lines.)

- 3) Outline briefly the transition from monarchy to republicanism in the West. (Your answer should be between 5 to 10 lines.)

19.3 REPUBLICANISM AS A FORM OF GOVERNMENT

Republicanism arose, historically speaking, as a reaction against autocratic and absolute monarchical system. But to define republicanism as an antonym of monarchy is to give it a very limited meaning. As a form of government, republicanism is a government with an elected head of the state together with a

governmental system echoing the will and sovereignty of the people. As a theory of freedom, it ensures individuals' rights, their liberties, rule of law, free press, and an impartial and free system of election. To that extent, republicanism is another name for democracy, but only as one of its form.

19.3.1 Republicanism: Meaning

While the concept of monarchy implies the rule of a monarch, hereditarily decided and through an accident of birth only, republic is a form of government headed by one who is not a monarch, but is one who is taken from among the people. While monarchy is dynastical, republic is, largely, elected; while the former goes along with the period the monarch lives, the latter is a time-bound system: a republican ruler heads the state for a particular period of time. While monarch assumes absolute and total powers, the republican ruler exercises powers as given to him under the constitution or under prescribed rules. While monarchy is unresponsive and an irresponsible form of government, republicanism has to function in a responsive and responsible manner. While monarchy knows only duties meant for the monarch's subjects, republicanism lays emphasis on the rights and liberties of the people. Republicanism, thus, is a form of government which is limited in its power, responsive and responsible to the people over which it rules, functions in tune with the public opinion, ensures a system of rights and liberties for the people, regards the ruled as citizens and not merely subjects. It is a "state in which the supreme power rests in the body of citizens entitled to vote and is exercised by representatives chosen directly or indirectly by them." (See *The Macquario Dictionary*). The central theme of republicanism is its emphasis on popular rule on the one hand, and on a particular form of freedom where individual liberties are ensured.

As distinguished from monarchy, republicanism is a form of government where head of the state is taken from the common people, usually a choice of the people; it is a government of rules, based on and works through constitutionalism; it is an administration where the liberty of the individual is assured and where peoples' interests are taken care of to their advantage. It has grown with democracy and lives along with it. Republicanism fits in with the framework of democracy, though democracy is much more than republicanism.

19.3.2 Republican Form of Government: Its Characteristics

The republican form of government means a government by its people acting directly and personally according to rules established by the majority. Lauding such a form of government, Thomas Jefferson had said: "The best form of government that has ever been devised for protecting the rights of the people has been found to be the republican form." He continues: "While not perfect, it nevertheless gives a voice to the people and allows them to correct the course of government when they find it moving in a wrong direction." The republican form of government, by its very nature, and in contrast to the monarchical form, is a limited government, limited in so far it has limited functions (i.e., it is not a totalitarian state) and, therefore, has powers; it is limited in so far as its powers are vertically shared by other levels of government (say, with constituent states, if it is a federation) and horizontally shared among numerous organs of government.

The republican form of government is democratic: democratic in the sense that those who rule are not only representatives of the people chosen either *pro hac vice* or for a limited period of time, but are responsible to those who elect them. It is democratic because it is elective, responsible and a responsive government. It is democratic because it is established by the people: as and when they want to

have it and as and when as they wish to change. It is democratic because such governments, as are republican, embody the will of the people and a desire to execute it. Jefferson wrote to Benjamin Austin: "A representative (and hence republican) government is a government in which the will of the people will be an effective ingredient." The republican government is essentially a democratic government in proportion as every member composing it has his equal voice in the direction of its concerns. What constitutes a republic? Jefferson has a point when he says: "Action by the citizens in person, in affairs within their reach and competence, and in all others by representatives, chosen immediately, and removable by themselves, constitutes the essence of a republic."

The republican form of government does provide a theory of government, a government democratically chosen; a government, which is representative, responsible and responsive; a government based on and expressed through the will of the people. Such a government provides a theory of rights and liberties of the people. Republicanism and the theory of freedom go together. The advocates of republicanism emphasize that the principles of government are founded in the rights of man. Jefferson says: "The republican is the only form of government which is not eternally at open or secret war with the rights of mankind." Quoting Montesquieu, Jefferson opines approvingly: "In republican governments, men are equal; equal they are also in despotic governments; in the former because they are everything; in the latter because they are nothing."

The essential characteristics of a republican form of government may, briefly, be summed up as follows:

- 1) The republican form of government is a government by the people directly or through their representatives;
- 2) It is a government responsible to those who constitute it;
- 3) It is a government representative in character and responsive to the will of the people;
- 4) It is a government limited in functions and limited in power;
- 5) It is a government limited vertically because its powers are shared by regional and local levels of government and limited horizontally because its powers are exercised by legislative, executive and judicial organs of the government;
- 6) Republicanism is a theory of government as stated above; it is also a theory of freedom so far as it makes a provision for the rights and liberties of the people, assures the people their rights and liberties, and promises them their protection.

19.3.3 Democracy and Republicanism: Compared

Democracy does constitute everything that republicanism has but all republicanism is not democracy. The republican form of government is one form of democracy, though it is not necessary that every democratic government has to be republican. Britain provides democracy, but its government is not republican. A number of constitutional monarchies are democratic systems, but they are not republican.

The affinities between democracy and republicanism cannot be denied. Both seek to establish popular sovereignty; both are representative in character; both respect man's personality as the measure of human development; both regard man's rights and liberties as essential for man's progress; both consider elective government responsive to public opinion; both lay emphasis on accountability of the rulers towards the ruled.

And yet, there is much that separates republicanism and democracy. Democracy is the rule of majority over minority lacking the safeguards of rights of the individual and those belonging to minority; republicanism is also the rule of majority, but it is a majority, which is limited, as against unlimited majority in a democracy. Republicanism assures safeguards of the rights of the minority as well as of the individual. Democracy is the rule of omnipotent majority where there is no protection against its unlimited powers; it is unlimited tyranny of majority. Republicanism ensures the rule of majority, the majority which is itself controlled; it is a continually limited government of representative type; one which is changeable through amendment; a government where powers are divided between three organs - legislature, executive and judiciary, each controlling the other two so as to keep each organ in balance with another. Republicanism, as a theory of freedom assures the protection of rights; inalienable individual rights.

There is a basic difference between a republican form of government and a democratic one. The republic is a representative government ruled by law, the constitution for example whereas a democracy is a government (direct or through representative) ruled by majority mob rule according to some. A republic recognizes the inalienable rights of the individual while democracies are concerned only with what can be done for the people, say their satisfaction of wants/needs or say, public good. A republican form of government is one where authority is derived through the election by the people of public officials best suited to represent them; a democracy, being the government of the masses, is one where authority is derived through mass meeting. In republican government, attitude toward law is that of administration of justice in accordance with fixed principles and established rules; in democracies, attitude toward law is that the will of the majority should prevail. Republicanism leads to values such as liberty, reason, and justice while democracy result in whims such as passion, prejudice, and discontent.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space provided below each question to write your answer.

ii) Check your answer with those given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Distinguish between monarchy and republicanism. (Your answer should be restricted to ten lines.)

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- 2) What do you mean by republicanism? Give its major characteristics. (Your answer should be restricted to ten lines.)

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- 3) Do you agree with the view that the republican form of government is a form of democracy? (Your answer should be restricted to 5 lines.)

- 4) Compare democracy with republicanism. (Your answer should be restricted to ten lines.)

19.4 REPUBLICANISM: STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES

Republicanism is a 'standard' form of government found throughout the world. Those societies, which have adopted democratic systems, are adopting republicanism more by choice than by compulsion. This is so because

republicanism helps many societies avoid demagogism and dangerous extremes of either tyranny or monarchy. The framers of the US Constitution knew very well the strength of the republican form of government. Article IV, Section 4 of the US Constitution clearly "guarantees to every state in this union a Republican form of government."

19.4.1 Merits of Republicanism

Republicanism has significant merits. Though it is the rule of the majority, yet it is majority which is limited in itself. The chief purpose of republicanism is to control majority strictly, keep majority under control, under rules already established, under constitution already enacted. Republicanism is the rule of the elected members, and to that extent democratic, but these elected representatives are those who are fitted to represent their electorate, those who are elected for a particular period and those who are both accountable and responsive to those who elect them. The republican form of government is more than a democratic government. Unlike the democratic government, which is a government of the majority, a republic is a government which is the rule of majority, but it is a majority which rules under the rules. Accordingly, republicanism provides guarantee against tyrannical rule, tyranny of the majority, its absolutism at that. It is also a safeguard against the government of the masses, which while working through majority, is prone to and governed by passion and prejudice. That is why in 1798 the Americans were clear that they were founding a republic, and not a democracy. The republican government is a limited government: limited vertically in the sense that powers are shared between the centre and the regional-local units; limited horizontally in the sense that powers are divided between the three branches of the government, working, thus on the principles of both the theory of separation of powers and that of checks and balances. The idea that works behind the republican form of government is that each organ of the government functions without being autocratic and absolute.

The republican form of government provides not only a theory of government, it also provides a theory of freedom. It assures each individual a system of rights by providing safeguards against their encroachments. Individuals and minority are protected effectively in a republican form of government.

19.4.2 Weaknesses of Republicanism

The limitations of republicanism are no less. There is a tendency of the republican form of government going the democratic way. Both the republican and the democratic forms, representative in character as they are, function through a system of political parties. The culture of a party system is not the culture of either republican or democratic one. Political parties, by nature, are strictly disciplined organisations and, democratic as they declare to profess or claim, are usually non-democratic. A republican form of government, working through a system of political parties, tends to become a party government that has a majority. All republican systems, including that of the United States, work through and work within the framework of the party system. It is difficult to believe that political parties do not influence the governments, including the republican ones. The republican form of government, like the democratic one, becomes the government run by parties and not by rules: the representatives chosen by the people become the delegates of the political parties they belong; they are effectively accountable to the political parties and not to those who elect them.

Republicanism has become a vague term. It may not be associated with a particular variety of political form, but to a wide variety of forms including the parliamentary form of government within a limited monarchy on the one hand, and

the presidential form of government within a limited government on the other. Some have even equated republicanism with radical democracy.

Republicanism is said to have provided, in addition to a theory of government, a theory of freedom. Its theory of freedom is really confusing, for it advocates a positive theory of freedom at one time, and professes a negative theory of freedom at another.

To a great extent, republicanism is theoretically unclear, and its political prescriptions are uncertain.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space provided below each question to write your answer.

ii) Check your answer with those given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Describe briefly the merits of republicanism. (Your answer should be restricted to ten lines.)

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- 2) What are, in your opinion, the weaknesses of republicanism? (Your answer should be restricted to five lines.)

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19.5 TRENDS IN REPUBLICANISM

Republicanism is a uniquely dynamic concept. It is different than its classical form. The classical republicanism was concerned with the theory of government while present day republicanism adds, to this theory of government, a theory of

freedom. The trend now is to add further to these theories, a theory of citizenship. Republicanism seeks to propose citizenship, which is not only wedded to individuals' rights, but to their duties as well, their obligations toward the state they belong.

Republicanism is moving from its local arena to a national as well as global one. It is now not confined to a regional form, national-level governments are adopting republican form rapidly. The world, it is hoped, will embrace republicanism soon.

Republicanism is demonstrating its moral concern too. To that extent, it is being expressed in civic virtues such as public spiritedness, honour and patriotism. It attracts because it offers an alternative to individual liberalism. It tempts because it espouses a form of civic humanism, re-establishing the public domain as the source of personal fulfillment.

Check Your Progress 4

Note: i) Use the space provided below each question to write your answer.

ii) Check your answer with those given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Explain briefly the emerging trends in republicanism. (Your answer should be restricted to eight lines.)

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19.6 LET US SUM UP

Republicanism is a theory of government in so far as it seeks to establish a representative, responsible and responsive government. It is a theory of freedom in so far as it makes the provision of rights and liberties of the people, but assures their protection. It is a theory of citizenship in so far as it aims at a type of citizenship, which is wedded to active public life, and the spirit of patriotism ready to sacrifice everything for the nation. In short, republicans lay emphasis on public and popular rule on one hand and on established and already fixed rules through which administration is carried on, on the other hand. It is more than a mere democratic government, for it works through laws and not through majority. It is, thus, the rule of majority, which is limited in powers and also in the exercise of powers.

19.7 KEY WORDS

Absolutism: Exercise of complete and unrestricted powers of government.

Aristocracy: A government or a state ruled by a privileged class; a government composed of and ruled by the few, supposedly to be superior.

Bill of Rights: A charter signed by the English King/Queen in 1689, after the 1688 revolution, which provides that henceforth, kings would rule on the advice of the Parliament.

Democracy: Government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

Dictatorship: A form of government in which absolute power is exercised by a dictator not accountable to the people.

Humanism : A system or mode of thought of action in which human interests, values, dignity and the like are taken to be of primary importance.

Inalienable Rights: Rights, which are important, sacred, and those not to be taken under any circumstances save during emergencies.

Magna Carta: The great charter of English liberties forced from King John by the English barons in 1215.

Mobocracy: Rule of the illiterate, of the mob, of the masses.

Monarchy: A government or a state in which the supreme power is actually or nominally lodged in a hereditary monarch.

Parliamentary Government: A form of government in which the legislative and the executive organs of the government are closely related to each other, one where the executive is taken from and is accountable to the legislature.

Polity: A form of government where people rule for themselves. Aristotle regarded it as the pure form of democracy.

Presidential Government: A form of government where the executive is not taken from the legislature and is not accountable to it. The two organs function independent of each other.

Republic: A state in which the supreme power rests in the body of citizens entitled to vote and is exercised by representatives chosen directly or indirectly by them; one where the head of the state is elected directly or indirectly.

Revolution : The change in the form of government or in the life of the people in a society is called a revolution.

Secularism : A form or a system where religion and politics are separated from each other; one where religion has no role in politics.

Theocracy: A form or a system where religion dominates over politics; government comes to be controlled by the fundamentalists.

Totalitarianism: A form of government or a state where the ruling class does every task. Such a system leads, usually to an authoritarian rule.

Tyranny: A form of government where the ruler rules in an autocratic manner without any regard for rules/regulations.

19. 8 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Lerner, R. (1987) *The Thinking Revolutionary : Principle and Practice in the New Republic*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Oldfield, A. (1990) *Citizenship and Community: Civic Republicanism and the Modern World*, London and New York: Routledge.

Pettit, P. (1997) *Republicanism: A Theory of Freedom and Government*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

19.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) See Sub-section 19.2.1
- 2) See Sub-section 19.2.2
- 3) See Sub-section 19.2.3

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) See Sub-section 19.3.1
- 2) See Sub-section 19.3.2
- 3) See Sub-section 19.3.3
- 4) See Sub-section 19.3.3

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) See Sub-section 19.4.1
- 2) See Sub-section 19.4.2

Check Your Progress 4

- 1) See Section 19.5

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UNIT 20 PARTY SYSTEMS

Structure

- 20.0 Objectives
- 20.1 Introduction
- 20.2 Origin of Party Systems
 - 20.2.1 The Human Nature Theory
 - 20.2.2 The Environmental Explanation
 - 20.2.3 Interest Theory
- 20.3 Meaning and Nature
- 20.4 Functions of Political Parties
- 20.5 Principal Types of Party Systems
 - 20.5.1 One Party Systems
 - 20.5.2 Two Party Systems
 - 20.5.3 Multi-Party Systems
 - 20.5.4 Two Party vs. Multi-Party Systems
- 20.6 A Critique of the Party System
- 20.7 Whether Party-less Democracy is Possible?
- 20.8 Let Us Sum Up
- 20.9 Key Words
- 20.10 Some Useful Books
- 20.11 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

20.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you should be able to:

- recall the origin of party system;
- explain the meaning and nature of political parties;
- describe the functions of political parties;
- list out various types of party system;
- evaluate the merits and demerits of various kinds of party systems; and
- explain the drawbacks as well as indispensability of party system in a democracy.

20.1 INTRODUCTION

The role of party system in the operation of democratic polity is now generally well recognized by Political Scientists and politicians alike. Democracy, as *Finer* observes, “rests, in its hopes and doubts, upon the party system.” In fact, as democracy postulates free organization of opposing opinions or ‘hospitality to a plurality of ideas’ and political parties act as a major political vehicle of opinions and ideas, party system is the *sine qua non* of democracy. Without party, the electorate would be highly diffused and atomized, and opinions too variant and dispersed. The existence of party-system is, therefore, necessary to bring public opinion to focus and frame issues for the popular verdict. It is, therefore, very useful and interesting for students of Comparative Politics to understand the origin, meaning, various kinds and merits and demerits of the party system.

20.2 ORIGIN OF THE PARTY SYSTEMS

Political Scientists have offered several explanations for the origin of the party system. These explanations can be broadly clubbed under three categories as discussed below:

20.2.1 The Human Nature Theory

Under this category, three kinds of explanations have been put forward for explaining the origin of the party system. Firstly scholars like Sir Henry Main argue that what causes parties to rise is the characteristic tendency of human nature towards combativeness. In other words, human beings form parties to give organized expression to their combative instinct.

The second category of explanation under the human nature theory identifies the human temperament as the cause of the emergence of political parties. To put it differently, the diverse temperaments of individuals lead them to form different parties. For instance, while persons having liking for the established order join right of the political divide, others opposing the existing order join left of the political spectrum. In other words, those who do not support change in existing system form one party, and those who want reforms and changes get together in another party.

Third explanation concerning the human nature of origin of parties runs in terms of the charismatic traits of political leaders. Since the dormant masses need leadership to articulate their latent feelings, formation of a political party depends upon the availability of dynamic political leadership who can inspire masses to work towards achieving the goals of a particular party.

20.2.2 Environmental Explanation

In addition to the above-mentioned explanations, considerable data is available to show the role of the socio-economic environment in the evolution of the party system. The modern democratic party system, for instance, is the result of at least two significant political developments: the limitation of the authority of the absolute monarchy and the extension of the suffrage to virtually all the adult population. It is thus not surprising to find the historic roots of the party system both in the struggle of the legislature to limit the king's prerogative and in the development of groups within the expanded electorate taking sides in the battle or demanding recognition of their interests. By 1680 the public policy of Britain had become the joint concern of both King and Parliament, and the terms 'Whig' and 'Tory' were commonly applied to those who, respectively, attacked and supported royal policy.

20.2.3 Interest Theory

As usual, while the above-mentioned explanations are partly correct, no single explanation is adequate or completely true. Combativeness, for instance, is only one of the various motivations of human behaviour. Similarly, age is an uncertain element as an indicator of political attitude and dynamism of political leader is not permanent.

In view of the inadequacies of the aforesaid explanations regarding the origin of the party system, the "interest theory" is advanced as a widely recognized hypothesis. This theory is based on the basic assumption that various parties are

formed on the basis of various interests. In other words, parties serve as convenient agencies for the expression of individual and group interests. The nature, extent and degree of an individual's political activities are motivated by the range of interests he develops. These interests grow out of interaction of his/her personality with his/her cultural environment. Birth, education or a chance experience may, thus, determine an individual's interest which, in turn, may determine party affiliations.

While the 'interest theory' recognizes the significance of economic interests in influencing an individual or group's decision to join a particular party or combination of parties, this theory does not agree with the Marxist assumption of economic determinism and its concomitant dichotomy of social classes. In fact, to reduce social tensions to two embattled groups of "haves" and have-nots" all along the economic line is to oversimplify a complex phenomenon. One may, therefore, argue that the human beings tend to support and vote for the political party that hold the prospect of achieving their desired economic as well as socio-cultural objectives.

20.3 MEANING AND NATURE

Political party is a group of people that seeks to get its candidates elected to public offices by supplying them with a label—a "party identification"—by which they are known to the electorate. This definition is purposefully broad so that it will include both familiar parties (Democratic and Republican in the US for instance) and unfamiliar ones (Whig, Libertarian, Socialist Worker) and will cover periods in which a party is very strong (having an elaborate and well disciplined organization that provides money and workers to its candidates) as well periods in which it is quite weak (supplying nothing but only the labels to its candidates).

This definition suggests three political arenas in which parties may be found. A party exists as label in the mind of voters, as an organization that recruits and campaigns for candidates, and as a set of leaders who try to organize and control the legislative and executive branches of government.

A careful look at the above-mentioned meaning of political party shows its certain hallmarks that distinguish it from similar groups such as temporary organizations, interest groups or factions, etc. For instance, temporary political organizations like Food Price Committee or Famine Resistance Committee, etc., are formed for the single purpose of supporting or opposing a particular temporary issue. Political parties, on the other hand, have some degree of permanence. Secondly, political parties are the only associational groups that are both open to all (at least in theory) and have very wide interests. This is because of the fact that they concern themselves with problems of government and cannot concentrate on specific matters. They are open to all, because they try to enlist the support of as many members of the polity as possible. It is in this context that a political party is different from interest and pressure groups which work only for the advancement of the cause of those groups.

Thirdly, parties must have definite aims and objectives. The objectives are often a mixture of ultimate and immediate purposes. Party programmes contain ideas about law and government, ideas about the shape of political things to come and each party seeks to focus its own brand of political ideas. Fourthly, a recognition of material advantages that go with the securing of the power of government, forms a part of party programme. In fact, as we see in India today more often than not political parties give priority to capturing power though they do this in the name of ideology like opposing communalism. In this sense as well, political

parties are different from interest or pressure groups as the latter do not nurse the constituencies for competing at the polls to form the government. A political party is thus a coalition of group interests pursuing general political policies. Pressure groups, on the other hand, are the living 'public' behind the parties. Like interest and pressure groups, and unlike political parties, factions are also not organized for political purposes. But at the same time they do not possess any continuous stable organizations. Factions may thus be characterized as a group of persons serving sectional interests within a political party rather than aggregate interests which parties usually champion for winning elections.

As the idea of a common interest and national unity sustains the constitutional appeal to the polls, the logic of party system rejects the Marxian doctrine of class struggle. This implies that parties transcend class-barriers and sectional interests by mutual recognition of rights in the sense that in spite of their differences, political parties do not disagree on every thing. On the basic features of the system to which they belong, there must be a consensus. Political parties may thus be defined as a group consisting of cross-sections of human beings, more or less stable and organized, with the objective, in accordance with the constitution, of securing or maintaining for its leaders the control of a government, and of giving to members of the party, through such control, ideal and material benefits and advantages.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with that given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Discuss briefly the human nature theory of the origin of party system.

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- 2) Define political parties and distinguish between political parties and pressure groups.

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20.4 FUNCTIONS OF POLITICAL PARTIES

Parties contribute to democratic government through the functions they perform for the political system. These functions can broadly be divided under six categories : Firstly, political parties unite sectional interests, bridge the geographical differences, and induce cohesion. In other words, various interests are aggregated through the instrumentality of parties. This ensures both order and system maintenance.

Secondly, political parties contribute to democratic government by nominating candidates for election to public office. In the absence of parties, voters would be confronted with a bewildering array of self-nominated candidates, each seeking a narrow victory over others on the basis of personal friendships, celebrity status or name. Parties minimize this danger by setting up their candidates in different constituencies. They carry out campaigns to win elections. They also defray the cost of contesting elections where the candidate is a poor person.

Again, political parties help democratic government by structuring voting choice—reducing the number of candidates on the ballot to those who have realistic chance of winning. Parties that have won sizeable portions of the vote in past elections are likely to win comparable portions of the vote in future ones also. This discourages non-party or non-serious candidates for running for the office. This in turn focuses the election on the contest between parties and on candidates with established records, which reduces the amount of new information that voters need in order to make a rational decision.

In addition, parties also help voters choose candidates by proposing alternative programmes of government action in the form of party manifestos. The specific policies advocated in an election campaign may vary from candidate to candidate and from election to election, the types of policies advocated by candidates of one party nonetheless usually tend to differ from those proposed by candidates of other parties. In the case of the US, for example, even though the neutrality of the names of major political parties, namely, Democratic and Republican suggests that they are undifferentiated in their policies, in reality, however, these parties regularly adopt very different policies in their platforms.

Besides, parties help co-ordinate the actions of public officials. A government based on the separation of powers like that of the United States, divides responsibilities for making public policy. The President and leaders of the House and Senate are not required to cooperate with one another. Political parties are the major means for bridging the separation of powers, of producing co-ordinated policies that can govern the country effectively. Individuals of the same party in the presidency, the House, and the Senate are likely to share political principles and thus to cooperate in making policy. In a parliamentary political system, where the formation and continuance of the real executive, i. e., the Council of Ministers, depends on the support of the majority in legislature, political parties perform the task of disciplining the members of the majority to keep them united for providing the life line support to the government. This role of political parties has, in fact, made them informal governments in democracies as the powers of the legislature has now been usurped, to a great extent, by political parties. Though victory is certainly the first commandment of a political party, in a democracy defeat of party also does not mean its demise. In that case, a party functions as a critic and watchdog of the government's policy. Political parties thus play an extremely significant role in democracies. While, on the one hand, they have to maintain and strengthen the structure of democratic norms and values; on the other, they have to secure maximal community mobilisation for social and economic development. Political parties have thus to induce both political and socio-economic development.

20.5 PRINCIPAL TYPES OF PARTY SYSTEMS

As political parties represent various opinions in a democracy, a variety of political parties should characterise democratic system. In reality, however, number of viable parties differ from country to country in accordance with legal requirements and peculiar circumstances obtaining in a particular country. In Great Britain and

the United States, for example, a two-party system prevails, while in majority of countries including India and France, multi-party system has come in to existence. On the other hand, in authoritarian and Communist countries like China one-party system operates. It, therefore, appears useful to examine the relative merits and demerits of these types of party systems.

20.5.1 One Party Systems

The one party or single party system is found upon the assumption that the sovereign will of the state reposes in the leader and the political elite. This authoritarian principle found expression first in monarchies, later in dictatorships and more recently in some democracies. As the dictatorship needs a monopoly of power for its survival, it abolishes all political parties. Though elections are conducted even in such a regime if only to show the façade of popular support, the voter's choice is limited to only one candidate.

There may be some variations in the single party system prevailing in different countries, but some of the common features of dictatorial parties in these countries make them unique. These features are : (1) Such party is an official party in the sense that it has a monopoly and is led by the same persons who rule; (2) membership of such a party is usually made an essential requirement for acquiring at least important government jobs; (3) this kind of party supervises the governmental efforts to ideologically indoctrinate peoples; and (4) it is characterized by its elite personality. The essential function of one-party system thus is not to elicit decisions from the mass electorate on the big issue of politics, but to ensure discipline and obedience among the people. In its organization and methods, it is more like an army than a political party.

Obviously, therefore, a one-party system becomes necessarily totalitarian. As the sole operator of a political system, the party extends its authority everywhere. The general policy is decided by the dictates of the party. Every word the party declares is, like the Delphic oracle, taken to be true. The source of all laws is the party, and no aspect of individual and social life is immune from its potential control. Not surprisingly, a single-party system involves the abolition of freedom of speech and expression, press and association. Accordingly, the line of distinction between society and the state is blurred and the latter completely swallows up the former. This type of party system was found in Fascist Italy under Mussolini who assumed power in 1922 and systematically destroyed all parties except his own Fascist Party. In Germany, Hitler came to power in 1933 and destroyed all opposition. In 1934, the party purged itself of scores of prominent members of the party by shooting them down under the pretence that they were resisting arrest. Similarly, there was only Communist Party rule in former USSR and there were several purges between 1936 and 1938 by the Communist Party.

Single mass parties have, of course, come to power in some of the Afro-Asian states in the post-colonial era. These countries include Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania, Turkey and Mexico, etc. In Turkey, for instance, the People's Republican Party, operated from 1923 to 1946 without killing democracy. Tanzania under Julius Nyerere, who founded African National Union, is another example of single-party democracy. In that country, though TANU was the only recognized party, yet voters did have a choice of candidates from within that party as in each constituency more than one TANU candidate was allowed to contest. In Kenya, the government banned the only opposition party, Kenya African People's Union in 1969, but allowed the members of that party to compete in elections.

One can, therefore, divide one-party system into two sub types : (1) authoritarian one-party systems; and (2) non-authoritarian one-party systems. On the whole,

however, the emphasis of a one-party system is proverbially on the side of authoritarianism. It proclaims its own brand of philosophy and a peculiar way of life to which the whole society is forced to conform. As Barker observes, "The democratic criticism the one-idea State is not a criticism of its object.....it is a criticism of its whole process of life." In fact, the monopolisation of legality that empowers a party to be the sole custodian of truth spells a grave danger for civilisation itself.

20.5.2 Two Party Systems

A two-party system is one where only two parties, despite the presence of other parties, have substantial support of the electorate and expectation of forming the government. Under this system, the majority of the elected candidates at a given time belong to any one of the two major parties which form the government, while the other party remains in the opposition. In such a system, there may exist more than two parties, but actual or likely transfer of power takes place between two giant parties only. The United States and the United Kingdom provide good examples of two-party system. In the former, the Democratic and Republican parties are two giant parties. In the UK, the transfer of power takes place between the two major parties, the Labour and the Conservative.

There are, of course, certain differences between the American and British party systems. While the American parties are not ideologically very much different from each other—they are broker-bargaining parties to the point that each party achieves a basically similar political consensus—the British parties, though also pragmatic, are, generally speaking, ideologically distinct from each other. Recognising these differences the two party system may be divided into (a) indistinct two-party system in the US, and (b) distinct two-party system in Britain.

20.5.3 Multi-Party Systems

A multi-party system is one in which more than two major parties exist, who struggle with each other for power but no party can alone secure absolute majority to rule. In countries like India and several countries on the Continental Europe, such a system exists, though in a variety of forms.

One can discern two kinds of multi-party systems from the point of view of stability of government : (a) unstable multi-party-systems; and (b) working multi-party systems. As its name indicates, the former does not provide stability. India today provides one of the best examples of this, where recurring 'hung' Parliaments due to plethora of parties has caused political instability at the union level since 1996. France under the Third and Fourth Republics provides another example of this kind of party system, where governments formed by coalition of parties rose and fell with dismaying regularity. Italy provides yet another example, where hardly any party since the Second World War has been able to win a majority of the seats in the Italian Parliament.

The working multi-party systems, on the other hand, behaves like two-party system and thereby tend to provide stability to government, even though they have more than two major political parties. Former West Germany, before the rise of the Social Democratic Party as the government party, had characteristics of a two-party system as two of the three major parties, working together, provided the government and the Social Democrats remained in the opposition. In Norway, Sweden, Belgium and Israel also the existence of various parties have not caused instability.

20.5.4 Two Party vs. Multi-Party Systems

Democracy has functioned as successfully in multi-party systems as in two-party systems. There are, however, certain relative advantages and disadvantages of a particular system. To begin with, the supporters of multi-party system argue that : (a) it more effectively corresponds to the division of public opinion especially in a plural society like India; (b) it represents and satisfies the aspirations of diverse interest groups; (c) under this system, a voter can choose among more parties and candidates than available under the two-party system; (d) it reduces the fear of absolutism of the majority; and finally (e) it is more flexible because under this system groups can be freely organized, can unite and separate in accordance with the exigencies of the circumstances.

In theory the multi-party system, has much in its favour, in practice not so much. As we see in India today, inability of any single party to command absolute majority and consequent inevitability of forming coalition government led to the crisis of stable government in India. The members of the Council of Ministers instead of working under the leadership of the Prime Minister, seek guidance from their party bosses and even a single member of Parliament tries to blackmail the government by threatening to withdraw its support. Not surprisingly, the government does not find enough time to devote attention to the task of governance as it remains busy with keeping its partners in good humour even at the cost of national interest. The major party is also forced to abandon its electoral pledges to cobble a majority in the lower house of legislature. The Cabinet in consequence comes to represent, not a general body of opinions, but a patchwork of doctrines leading to a gap between the electorate and the government.

Notwithstanding all these attempts, such a government falls sooner than later as it is kept hostage by disparate elements trying to extract maximum pound of flesh from the government. Once the government finds it impossible to concede their absurd demands, the dissident party withdraws support from the government as the Congress Party (1997) and All India Anna Dravid Munnetra Kazhagam (AIADMK) (1999) have done in India in recent years forcing elections at the cost of great loss to the nation. Government instability and multi-party systems are thus twins. Again, as there are several parties vying with one another, there is no organized opposition and it is not possible to predict which parties are going to constitute the government after the fall of the predecessor. Finally, the multi-party system intensifies the complexity of choice. The general mass of electorate are bewildered by the presence of a multitude of parties. Laski, therefore, concludes that the multi-party system "is fatal to government as a practical art."

On the other hand, the supporters of two-party system argue that it enables the people to choose their government directly at the polls as voter is not perplexed by a multiplicity of candidates and he can simply opt between the two. Secondly, it provides unity of policy in the government since the party in power does not have to depend upon any other. This facilitates effectiveness of the government. Thirdly, two parties hold each other in check and prevent either from being too extreme, since each party shall try to win over the supporters of the other and to appeal to independent voters. Fourthly, as democracy is supposed to be guided by the public opinion, the two-party system provides an ideal condition for debating the issues between two opposite camps. Laski, therefore, observes, "a political system is more satisfactory, the more it is able to express itself through the antithesis of two great parties."

But the two-party system has to pay certain price for the stability provided by it. This system implies that there are only two schools of thought in a country. In

reality, however, there is always a variety of opinions and ideas present in process of political thought and discussion. This is seldom recognized in a two-party system. A certain artificiality is thus inevitably introduced into this system leading to the establishment of vested interests in public opinion which is best illustrated by the American spoils system. In addition, the two-party system brings about the decline of legislature and paves the way for cabinet dictatorship. The party in power backed by a solid majority inside the legislature reduces the latter to its play-thing.

In view of the above-mentioned advantages and disadvantages of the multi-party and two-party systems, it is not prudent to lay down a general rule concerning the desirability of a particular type of party system in all countries. As such the merits and demerits of the various party systems need to be seen in the context of various social, economic and historical forces at work in a given country. The whole world need not be patterned according to English or American way of life. In fact, what is most crucial in this regard is the nature of political culture. If the splintering process in the multi-party structure operates within a broad framework of normative and institutional consensus, the party structure is not likely to experience enormous strain as we find in the case of Scandinavian countries.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with that given at the end of the unit.

1) Discuss the role of political parties in a democracy.

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2) Critically evaluate the merits and demerits of various types of party systems.

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20.6 A CRITIQUE OF THE PARTY SYSTEM

In recent years the party system has become the object of much criticism almost everywhere. Firstly, under this system the perpetual struggle for political power turns the legislature into a battle field and in the process national interests are ignored. Secondly, it encourages insincerity as specious issues are often raised to divert public attention. Thirdly, parties tend to become autonomous in the sense that principles and national interests are subordinated for the sake of winning elections. Fourthly, parties unnecessarily extend national political issues to local

elections. Fifthly, the practice of rewarding party members, known as the spoils system in the US, constitutes a dereliction from principles. Sixthly, "party spirit is accused of debasing the moral standards", as scruples are sacrificed at the altar of party interest. Seventhly, as parties have to mobilise funds for contesting elections, they have to reward the donors after winning the elections leading to corruption. Finally, parties are often run by leaders and their small cliques in the name of masses thereby frustrating the will of the people for better government.

20.7 WHETHER PARTYLESS DEMOCRACY IS POSSIBLE ?

The aforesaid criticisms notwithstanding, political parties are indispensable in modern democracies. If democracy is regarded as a government by the people, then political parties must be accepted as a necessary institution. Parties act as the major political vehicle of opinions and ideas by framing issues for popular verdict. Parties also bridge economic and geographic gaps of sectionalism and seek a compromise on public policy. Besides, parties are eminent educators as they bring down political issues to the common people. The party system also ensures responsibility as the opposition parties keep a constant vigil on the government. Parties are thus the only means through which the people, who are ultimate political sovereign, can control the government. The party system alone provides a method of securing a change of government by constitutional and peaceful means. That is why, despite the strong disliking of the framers of the American Constitution, party system emerged in the US within a few years of its operation. The talk of party-less democracy advocated by Indian leaders like Jay Prakash Narayan is nothing but an utopia.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer

ii) Check your answer with that given at the end of the unit.

1) Examine the drawbacks of the party-system

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2) Explain why party-less democracy is not possible.

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20.8 LET US SUM UP

A political party is an organization through which individuals and groups work to secure political power and, if successful, to translate those policies and programmes into reality. They have come into existence due to several factors that include human instinct of combativeness, their temperamental differences, dynamic leadership, social and political changes like limitations imposed on the monarchy and extension of adult suffrage as also divergent interests of the people.

There are three principal kinds of party systems, namely, single party system, two-party system and multi-party system. While one-party system is generally regarded anti-democratic, bi-party and multi-party systems have their respective advantages and disadvantages. What is crucial therefore is the political culture of a country that determines the suitability of a particular kind of party system for that country. While the party system has certain drawbacks, it is essential for the working of a democracy as parties stand between the electorate and the government.

20.9 KEY WORDS

Political Party	: A group operating to secure the control of a government.
Party System	: A political configuration that exists in a country as a result of legal requirements and long term influence on number and strength of parties.
Totalitarian System	: Where a single party rules at the cost of individual freedom and democracy.
Political Culture	: The sum-total of attitudes, beliefs, norms and values of the people towards the political system and political issues.

20.10 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

M. Duverger, *Political Parties* (New York: Wiley, 1954)

Jean Blondel, *An Introduction to Comparative Government* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1969)

S. E. Finer, *Comparative Government* (London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 1970)

H. Eckstein and David E. Apter, *Comparative Politics*, (London, 1963)

Roy C. Macridis and Bernard Brown, *Comparative Politics* (Dorsey, 1964)

Amal Ray and Mohit Bhattacharya, *Political Theory: Ideas and Institutions* (Calcutta : The World Press, 1994), chapter 27.

20.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Three kinds of explanations are given, (a) tendency of human nature towards combativeness - people form parties to give organised expression to their

combative nature; (b) diverse temperaments of individuals lead them to form different parties - people with similar thinking get together; (c) charismatic nature of political leaders bring followers together.

- 2) A party is a group of people organised to seek political power through electoral process. Pressure groups are groups of people seeking protection of interest of their members. They do not contest elections, and do not seek political power.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Political parties unite sectional interests; they contribute to democratic government by nominating candidates for public offices; they impart political education; they rule, if in majority or offer constructive criticisms if in opposition.
- 2) Single party systems often is used in totalitarian systems and destroys freedom of people. Two-party system provides the alternatives to voters, gives stability to government. But, it pays a price for stability as it implies that there are only two schools of thought. Multiparty system creates political instability, but brings out different shades of opinion.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) Turns legislature into a battle field; principles of parties and national interest are often subordinated to factional interests; moral values are often debased, big donations made by parties lead to use of corrupt practices.
- 2) Parties are guarantees of free democratic governance; bridge gaps between sectional interests and ensure responsibility in administration.

THE PEOPLE'S
UNIVERSITY

Structure

- 21.0 Objectives
- 21.1 Introduction
- 21.2 Meaning of Pressure Groups
- 21.3 Role of Pressure Groups
- 21.4 Techniques of Pressure Groups
- 21.5 Pressure Groups and Political Parties
- 21.6 Types of Pressure Groups
- 21.7 Comparison of Indian and Western Pressure Groups
- 21.8 Let Us Sum Up
- 21.9 Some Useful Books
- 21.10 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

21.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you should be able to:

- analyse the role of pressure groups in democratic politics;
- explain the types of pressure groups; and
- compare the Indian and Western pressure groups.

21.1 INTRODUCTION

In democratic politics, pressure groups are organisations which attempt to influence the government. The International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences describes the groups as representing the interest of the sections into which a society is divided. With advanced specialisation groups will be more numerous and specialised. Such groups represent interest of various sections of society viz., farmers, labourers, government employees, businessmen, professional people and even students. Pressure groups are also known as interest groups.

21.2 MEANING OF PRESSURE GROUPS

Pressure groups are organised associations, unions or organisation of people having common interest. Their aim is to seek better conditions for their members through organised efforts. They try to influence the legislature, executive and other decision makers to have decisions made in their favour.

According to V.O.Key, a striking feature of American politics is the extent to which political parties are supplemented by private associations formed to influence public policy. These organisations are commonly called pressure groups. David B.Truman defines an interest group as “a shared attitude group that makes certain claims upon the other groups in the society.” One of the major trends in democratic political process is the increasing role of pressure groups. Herman Finer viewed that it is perhaps now an axiom of political science that, where political parties are weak in principles and organisation, the pressure groups will flourish; where pressure groups are strong, political parties will be feeble; and

where political parties are strong, pressure groups will be curbed. In the context of the USA, the rigid nature of its constitution, the doctrine of separation of powers, difficulties of conveying the grievances of the people to the government, etc. contribute to the growth of pressure groups in American politics. American pressure groups are not much influenced by the political parties whereas in Britain pressure groups implicitly or explicitly have attachment with political parties.

Indian political parties are weak in principles and organisation. Therefore, pressure groups are supposed to be very significant in the functioning of the Indian Political System. In parliamentary system of government, pressure groups exert pressure mainly on the executive with the assumption that legislature is under the control of executive. Here executive includes both the political and permanent executive.

21.3 ROLE OF PRESSURE GROUPS

Group activities are generally more effective than individual activities. Therefore, pressure groups play a vital role in a democratic society in terms of influencing the government for expressing the common concern of a section of society and promote their interest. The vitality of the pressure groups is mainly determined by their ability to influence the government. Influencing the government involves influencing the public policy decision makers, law makers, implementers of policies and decisions, etc. The role of pressure groups is closely connected with politics. Here our assumption is that power is an essential element of politics which implies the study of influence. In this context Harold D. Lasswell in his early work on politics, uses the subtitle, "who gets what, when, how?" and says that, "the study of politics is the study of influences and influential." In view of this understanding, the state of pressure groups in democratic countries constitutes an important dimension of the study of politics because the primary objective of any pressure group is to influence the government on a specific public policy issue or problem.

Pressure groups do not contest elections and they may not have political programmes. Pressure groups informally attempt to influence the government on a specific public policy issue of a section of society.

Freedom of association is generally found in all democratic societies. This is required in order to identify and promote common interest or well-being of the people through the collective activities. This is regarded as the basic factor which tends to the establishment of pressure groups. So, pressure groups play a crucial role in interest formation and interest aggregation.

Pressure groups play the mediatory role between the people and government. They balance the national interest and interest of individuals. Generally interests of the common people are not organised. Pressure groups contribute to give concrete shape to the interests of people. This role of pressure groups is significant in interest formation as well as interest aggregation. The groups have to move demands before the government based on the difficulties or grievances of people. Interest formation may occur through the reactions of groups of people on issues of public importance like GATT, Nuclear explosion, reservation policy, environmental issues, price rise, regional imbalances, rural development program, etc.

According to Gabriel Almond and Bingham Powell, converting the demands into policy alternatives is interest aggregation. In this process also, pressure groups play a significant role in terms of identifying possible policy alternatives or options. They also explain the pros and cons of each policy alternative which is a very

helpful information for the policy makers to select the best alternative. This role of pressure groups is to provide inputs to public policy making. On the whole, pressure groups contribute to democratise the public policy making and law making.

When it is found that political parties cannot adequately represent the aspirations of the people, pressure groups become the devices for representing the aspirations of the people. In this sense, pressure groups perform the representation function.

In a welfare state, the growing functions of government may tend to affect the responsive capability of the political system. Besides the members of government may not be able to get sufficient time to get all the details of a particular issue of public importance as the political elites are preoccupied in the political activities. In view of these, pressure groups are essential to make the political system respond to the aspirations of people and provide the details of a particular policy issue of public importance to the ruling political elites. This will contribute to work out development activities very effectively.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with that given at the end of the unit.

1) Explain the meaning and role of pressure groups in democratic politics.

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21.4 TECHNIQUES OF PRESSURE GROUPS

The main techniques of pressure groups are manipulating public opinion, persuading legislators and administrators, etc. When some project, as for instance the Sardar Sarovar Project (SSP) in Gujarat, and the Kaiga project in Karnataka, are likely to affect the interest of a section and region, pressure groups attempt to promote environmental awareness by providing the necessary information to the concerned people. This role of pressure groups tends to change the public attitude towards a specific issue. The extent of influence of pressure groups on government is mainly determined by their position to represent public opinion. Hence it is necessary on the part of pressure groups to influence the process of formation of public opinion. As a consequence, pressure groups seem to manipulate public opinion.

Pressure groups have friends and allies in the legislatures as in the case of American Congress and the Indian Parliament. Influence of pressure groups is through the legislators for making specific provisions or deleting some provision in legislation. This involves lobbying and it is particularly influential in the USA.

Pressure groups attempt to influence the process of implementation of decisions through the administrators. Besides, pressure groups adopt the technique of

influencing the government through public interest litigation in courts of law. When we talk of the techniques of the pressure groups, we should take into account the political form in which the pressures are to be exercised. In the U.S., the pressure are exercised in the presidential form. In India, they are to be exercised in the context of the cabinet form of government. The methods of pressure groups in India may be said to be ill-defined and, to some extent, crude. The methods of the American pressure groups are highly developed and routine. In the U.S, the need for the pressure groups is felt greatly because the executive is separate from the legislature and both of them of course are separate from the judiciary. In India, the co-ordination between the legislature, the executive and the judiciary is well defined. The judiciary is independent but does not have the powers of judicial review as wide as in the U.S. In India, the judiciary is asserting its position under the influence of the pressure groups which are bringing before it the public interest litigation which is seen clearly in case of environmental pressure groups and economic pressure groups. Medha Patkar and her associates have exercised a vast amount of pressure on the executive at the state and central level over the question of the Narmada dam and particularly the resettlement of the people affected by the dam. There are pressure groups which have been working on the problems of daily wage workers and women and many of them are exercising pressure by bringing their cases before the courts in the form of public interest litigation. Even in the limited context of municipal government, as in case of Bombay, citizens are taking cases to the high courts to exert pressure on the municipal authorities to clean streets and undertake environmental measure. In the context of India, as in several developing countries, these techniques are new. Therefore the pressure groups have to work hard to organise the members of the public in order to be effective in relation to government and public administration. In active cities like Pune, citizens have gone to the extent of bringing back the transferred commissioner in the teeth of opposition of the state government.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with that given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What are the techniques adopted by the pressure groups in different forms of government?

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21.5 PRESSURE GROUPS AND POLITICAL PARTIES

Pressure groups and political parties constitute very important structure of a political system. Both pressure groups and political parties are extra-constitutional agencies and play a crucial role in the political process. Sometimes, pressure groups become political parties. In Maharashtra, the Shiva Sena was a pressure group and it has now become a political party. Similarly, the Karnataka Rajya Sangh (KRRS) in Karnataka, was initially a pressure group. After sometime, the KRRS became a political party in Karnataka.

Pressure groups may give rise to political parties. The cultural and religious pressure group (the RSS) gave rise to the establishment of Bharatiya Jana Sangh in 1951. The Indian political parties have corresponding students' organisations namely, Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP), Students Federation of India (SFI), All-India Students Federations (AISF), etc. which are regarded as pressure groups of students affiliated with one party or the other. There can be pressure groups within a political party. The Seva Dal was a unit of the Indian National Congress before independence and it was working as a pressure group. After independence, the Seva Dal has continued to be a pressure group but it is not so effective now as in pre-independence days.

A political party is a larger organisation, while a pressure group is comparatively a small organisation. The main objective of a political party is to come to power whereas the main concern of a pressure group is to influence the government for promoting its specific interest. However, political parties have to represent the aggregate of diverse interests of the people. That is why pressure groups are regarded as non-political. Parties put up their candidates, try to win maximum number of seats in the legislature and form government, if possible. Pressure Groups do not, on their own, do any of these things.

A political party requires an ideology which enables it to have an identity. Pressure groups do not need ideology and sometimes they may be subjected to the influence of an ideology.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with that given at the end of the unit.

1) How are pressure groups different from political parties?

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21.6 TYPES OF PRESSURE GROUPS

Rationale and methods of operation of various pressure groups may not basically vary from one country to another country. The generalisations that can be made are broadly applicable to understanding of the working of pressure groups in various countries. The origin of pressure groups is diverse since they represent a particular dimension of interests like economic, social and political interests. Pressure groups exist for protecting or promoting particular interest(s).

Pressure groups can be broadly classified into the following categories :

- 1) Business Groups
- 2) Labour Organisations
- 3) Farmers' Groups
- 4) Professional Groups
- 5) Religious Groups

1) Business Groups

Businessmen are generally well-organised and their concern would be to get reasonable restrictions imposed on the production and distribution of goods, import and export of commodities, determination of price of commodities, etc. There are business groups like the National Association of Manufacturers in the USA, the Federation of British Industries, the National Council of French Employers, the Federation of German Industry, the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI), etc.

In India the British merchants established the Chamber of Commerce in 1830s. In 1926, it was decided to establish a national Indian business organisation. In the following year the same business organisation became the Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry. The support of the wealthy businessman like G.D.Birla made this business group an important and influential force. In addition to the Federation of Chambers of Commerce and Industry there are other national business groups namely the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation, the Associated Chambers of Commerce and Industry of India etc. These business groups keep in touch with political parties and contribute to party funds and some candidates in elections are financed by the businessmen.

The primary function of any business group is to protect its business interests like opposing tax increase, minimum control on labour, etc.

2) Labour Organisations

In the USA trade union politics began with the establishment of the American Federation of Labour in 1886. There are labour organisations like the communist dominated Confederation of Christian Trade Unions in France, German Confederation of Trade Unions, Transport and General Workers' Union in England, Indian National Trade Union Congress, etc. The labour organisations are concerned with payment of adequate wages and emoluments, reasonable working hours and conditions of service, compensation in case of some accident, etc. They are often associated with one party or the other.

In India the Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC), the United Trade Union Congress (UTUC), the Hind Mazdoor Sabha (HMS), All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh have links with political parties like the Congress (I), Communist parties, the Socialist Party, the BJP etc. All these trade unions are regarded as major Indian Labour Organisations.

3) Farmers' Groups

Farmers' groups are basically concerned with protecting the interest of farmers from adverse effects of modernisation and getting facilities of modernisation to the farmers. These include continuation of subsidy to the farmers, minimum price for agricultural products, etc. In the USA, the farmers' groups like American Farm Bureau Federation, the National Grange, the National Farmers' Educational and Co-operative Union of America are regarded as very important farmers' groups for getting their just dues from the government. In India, we have farmers' groups like Karnataka Rajya Raith Sangh, Setkari Sangh of Sharad Joshi in Maharashtra and similar organisation of Mahendra Singh Tikait in UP.

4) Professional Organisations

Professional organisations are mainly concerned with the service conditions and other facilities for their respective professions. Associations like teachers'

association, medical association, bar association, etc. are regarded as pressure groups based on their professions. The American Association of University Teachers, All-India Federation of University and College Teachers' Organisations, the American Bar Association, the Indian Political Science Association, the British Medical Association are some of the examples of professional pressure groups.

5) Religious Organisations

Religious pressure groups generally attempt to protect the interest of a particular religion. In the USA, the National Council of Churches is a religious pressure group. The other religious pressure groups are the American Jewish Committee, American Jewish Congress, etc. In the Indian context, the caste and communal associations can be categorised as religious pressure groups. In Indian politics, caste associations are increasingly getting prominence and becoming very influential.

Check Your Progress 4

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with that given at the end of the unit.

1) Describe the various types of pressure groups.

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21.7 COMPARISON OF INDIAN AND WESTERN PRESSURE GROUPS

Both India and Western countries are democracies. But within western countries there are differences between Presidential and Parliamentary forms of government. India though a parliamentary democracy differs from such countries of the West in terms of developmental levels. Therefore there are some differences in the role of pressure groups.

Firstly, the American pressure groups are regarded as the fourth organ of the government but the Indian pressure groups are not yet able to play such significant role in politics.

Secondly, in India and Great Britain the cabinet and civil service are the main targets of pressure groups for lobbying purposes rather than the parliament. However, the targets of American pressure groups are the Congress and its committees rather than the President for lobbying purposes.

Thirdly, Indian pressure groups based on caste, religion, region, etc. are more powerful than the modern groups like business organisations.

Fourthly, a significant feature of American pressure groups is that in the USA pressure groups take interest in foreign policy issues while in India pressure groups do not seem to have interest in foreign policy matters. Comparatively, the Indian pressure groups are concerned more with domestic policy issues and problems, and less with foreign policy matters.

However in general, despite the differences, democratic politics presupposes the crucial role of pressure groups for serving the interests of different sections of society.

21.8 LET US SUM UP

Pressure groups play a vital role in democratic politics in terms of representing and promoting the aspirations of the people. The significance of pressure groups is mainly determined by the political parties, the forms of government, attitudes of people towards politics, the nature of leadership etc.

Pressure groups are different from political parties mainly because their main purpose is to secure maximum advantage for their members whose interests are common. Political parties contest elections to legislative bodies, and those who get majority form the government and control the administration. Pressure groups do not seek political power. They only try to influence the decision-makers.

There are different types of pressure groups, such as business groups, labour organisations (trade unions), farmers' associations, professional groups (e.g. bar associations, medical associations, teachers associations and chartered accountants groups), and religious groups. Some of the pressure groups associate themselves directly, or indirectly, with one political party or the other, without formally joining it.

21.9 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

V.O.Key, *Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups*, New York, Thomas & Crowell Company, 1969, p.18.

Herman Finer, *Theory and Practice of Modern Government*, Delhi, Surjeet, 1977.

Pressure Groups in Indian Politics, New Delhi : Radiant Publishers, 1980, p.38.

Verinder Grover (Ed.) *Politics of Influence, Violence and Pressure Groups*, New Delhi, Deep and Deep Publication, 1990.

21.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) These are groups of people organised to achieve a common goal. They try to influence decision-makers to seek maximum concessions for their members. (See Sections 21.2 and 21.3)

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Manipulation of public opinion, persuading legislators and administrators. They have their friends in legislatures and administration. They often offer benefits to decision-makers to favour their groups. (See Section 21.4)

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) Political parties have clear and distinct ideologies, pressure groups merely promote the collective interests of their groups. Parties seek political power

and contest elections; groups do not. Groups only exercise influence or pressure over the decision makers. (See Section 21.5)

Check Your Progress 4

- 1) They are mainly labour (trade) unions, business groups, farmers groups, religious groups and professional groups, such as doctors' associations, bar (lawyers') associations, teachers organisations, traders groups, etc. (See section 21.6)



UNIT 22 ELECTORAL PROCESS

Structure

- 22.0 Objectives
- 22.1 Introduction
- 22.2 Majoritarian Methods
 - 22.2.1 First-Past-The-Post System (Simple Majority System)
 - 22.2.2 Second Ballot System
 - 22.2.3 Other Methods
 - 22.2.4 Shortcomings of Majoritarian Systems
- 22.3 Proportional Representation
 - 22.3.1 Single Transferable Vote System
 - 22.3.2 List System
 - 22.3.3 Semiproportional Method
 - 22.3.4 Slate System
 - 22.3.5 Cumulative Vote System
- 22.4 Electoral Process and Parties
 - 22.4.1 Party Unity and Cohesion
- 22.5 Let Us Sum Up
- 22.6 Key Words
- 22.7 Some Useful Books
- 22.8 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

22.0 OBJECTIVES

In this unit you will learn about comparative electoral processes and various methods of electoral representation.

After reading this unit you will be able to:

- explain the meaning of electoral process;
- recall various methods of electoral representation;
- compare various systems of election;
- describe the majoritarian plurality system;
- analyse the methods of proportional representation; and
- describe the relation of parties and electoral process.

22.1 INTRODUCTION

Election is the process by which people choose, by voting, representatives to act on their behalf, to represent them, in a legislative body. It may be Parliament or even a local body. This process of choice by elections is now almost inseparable from representative democracy. In the twentieth century, most states granted the right to vote to all adult resident citizens. Over time, the suffrage has been extended from estates to individuals. In the twentieth century large categories formerly excluded on grounds of race, sex and property qualifications were enfranchised. The change has also led to equality or 'one man one vote one value'.

Elections have several functions. These include designating, directly or indirectly, the government; providing feedback between voters and government; demonstrating public support for or repudiation of a regime; providing a means for the recruitment of political leaders; and making the government answerable to the electorate. Functions may differ in states that have elections without choice, where a party's hegemonic or monopolistic position makes the outcome a foregone conclusion.

In some countries like Belgium, Italy, Denmark and The Netherlands it is not the election but the inter-party bargaining following the election which determines the composition of government. But it is only where the party system provides a choice between alternative potential majorities that the voters do have such a greater direct choice.

The nature of electoral choice in each country is shaped by three sets of factors. First, the object of election, which may be to choose a constituency representative, party list or president. Second, the party system, or pattern of voting alignments which in turn is shaped by cleavages in society, the electoral system, and the manoeuvres of elites. Third, the electoral system, particularly those provisions which aggregate votes and translate them into seats, that is, rules for counting and weighing votes.

22.2 MAJORITARIAN SYSTEMS

A distinction may be drawn between the absolute majoritarian system, as in France, in which the winner has to achieve at least half the total number of votes polled; the plurality (first past the post) system in India and many English-speaking countries; the various forms of proportional representation (PR) such as Single transferable vote system.

22.2.1 First-Past-the-Post System

Plurality system of election is one of the most prevalent systems of representation. It is often referred to as 'first-past-the-post', relative majority, or more commonly described as the simple plurality system. It implies that the winner is the candidate who receives the maximum number of votes. Examples are Lok Sabha and State Vidhan Sabha elections in India. It is also used in the Philippines, and Venezuela and for members of the lower houses of the legislatures in Canada, United Kingdom, and United States. According to the single majority system, it is possible to win an election without winning a majority of votes. For instance, in an election, in which three candidates receive 40, 35, and 25 per cent of votes, respectively, the winner is the candidate who received 40 per cent of the vote. In fact, in a three-candidate contest, a candidate can win with just over one-third of the total vote if each of the other two candidates receive just below one-third of the votes. As the number of candidates increases, the minimum number of votes that may be sufficient for election decreases. This method is called first-past-the-post system because it resembles a race in which one who reaches the victory post first is declared the (first) winner irrespective of the time taken by him. In election, it means the one with maximum number of votes wins the seat, even if it is less than half of total votes polled.

In many democracies the possibility that a candidate can win without getting a majority of the votes has been considered undesirable. One objection to plurality has been that the democratic principle of majority rule is violated if a candidate is elected who has received less than a majority of the votes and against whom a majority of the votes has been cast. The second objection is the practical problem

that a candidate elected with less than majority support will not have the democratic legitimacy to govern effectively.

22.2.2 Second Ballot System

In order to ensure that the candidate who is declared elected secures more than fifty per cent votes, some methods have been used. One of these majority methods is to use, as many rounds of voting as are necessary to elect a candidate with an absolute majority. In the Third and Fourth French Republics the repeated-ballots method was used for the election of the President of the Republic by joint sessions of the two houses of the national legislature. However, the major drawback of the method is that a large number of rounds of voting may be necessary, thus making it impractical for mass elections. A variety of this method is also used by both the major American political parties in their national conventions, to select their presidential candidates. Ballot, after ballot are held till a candidate secures absolute majority.

Two rounds of voting constitute the practical limit for mass elections, and there are two methods that are based on this two-ballot, or double-ballot, format: the mixed majority-plurality method and the majority-runoff method.

- 1) The mixed majority-plurality method requires a majority for election on the first ballot; if no candidate has received such a majority, a second ballot (polling on a subsequent date) is conducted, and the winner is the candidate who wins largest number of the votes. The major example is the electoral system for the French National Assembly.

22.2.3 Other Methods

Two additional majoritarian methods that are less commonly practiced but highly recommended by experts on electoral process are:

- 1) Limited Vote Plan, invented by political scientist Steven J. Brams, entails a slight amendment to the plurality rule: voters can cast votes for as many candidates as they like instead of only for their most preferred candidate. For instance, if there are five seats, voters can vote for one, two, three, or four of these candidates but not for five candidates. (Voting for all five would be tantamount to not voting at all). If many voters make use of the opportunity to cast two or more votes, the winner is likely to be a majority winner, even when the field of candidates is relatively large.

Limited Vote Plan, also called Approval voting, has been adopted by several private associations but has not yet been used for the election of public officials. In the 1990 parliamentary elections in Belarus, Russia, and Ukraine, however, the electoral formula (inherited from the former Soviet Union) asked the voters to strike out the names of candidates of whom they disapproved; this method of disapproval voting is logically equivalent to approval voting. The difference in these elections was that additional rules specified that the winner needed to win an absolute majority of the votes and that the turnout had to be 50 per cent or higher - with the election to be repeated if one or both of these requirements was not met.

- 2) The Condorcet method, invented by the Marquis de Condorcet, an eighteenth-century French mathematician, disaggregates a multicandidate contest into a series of two-candidate contests. It asks the voters to choose between each of the possible pairs of candidates. For instance, when there are three candidates - A, B, and C- voters are asked to choose between A and B,

between A and C, and between B and C. The Condorcet winner is the candidate who defeats all other candidates in these pairwise contests. For instance, if a majority of the voters prefers A to B and also A to C, candidate A wins.

For some the Condorcet method is the most accurate and fairest majoritarian methods but this method also has some drawbacks. The most serious of these is the possibility, discovered by Condorcet himself, that there may not be a single Condorcet winner. The standard illustration of this problem involves three voters and three candidates. The first voter has the preference order A-B-C (that is, the first voter prefers A to B, B to C, and A to C); the second voter's preference order is B-C-A, and the third voter's is C-A-B. Collectively, the three voters prefer A to B, B to C, and C to A (in each case by a 2-1 majority). Such examples do not occur often, however, and in case they do they can be resolved by some additional rule like the alternative vote.

Another problem appears to be that the Condorcet method is very complicated for both voters and vote counters. When there are three candidates in an election, there are only three pairs of candidates, and the decisions are fairly simple. But when, for instance, eight candidates compete, there are twenty-eight pairs to be compared. Voters need not pick their favourites from all possible pairs of candidates, however; they need only indicate their preference orders among all the candidates. Then their preferences in each pairwise contest can be logically deduced. The counting can be performed easily by computer.

22.2.4 Shortcomings of Majoritarian Systems

One of the serious shortcomings of majoritarian electoral system has been that when an entire legislature is elected by majoritarian methods, large parties tend to be favoured. The reason is that in each single-member constituency the candidates of small parties do not have much of a chance to be elected. Hence majoritarian elections tend to yield considerable disproportionality between votes cast and seats won as a result of the overrepresentation of the largest parties and the underrepresentation of small parties.

British parliamentary elections, which are held according to simple majority system, or the first-past-the-post system, provide a good example of this pattern. In the four elections between 1979 and 1992, the Conservative Party won an average of 42.6 per cent of the total vote but 56.0 per cent of the seats. The Labour Party won 32.4 per cent of the vote and 37.8 per cent of the seats. The third party (the Liberal Democrats and their predecessors) won 19.9 per cent of the vote and only 2.9 per cent of seats. The regionally concentrated ethnic parties (the Scottish and Welsh national parties and the Northern Ireland parties) together received 4.2 per cent of the vote and 3.2 per cent of the seats. The largest party got more than its share and the third party was the most disadvantaged. In the 1993 National Assembly elections in France, the two large allied conservative parties won 79.7 per cent of the seats after receiving only 39.5 per cent of the first-ballot votes. It can also happen (as in United Kingdom in 1951 and in New Zealand in 1978 and 1981) that the second largest party in terms of votes wins by relatively narrow margins in relatively many districts - and thus wins a majority of the seats and the election.

In India, no ruling party at the Centre ever secured fifty per cent or more of the total votes polled. This is because of large number of parties, and candidates. The winning candidates often get lesser number of votes than the number of votes secured by all the defeated candidates taken together.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at the end of unit.

1) What are the shortcomings of first-past-the-post system?

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2) In which two countries the mixed majority-plurality method is used?

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3) What is the second ballot (or majority runoff) method?

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22.3 PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

Proportional representation was invented in the nineteenth century. It was adopted by many European democracies about the turn of the century or in the early decades of the twentieth century (the United Kingdom and France being the main exceptions). It has become a much-preferred electoral system for many national parliamentary elections. For instance, of the twenty-three long-term democracies - those that have been democratic without major interruptions since about 1950 (the fifteen older West European democracies plus the United States, Canada, India, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Israel, and Costa Rica) - fifteen have used mainly proportional representation during this period, one (Japan) has used a semiproportional system, and only seven have used majoritarian systems.

The major reason many countries have adopted proportional representation is, as the term indicates, to avoid the disproportionalities inherent in majoritarian systems and to achieve a relatively high degree of proportionality between votes cast and seats won. In practice, however, proportional representation systems rarely attain perfect proportionality. Unlike majoritarian systems, proportional representation can be applied only to the election of multimember constituencies. In other words, the idea is that, as far as possible, different parties should win seats in the legislatures in accordance with the proportion of votes polled by them.

The two principal methods of proportional representation are the list system and the single transferable vote.

22.3.1 Single Transferable Vote System

This method of proportional representation is also known as (i) Hare System because it was first suggested by Thomas Hare; and (ii) Preferential Vote System because each voter is required to indicate his/her preferences of candidates on the ballot paper, though the vote is only one. This method can be used when there is a multiple-member constituency, which means three or more members are to be elected from one constituency. However, each voter is entitled only to one vote, which may be transferred, if necessary, according to the preferences indicated by the voter on the ballot paper. That is why it is called single transferable vote system. After the polling, the total number of votes polled are

divided by total number of seats + 1, and 1 is added to the quotient. This then becomes quota, and a candidate in order to be able to get elected is required to receive the number of votes equal to the quota. Surplus votes, if any, are transferred, according to the preferences. Similarly, the candidates who polled least number of votes are eliminated, one by one, and all their votes are transferred according to their second/third preferences. This ensures fair amount of representation according to voters' wishes, and (unlike simple majority system) votes are not wasted. This method is used in the elections to Indian Rajya Sabha, with each State Assembly as one multiple-member constituency and each MLA has one transferable vote. It is also used for our State Legislative Councils, for the Senate of Australia, and for parliamentary elections in Malta and Ireland.

22.3.2 List System

List System is another method of securing proportional representation. This method also operates in multiple-member constituencies. Different parties put up lists of as many candidates (each) as number of members to be elected. Thus, if seven persons are to be elected, each party will put up a list of seven candidates in the preference in which they would like to be elected. The voters vote for parties and not individuals. Quota is fixed by dividing total number of votes by number of seats. The party which secures votes equal to, say, three times of the quota (less than half being ignored, and more than half taken as one), that party will have its first three candidates in the list elected.

This system has been slightly modified in Switzerland where each voter is given a blank voting paper. The voter may either vote for any of the party lists or prepare his/her own list by picking up names from different lists.

22.3.3 Semiproportional Method

Some countries have also followed the semiproportional method. At the national level, the major example is Japan, which used the single nontransferable vote for its House of Representatives elections from 1947 to 1993. The single nontransferable vote method gives each voter one vote in multimember districts (in Japan, mainly three to five members), and the candidates with the most votes win. In this system it is relatively easy for minority parties to gain representation. For instance, a party with slightly more than 20 per cent support that nominates one candidate in a four-member district is assured of getting this candidate elected, without the use of a formal proportional representation system.

Another practice that may be regarded as an intermediate form between majoritarian and proportional representation systems is to guarantee representation for ethnic minorities. New Zealand has several special Maori districts in which only Maori voters can cast ballots. India has a large number of constituencies in which only members of the Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes can be candidates, though all the people living in the constituency are voters irrespective of their caste or community, this is just reservation of seats, not real proportional representation.

22.3.4 Slate System

This is a peculiar system used in the election of American President's Electoral College election. In each State different parties put up their lists (called Slates). Voters vote for a Slate, not individual candidates). The slate which gets majority of votes polled is declared elected in its totality. Thus, if 51% voters in California vote for Democratic Slate, all the 54 Democrats will be elected and none of the Republican will get in. This may be described as a variety of majoritarian method.

22.3.5 Cumulative Vote System

This again may be called a semi-proportional method, in which a minority (racial, linguistic, etc.) can pool all its votes in favour of one candidate. Thus, if ten members are to be elected from one constituency, the voters have ten votes which they may use the way they like. A voter may cast one vote each for ten different candidates or 5 each for two candidates, or all the 10 votes for one candidate. The voter writes number of votes given for a candidate figure 1 each or 5 for 2 or may write figure 10 against one candidate. The ten with maximum number of votes get elected.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of unit.

1) Why do countries adopt the proportional representation system?

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.....

2) What is the difference between list system and single transferable vote system?

.....
.....

3) Describe the single transferable vote system.

.....
.....

4) What is the cumulative vote system?

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.....

22.4 ELECTORAL PROCESS AND PARTIES

In the debate about electoral process, there have been two main themes. First concerns the effects of electoral process on the proportionality of representation and the possibilities for minorities to be represented. Second, concerns the effects of electoral systems on parties and consequently on the viability and effectiveness of democratic government.

Elections to a single office are inherently majoritarian and disproportionate, but the majority-runoff method gives small parties a chance to produce a respectable showing in the first round, some bargaining leverage between rounds, and hence a sizable incentive to participate in such elections. Plurality system favours the large parties and especially the two largest, which are the only parties with a reasonable chance to win, and hence encourages the development and maintenance of two-party systems.

In a two-party system the legislature may well include members from smaller parties -- for instance, the British House of Commons normally contains about ten parties. But in a two-party system the major parties predominate, and one of the two is likely to win a majority victory in parliamentary elections.

Plurality system often creates a one-party majority of legislative seats out of less than a majority of popular votes cast for the winning party. All of the one-party majorities in the United Kingdom since 1945 and in New Zealand since 1954 have been such examples. The normal party system under proportional representation is a multiparty system without a majority party. Thus, in parliamentary systems of government, multiparty coalition cabinets (or sometimes minority cabinets) need to be formed. The conventional argument is that two-party systems are preferable because they produce one-party cabinets that are internally united and hence strong and decisive -- in contrast to coalition cabinets, whose continual need to make compromises makes them weak and indecisive. When post - World War II Western parliamentary democracies are compared, two-party democracies do not have a better record than multiparty democracies on managing the economy (stimulating economic growth and controlling inflation and unemployment) or maintaining public order and peace. Critics of the British two-party system have explained the superior performance of a multiparty democracy like the German in terms of steadiness and continuity. They point out that a steady hand is better than a strong hand and that centrist coalitions encourage a continuity in public policy that alternating parties cannot achieve. Similarly, proportional representation and coalition governments in religiously and linguistically divided countries have a greater capacity of reaching compromise and of formulating broadly acceptable policies than more narrowly based governments. Two-party systems do have the advantage of providing clear government accountability. The voters know that the governing party is responsible for past public policies. When these are judged favourably, the voters can reward the ruling party by returning it to power; when they are seen to have failed, power can be turned over to the opposition party. But greater accountability does not necessarily spell greater responsiveness to citizens' interests. There is no evidence that coalitions are less responsive than one-party majority cabinets. On the contrary, coalitions are usually closer to the center of the political spectrum, and hence closer to the ideological position of the average voter, than one-party cabinets representing the left or the right. But supporters of plurality and two-party systems can legitimately regard government accountability as a value in and of itself -- just as, for many proportional representation advocates, proportionality is an ultimate value.

Both supporters and critics of proportional representation agree that proportional representation elections yield greater proportionality, than plurality system. Greater proportionality means better minority representation, not only in the sense of the representation of minority political parties but also in terms of better representation of religious and ethnic minorities. Moreover, the representation of women - a political rather than a numerical minority - is much stronger in proportional representation than in plurality systems.

22.4.1 Party Unity and Cohesion

The unity and cohesion of political parties, and the encouragement of alliances between parties, are affected in important ways by the electoral process. Party unity is lessened when members of the same party have to run against each other; hence to the extent that electoral processes give them an incentive to do so, party unity tends to decrease.

With respect to unity the clearest contrasts emerge between different plurality and proportional representation systems. Most plurality systems do not entail competition between candidates of the same party, but this element is introduced by the direct primaries of the United States.

List Systems can range from closed-list to open-list systems. When the lists are completely closed, as in Israel, voters can merely choose the lists of candidates

as these are nominated by the parties without expressing preferences for one or more of these candidates. At the other extreme, lists can be completely open, as in Finland, where the voters vote for both a party and for a candidate within the party; so voters determine which candidates will occupy the seats won by the party list. An example of an intermediate form is Belgian list system, where voters can vote for the entire list nominated by the party or for an individual candidate, and where lower placed candidates can win election over higher placed candidates if they succeed in collecting a specified minimum number of preferential votes.

Electoral alliances between parties are encouraged by the alternative vote, single transferable vote, two-ballot systems, and list systems. Examples of interparty alliances that have been stimulated by the inducements to collaboration of these electoral systems are the virtually permanent partnership of the Australian Liberal and National Parties, the occasional collaboration between Fine Gael and the Labour Party in Ireland, and the alliances of the left and the right in the multiparty but two-bloc French party system.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answer with the model answers given at end of the unit.

1) What are the major themes of debate about the electoral process?

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.....

2) What is the conventional argument favouring two-party system?

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.....

22.5 LET US SUM UP

Electoral processes are of the greatest importance to representative democratic governments for some reasons. First, they have important consequences for the degree of proportionality of election outcomes, the party system, the kinds of cabinets that can be formed, government accountability, and party cohesion. Second, they are more easily manipulable than are other elements of democratic system. It means that if one wants to change the nature of a particular democracy, the electoral process is likely to be the most suitable and effective instrument for doing so.

The most common method of election is the simple majority system, also called the first-past-the-post system. In this system the candidate who secures maximum number of votes is declared, even if he/she has got only 40 or less per cent of total votes polled. This often leaves majority unrepresented.

On the other hand countries have to adopt the proportional representation system in order to eliminate some of the shortcomings of the usually adopted electoral methods. Proportional representation is helpful in bringing proportionality between votes cast and seats won. But even proportional representation is more suitable for election of multimember bodies.

But beyond proportionality there are a few other advantages of proportional representation systems. For one thing, higher turnout is encouraged by the greater

choice and the lower probability that one's vote is wasted in a district that is safe for the other party. Second, proportional representation encourages nationwide party activities. It is worthwhile for parties to maintain strong party organizations and to campaign actively even in parts of the country where they are weak because they are likely to garner valuable votes that would simply be lost under the plurality system.

22.6 KEY WORDS

Plurality Systems (First-past-the-post systems)	:	Often referred to as 'first past the post', relative majority, or simple plurality systems. In this electoral process the winner is the candidate who receives the most votes.
Repeat-ballot Methods	:	This method uses, as many rounds of voting as are necessary to elect a candidate with an absolute majority.
Majority-plurality Method (Second Ballot Systems)	:	This method requires a majority for election on the first ballot; if no candidate has received such a majority, a second ballot is conducted, and the winner is the candidate who has won a plurality of votes.
Majority-runoff Method	:	If no candidate receives a majority of the votes in the first round of voting, a second ballot (runoff) is held to decide between the two candidates who were the strongest vote getters on the first ballot.
Cumulative Vote	:	In this method voters are asked to rank order the candidates. In the first stage of counting, only the first preferences are taken into consideration. If no candidate receives majority, the candidate with the least first preferences is eliminated, and the ballots with this weakest candidate as first preference are redistributed according to second preferences.
Double Simultaneous Vote	:	In this system all candidates from all parties run against each other. Voters cast their vote for one candidate - this vote simultaneously signifies a vote for that candidate's party.
Approval Voting	:	Voters can cast votes for as many candidates as they like instead of only for their most preferred candidate.
Condorcet Method	:	It asks the voters to choose between each of the possible pairs of candidates. The Condorcet winner is the candidate who defeats all other candidates in these pairwise contests.

22.7 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Barber, Benjamin R. (1984) *Strong Democracy*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Grofman, Bernard, and Arend Lijphart (eds.) (1986) *Electoral Laws and Their Political Consequences*. New York: Agathon Press.

Lijphart, Arend. (1994) *Electoral Systems and Party Systems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lipset, S. and S. Rokkan (eds.) (1967) *Party Systems and Voter Alignments*. New York.

Nurmi, Hannu. (1987) *Comparing Voting Systems*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Reidel.

Rokkan, S. (1970) *Citizens, Elections, Parties*. New York.

22.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) First, the democratic principle of majority rule is violated if a candidate is elected who has received less than a majority of votes and against whom a majority of votes has been cast. Secondly, a candidate elected with less than majority support will not have the democratic legitimacy to govern effectively.
- 2) France and America.
- 3) If no candidate receives a majority of the votes in the first round of voting, a second ballot (runoff) is held to decide between the two candidates who were the strongest vote getters on the first ballot.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Proportional representation system is helpful in avoiding the disproportionalities inherent in majoritarian systems and to achieve a relatively high degree of proportionality between votes cast and seats won. (Please see section 22.3)
- 2) In List proportional representation system the voters choose among party lists, whereas in single transferable vote system, voters cast preferential votes for individual candidates by rank ordering them. (Please see sections 22.3.1 and 22.3.2)
- 3) Each voter has one vote (in a multiple member constituency), which is transferred according to preferences indicated. A quota is determined. Surplus votes of winners, and all the votes of least vote-securing candidates are transferred to enable other candidates to reach quota and wins. (Please see section 22.3.1)
- 4) All the votes may be cast in favour of one candidate, or divided according to voter's choice. (Please see section 22.3.5)

- 1) First, the effect of electoral process on the proportionality of representation. Secondly, the effects of electoral process on parties. (Please see section 22.4)
- 2) Two-party systems are preferable because they produce one-party cabinets that are internally united and hence strong and decisive - in contrast with coalition cabinets, whose continual need to make compromise makes them weak and indecisive. (Please see section 22.4)



Structure

- 23.0 Objectives
- 23.1 Introduction
- 23.2 View Points of the Trade Union Theorists
- 23.3 Behavioural Theory
 - 23.3.1 Critics of Behavioural Theory
- 23.4 Anarchist Syndicalist Theory
 - 23.4.1 The Syndicalists
- 23.5 Marxist Leninist Theory
 - 23.5.1 Difference Between Anarchism and Marxism
 - 23.5.2 Lenin on Trade Union Movement
- 23.6 New Left Theories
 - 23.6.1 Lenin's Criticism of Revisionists
 - 23.6.2 The New Left
- 23.7 Specifics of Trade Union Movement in Developing Countries
- 23.8 Trade Union Movement in Different Countries
 - 23.8.1 Trade Union Movement in U.S.A
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- 23.9 Trade Union Movement in India
- 23.10 Let Us Sum Up
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- 23.12 Some Useful Books
- 23.13 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

23.0 OBJECTIVES

The objective of this unit is to give you a brief account of development of trade union movement, different theories of trade union movement and the functioning of trade unions in different countries. After going through this unit you will be able to understand:

- Various theories of Trade Union Movement;
- Differences between Liberal, Marxist and Anarchist Theories;
- Development and Nature of Trade Union Movement in different countries; and
- Origin and Development of Trade Union Movement in India

23.1 INTRODUCTION

Human Social life depends on human work. The nature of work changes from time to time and place to place. There are different categories of workers and plethora of relationships. In the modern times, with the development of industries a category of workers is called industrial worker, which constitutes bulk of working class. The scholars have developed many theories and there are controversies relating to the concept of class. What constitutes 'Working Class' there are various theories for that. However, whenever the term 'working class' is used, it generally means those people who earn their livelihood by selling their labour. This is also assumed that there are some who buy their labour. The

working class can enhance their bargaining power by joining hands with each other. Their coming together is called trade unionism.

A cursory look at the development of trade unionism in modern times brings out the fact that, the trade union movement, industrial working class and capitalism emerged on the world scene simultaneously. The working class could assert itself against the mighty capitalist class, helped by the state, only when it organised itself. True, the capitalist class never welcomed the unionisation of the workers. Therefore, in the beginning unionisation of workers had to face the hostility of the capitalists. They tried to crush any sort of organisation of workers. The interest of the capitalist class could be served best by bargaining with an individual worker, rather than with the collective organisation of workers, while workers experience taught them that they could not withstand the power of the capitalists alone and therefore have to bargain collectively.

The capitalists started attacking workers' organisation from the very beginning. The state also helped them by giving them support with state apparatus – legislature, executive and judiciary. Legislations were passed to curb the collectivisation of the workers.

“In Great Britain”, writes G. D. H. Cole, “there were already, in the eighteenth century a number of statutes forbidding workers’ combinations in particular trades.” He adds that “The principal purpose of the combination Acts of 1799 and 1800 was to make them more so, both by declaring unequivocally that combinations were unlawful. Indeed, criminal conspiracies against the public interests and by providing simpler ways of proceeding against offenders”. But these combination of Acts of 1799 and 1800 should not be construed as an introduction of new principle banning combinations. It was, in fact, the culmination of a series of Combinations, acts passed by the Parliament beginning right from the 1548 Bill of Conspiracies of Victuallers and Draftsmen— a general statute against such combination to raise wage or reduce working hours. The trade unions were maligned and considered to be responsible for the disruption of industry, the decline of economy, and undermining of social rights and privileges that traditionally have held together the delicate fabric of society.

The ideologues, against the unionisation of workers sanctioned the right of state to prohibit the workers to enter into any type of organisation by approaching the “universal right of individual freedom.” These philosophers of capitalism, in the name of individual freedom asserted that ‘unionism’ is the negation of the sovereign right of individual freedom to enter into contract. The courts of law had accepted the plea, and had shown growing tendency to outlaw all such combinations on the ground that their effect was to restrain trade by interfering with the ‘natural’ liberty of all men to dispose of their labour as they wished. The orthodox economists (the spokesmen of capitalist system) opposed unionisation of the workers and held that “the share of wages in the product of industry was determined by inexorable laws-based on the laws regulation, the growth of population. Wages, it was said, could never rise more than, above subsistence level because if they did, more children would be born, or more survive so as to produce surplus labour”.

Thus, workers had struggled to assert their right to organise themselves. They formed secret societies in many countries to carry forward their struggle to protect the fundamental right of unity of the workers. “These early trade unions,” writes Cole, “had a hard struggle. Men who took the lead in organising them were very apt to find themselves discharged from their employment and to have much difficulty in getting fresh jobs; and, over and above this many of them were imprisoned when they organised strikes, or even simply for the offence of

forming Trade Unions and presenting collective demands.” The workers faced persecution and repression. Yet against all odds they were able to win their right to unionise. In Great Britain the laws forbidding combination of workers were repealed in 1824. This concession was not sufficient as there were many pitfalls in the act. Needless to say the owners of factories denied this right in one way or the other. This became clear that the struggle for the rights of workers cannot be isolated from the political struggles. Hence, workers fought tooth and nail for the grant of franchise and other political rights. The workers could achieve their fundamental right to organise themselves after paying a heavy price in their sweat and blood.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with answer given at the end of the unit.

1) Why was any kind of combination of workers opposed by the employers?

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2) How did the workers achieve their right to organise themselves in trade Unions?

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23.2 VIEW POINTS OF TRADE UNION THEORISTS

By and large, workers' right of union has been accepted in the capitalist society. But the politicisation of the unions has been frowned upon. Some scholars predict that in future they will lose the status they have secured so far. Professor Galbraith has stated that unions in the future will “retreat more or less permanently into the shadows. Those who hold that labour unions are part and parcel of the system and play a positive rôle in the society are not, however, enthusiastic for their close linkages with the politics. Allan Flanders views union as “mixture of movement and Organisation.” He accepts that, “one of the principal purposes of trade unions is collective bargaining a wide range of other issues pertaining to their members' jobs and working life. He admits that “the constant underlying social purpose of trade unions is then participation in job regulation, but participation is not an end in itself; it is the means of enabling workers to gain more control over their working lives.” R. F. Hoxie holds that “while the trade union programme as a whole and as differentiated for each type of unionism is mixed and incomplete, the economic programme has for all unions a single, definite outstanding viewpoint. The economic viewpoint of unionism is primarily a group viewpoint and its programme a group programme. The aim of the union is primarily to benefit the group of workers concerned, rather than the workers as a whole or society as a whole; its theories which attempt to explain the determination of wages, hours, conditions of employment, etc. are not general but primarily group theories. Jack Barbash who studied American trade unions says, “Higher wages and shorter hours are obvious but

genuine incentives for joining a union. He holds that the workers join unions to save themselves from favouritism, to save themselves from hugeness and impersonality. Fred H. Blum studying the Hormal-Packing House workers' experiment opined that the aim of unions is to organise the work process in such a way as to give to human values a central significance. R.C. Roberts highlighting the role of trade unions in free societies asserts, "trade unions in free society are an expression of the fundamental right of men and women to organise themselves in order to protect and promote their interests by collective action." He writes "In a free society the right to organise implies the right to exercise power that collective action carries within the scope of liberal legal frame work. A democratic society is by definition, one in which power is not concentrated entirely or substantially in the hands of government; in modern terms this means power is diffused through a multiplicity of agencies in other voluntary organisations, such as trade unions, have an important role to play, they should, therefore enjoy the freedom necessary to exercise their functions in industry and to exert political pressure on the government to legislate in their favour". "In a free society," B. C. Roberts comments, "it is recognised that the interests of different groups will inevitably conflict and it is of the essence of democracy that these conflicts shall be settled by an interplay of social and political forces. It follows from the fundamental assumptions that trade unions in a democratic society must be independent of both employers and state."

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

1) What is the purpose of trade union in a capitalist society?

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2) What relationship do they have with politics in modern developed societies?

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23.3 BEHAVIOURAL THEORY

Trade unions, in the beginning had to face the wrath of establishment, but they survived and now are accepted as a part and parcel of social life. They are considered as pressure groups, and thus, it is asserted: "from an opposition movement trade unions have become a recognised institution deeply rooted in our economic and political system." The role of trade unions has vastly changed. Earlier they were considered to be in conflict with systems, but now the relationship between trade unions and society, for example, has undergone a process of integration. Mark Vande Vall refutes Marxist concepts of "classes or class conflict; and uses the term used by Peter Drucker at the forty-seventh annual meeting of American Sociological Society, in September 1952- "The

present society is status society and the past society was the class society. Trade Unions as pressure groups are considered to be part of the political system. The 'political system' has been conceived by behaviouralists as analogous to an electronic computer which processes and there by transforms 'inputs' into 'output'. While adjusting mechanisms allow for a feedback from the outputs on the inputs mechanism, the inputs are pressure of all kinds which are exercised on the system. In the early phase of capitalism trade unions were looked at with suspicion. But modern political scientists now assume that they are equal and sometimes more powerful in pressurising the system, thus extracting concessions for themselves. In an advanced society the polity is considered as a readymade neutral mechanism, which establishes equilibrium amongst various groups. "To say that politics is the authoritative allocation of values in a community", according to Blondel, "is to say that some measure of conflict exists between values and between the holder of these values. The government has to solve these conflicts by whatever means are at its disposal – the only limitation being that in so doing it must prevent the break up of the polity."

The behavioural political scientists thus admit that in advanced societies the trade unions have been playing an important role. Nevertheless, they deny the Marxists' and Socialists view that trade unions are vehicles of class war, or they have any political role in the establishment of a socialist society. For them the trade unions are not the organisation of oppressed working class. Their participation in politics means: their role in pressuring the political system through various channels so that workers may get maximum benefits.

23.3.1 Critics of Behavioural Theory

The state, according to traditionalists, liberal and modern behaviouralists is a non-partisan, neutral and impartial institution which mediates between the conflicting interests without any bias. The capital and labour are at par in relation to the state; and their claims are adjusted in a mechanical way. They view society as a mechanical process, and there are no wide mutations and revolutionary changes. Working class is an ordinary segment of this system. The various schools of the socialist thought do not accept state as an impartial body and believe that the working class has to play a different and revolutionary role i.e. the transformation of the society. Though there is a wide range of differences regarding the role of state in bringing a new social system, yet they agree that the state is an instrument of exploitation in the hands of ruling class. State socialists hope that state could be used as an instrument, gradually in transforming the society in a peaceful way. The Marxists want the state to play a transitory role as the dictatorship of proletariat. The dictatorship of the proletariat will give way to the Communist social order of classless society by eliminating the class distinctions, the distinctive feature of all class societies. The anarchists and syndicalists are suspicious of state, and want to keep their hands off the state. For them the very nature of the state is oppressive and it can never be an instrument of transforming the society. The state and Church are the paraphernalia of the ruling classes and serve their interests.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

1) What is the role of trade unions in politics according to behaviouralists?

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23.4 ANARCHIST SYNDICALIST THEORY

Proudhon, the Anarchist held that “property is theft” which is considered to be the fundamental right of man by the propertied classes. Thus propertied classes are thieves protected by state. The endeavour of the people should be to do away with all the institutions of these propertied classes. A true human society will not only be a classless but a stateless society. The ideal anarchist is “to organise society in such a manner that every individual man or woman should find, upon entering life, approximately equal means for the development of his or her diverse faculties and their utilization in his or her work. To organise such a society that renders impossible the exploitation of anyone's labour, will enable every individual to enjoy the social wealth which in reality is only produced by collective labour, but to enjoy it only in so far as he contributes directly towards the creation of that wealth.

For this, Bakunin advocates, “it is necessary to abolish completely both in principle and in fact, all that which is called political power; for so long as political power exists, there will be ruler and ruled, master and slaves, exploiter and exploited. Once abolished political power should be replaced by an organization of productive forces and economic service. He adds, notwithstanding the enormous development of modern states, a development which in its ultimate phase is quite logically reducing the state to absurdity it is becoming evident that the days of state and the state principle are numbered. The contention of anarchists is that state protects the capitalist, system so the first attack should be on the state itself and the other system would crumble down automatically. They vehemently criticize Marxist Communists, who want to capture state power to crush the bourgeoisie. Bakunin says, “only the Communists, imagine that they can attain it (a classless social order) through development and organization of political power of working classes, and cheaply of the city proletariat, aided by bourgeoisie radicalism- whereas the revolutionary socialists, the enemies of all ambitious alliances, believe on the contrary, that this common goal can be attained not through the political but through the social (and therefore anti-political) organization and power of the working masses of the cities and villages....”

Bakunin criticises communists and says that “the communists believe that it is necessary to organise the forces of the workers in order to take possession of the political might of the state. The revolutionary socialists organise with the view of destroying, or, if you prefer a more refined expression of liquidating the state. The communists are partisans of the principle and practice of authority, while revolutionary socialists place their faith only in freedom”. According to Bakunin- “the source of its misfortune lies not in this or any other form of government but in the principle and the very existence of the government, whatever its nature may be.” Bakunin exhorts, “On our banner, the social revolutionary banner- are inscribed, in fiery and bloody letters, the destruction of all states, the annihilation of bourgeois civilisation” Thus, anarchists advocate, “before creating rather aiding the people to create this new organisation, it is necessary to overthrow that which is, in order to be able to establish that which should be.”

23.4.1 The Syndicalists

The syndicalists share with anarchists their abhorrence of the word ‘state’. Any linkage of the working class with the state power would mean the defeat of the very aim. The very character of state is such that it can never be used as an instrument of revolutionary change, is the firm faith of syndicalists. Therefore, an ideal society for syndicalists will be an organisation of working class syndicates,

where there is no pace of state power. The workers' syndicates will attack capitalist system as well as state power, which needless to say, is the protector of the system. Sorel, the philosopher and spokesman of syndicalists philosophy was an advocate of the creed of violence. He admires and eulogizes violence and violent method as the only method of overthrowing the present system. The methods the workers should use to terrorise the capitalist class is general strike. Sorel, in his "Reflections on violence" writes "Revolutionary Syndicalism keeps alive in the minds of masses the desire to strike, and that only prospers when important strikes accompanied by violence take place." The 'strikes' have a sentimental purpose. They are not only a bargaining instrument but also play an emotional and educative role. Sorel was a supporter of anti-rationalism. He writes, "Syndicalists believe in spontaneity and that there is no process by which future can be predicted scientifically." Thus, he advocated that through myth the spirit of strike should be included amongst the workers. He writes, "...use must be made of a body of images which, by intuition alone and before any considered analysis is made, is capable of evoking as an undivided whole the mass of sentiments which corresponds to the different manifestations of the war undertaken by socialism against modern society." Sorel elaborates, "General strike is a myth in which socialism has comprised, i.e. a body of images capable of evoking instinctively all the sentiments which correspond to the different manifestations of the work undertaken against modern society: strikes have endangered in the proletariat the noblest, deepest and most moving sentiments that they possess, the general strike group all in a coordinated picture and by bringing them together, gives to each one of them its maximum of intensity, appealing to their painful memories of particular conflict...." thus syndicalists' strike has a psychological purpose and accompanied with violence create the revolutionary consciousness amongst the workers. The methods of syndicalists are propagation of myths, violence, strike, general strike and sabotage.

Check Your Progress 4

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

1) Discuss Anarchist and Syndicalist view of trade union movement.

What are the points of agreement and disagreement between the two?

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23.5 MARXIST LENINIST THEORY

Marx was very critical of anarcho-syndicalists. He fought bitter struggle against Proudhonism and Bakunism as well as Lassalleism in the First International. For Marx, Proudhon was the type of petty bourgeois socialist whose bold wars were confined to reactionary theories. He was a "talented publicist, a representative of sentimental delinquent socialism," "from head to foot, a philosopher, an economist of the petty bourgeoisie", who upbraided the bourgeoisie with the glaring accusatory formula ownership is theft. Proudhon considered himself as a theoretician of the working classes" and boldly began to come out with theoretical arguments on the philosophy of the poverty. Marx made sharp criticism of Proudhon's philosophy of poverty in his "Poverty of Philosophy". Proudhon, as an anarchist, did not give any value to strikes, and economic

struggle of workers. While Marx considered these struggles very important as part of class struggle through which the proletariat will capture the state machinery. Bakunin who followed anarchists tradition and also rejected 'politics' wanted workers to adhere exclusively to economic character. Lozovsky brings out the distinction between Bakunin and Marx. He writes, "here we see that Bakunin refers to purely economic agitation." He speaks about the creation of resistance fund societies for purely economic struggle, says the workers are ignorant and, therefore, must not occupy themselves with too difficult problems, etc. The most that Bakunin permits is a federation of a resistance fund societies. This shows although Bakunin went further than Proudhon, he yet remained on one and the same path with him. He did not realise that trade unions are centres for organisation of the masses, that they are the one which prepare the message for the struggle of the dictatorship of proletariat. He failed to see just what Marx saw in the very steps of the trade unions.

Marxist as against anarcho-syndicalist advocated that the workers should capture the state to establish a classless society. Thus the role of the economic struggle in general class struggle of the proletariat is clearly and concisely defined. The trade unions must be a 'lever' in the hands of the working class for the struggle against the political power of its exploiter. The political movement of the working class naturally has as its final aim the conquest of political power.

23.5.1 Difference between Anarchism and Marxism

The dictatorship of the proletariat rests on the international unity of the workers. Marx's role in international working men's Association and the first International corresponded to his belief that workers of the world have to unite to loose their chains. All working class movements, thus be directed to the establishment of the unity of the workers. For Marx the interests of the working class are the same, and there is no antagonism and conflict of the workers of the various countries.

The trade union philosophy of Marx is different from anarcho-syndicalist philosophy, who want to keep off political struggle from working class struggles while Marx attributes immense importance to the day to day struggles of the working class. "Marx writes about concrete strikes and gives dozens of examples of workers' actions, describes what influence these had on working hours, wages, labour legislation, etc. . Bakunin is not interested in factory laws for he does not see the connection between partial demands and the final goal. He thinks that every strike may develop into a revolution. Marx is interested in the scope within which the trade unions can act." "It means", sums up Lozovsky, "the revolutionary Marxists have their own strike tactics- different radically from the strike tactics of the anarchists and reformists."

23.5.2 Lenin on Trade Union Movement

Lenin, following Marxist tradition of proletarian internationalism, class struggle and dictatorship of the proletariat, developed his doctrine by focussing on the close relationship of the working class with the working class party. Lenin's "What is to be done" represents the essence of his trade union philosophy. Here, he elaborates the tactics to achieve Marxian goals of trade unionism. Lenin felt that economic struggle of the workers can serve little purpose because, "The economic struggle merely 'impels' the workers to realise the government's attitude towards the working class. Consequently, however much we may try to 'lend the economic struggle itself a political character', we shall never be able to develop the political consciousness of the workers to the level of social-democratic political consciousness by keeping within the frame work of the economic struggle, for, that framework is too narrow." Lenin held that "Class

political consciousness can be brought to the workers only from without, that is, only from outside the economic struggle, from outside the sphere of relations between workers and employers.” Lenin explains that, “The history of all countries shows that the working class exclusively by its own effort, is able to develop only trade union consciousness, i.e. the conviction that it is necessary to combine unions, fight the employers, and strive to compel the government to pass necessary labour legislation, etc. The theory of socialism, however, grew out of the philosophic, historical and economic theories elaborated by educated representatives of the propertied classes, by intellectuals.” Lenin thus emphasised that the political consciousness of the workers is very essential for socialist revolution: but if it is confined to trade union activity it would lead only to ‘economism’. Working class consciousness cannot be genuine political consciousness unless the workers are trained to respond to all cases of tyranny, oppression, violence, and abuse. Lenin also warned that only theoretical and bookish knowledge is not sufficient. The social democrats have to be in close contact with the working class and their activities. He writes, “Those who concentrate the attention, observation, and consciousness of the working class exclusively, or even mainly, upon itself alone are not Social Democrats; for the self knowledge of the working class is indissolubly bound up, not solely with a fully clear theoretical understanding or rather not so much with the theoretical, as with the practical understanding of the relationships between all the various classes of modern society acquired through the experience of political life.” “In order to become a Social democrat,” Lenin emphasised, “the worker must have a clear picture in his mind of economic nature and the social and political feature of the landlord and the priest, the high state official and the peasant, the student and the vagabond...; he must understand what interests are reflected by certain institutions and how they are reflected. But this “clear picture” cannot be obtained from any book. It can be obtained only from living examples and from exposures that follow close upon what is going on about us at a given moment, etc. These comprehensive political exposures are an essential and fundamental condition for training the masses in revolutionary activity.”

Lenin opposed tooth and nail the revisionists' concept of trade unionism; that spontaneous trade union activities of the workers will lead them to political consciousness, his view was that clear political understanding is necessary for leading the working class struggles and this understanding could be developed only through direct and active association with the working class struggles.

Check Your Progress 5

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

1) Explain Marx's views about trade unions as class struggles.

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2) How did Lenin support close linkages of working class struggles with working class party?

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23.6 REVISIONISM AND NEW LEFT THEORIES

The revisionists claimed to revise Marxism according to the changing nature of modern capitalism, which Marx could not foresee in his own time. The Marxists concept of the dictatorship of proletariat has been given up by the modern Social Democrats. They hold that orthodox Marxian had become out of date, therefore, it must be re-examined, corrected and supplemented. For them, Marxism is wanting on the following counts:

- 1) The theory of the class struggle, is itself correct; however, it loses its significance with the development of the trade union and the establishment of democracy;
- 2) Revolution is an absolute conception, it corresponds to a lower level of social development. The democratic state precludes revolutions and the revolutionary struggle;
- 3) Democracy assures the working class the peaceful passing over from capitalism to socialism, and therefore the dictatorship of the proletariat is not and cannot be the order of the day;
- 4) The theory of the impoverishment held good at one time, but now it has become obsolete;
- 5) During the epoch of Marx it was perhaps true that the leading role in the trade unions belonged to the party, but today only party-political neutrality can ensure the effective development of the trade union movement;
- 6) During the epoch of Marx, strikes had to be considered as one of the most important weapons of struggle, but native philosophy of trade unions have outgrown this.

This Marxian alternative philosophy of trade unionism, or revisionism, has many varieties like state socialism, evolutionary socialism, collectivism, guild socialism, fabianism and democratic socialism, etc. They have minor differences on some issues but they are based on the faith that democratic institutions, should be used by workers by participating in elections, forming labour, social democratic parties and pushing measures using governmental authorities for the benefit of the workers. When out of power, as an opposition party it should pressurise the government to give concessions to the workers. Thus, socialism can be brought about gradually, and capitalist state would give way to a socialist state peacefully.

23.6.1 Lenin's Criticism of Revisionists

Needless to say that Lenin had serious disagreement over the 'supplementing' of Marxism by the revisionists. He called these revisionists as opportunists and stooges of the capitalists. Lenin held that the phenomenon of imperialism helped the imperialists to obtain immense profits from the exploitation of colonial countries. The part of the profits, they amassed in their coffers, distributed as crumbs to the so called working class leaders — the labour aristocracy. The better conditions of the working class in advanced capitalist countries projected by the spokesmen of social democracy is nothing but the reflection of the opportunism of these labour leaders who are benefitted by collaborating with imperialist exploitation of the colonies.

23.6.2 The New Left

The New Left philosophers combat the Marxist-Leninist theory that the condition of the working class will deteriorate with the advance of capitalism. They hold

that in fact in advanced capitalism, working class power has increased and they are no more exploited, but through their united power dictate their terms to employers as well as political system. They are called as “New Men of Power”.

The New Left feels that in the advanced capitalist countries workers are no more revolutionary and that they are bourgeoisified and consumerism has overtaken them. This society, according to Marcuse, is based on an alliance between big business and the working class which has been brain washed into chasing an ever expanding flow of goods and inessential gadgets that their relative affluence enables them to purchase. Marcuse holds that working class is no more a negation of capitalism, but is in collusion with it in protecting the present system. According to him, “The very classes which were once the absolute negation of the capitalist system are now more and more integrated into it”.

What role should the trade unions play in politics? No doubt, there is wide range of differences. The capitalist system has been compelled to allow trade unions to exist, but there is always an emphasis, which is reflected by the theorists, who consider western democratic system as an ideal system as well as inevitable, that trade unions are only bargainers, and their role in politics is confined to putting pressure on the political system to gain benefits for the workers. On the other side, Marxists are emphatic that workers should be politicised, and trade unions are not only an instrument to extract concessions for the workers but also they have to transform the capitalist system into a socialist system, and build a socialist society. The world has been thus divided in the capitalist world, the socialist world and the newly independent countries which have overthrown the foreign yoke very recently. What role workers' unions have played in these countries? Are they confined to their economic role and limited themselves to putting pressure on the government to shorten their working hours, asking for various facilities and wage increase? Nevertheless, the situation in these colonial countries had been very different. Working class also has to undergo immense suffering along with the other sections of the society due to the ruthless exploitation by the colonial rulers. Therefore, they also joined with other sections in their struggle for freedom. Trade unions also are involved along with other classes in these colonies with the national movement as in India; thus the most remarkable feature of trade unions is their linkage with political movements.

Check Your Progress 6

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

1) Examine revisionism as an improvement on Marxist theory of trade unionism.

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23.7 SPECIFICS OF TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

The contradictions within imperialism compelled the imperialism to allow the industrialisation to take place in these colonies. In India, industrialisation did take

place despite the discouragement by the colonial ruler. Reluctant, tardy, uneven and limited it might be, imperialists had to start industry. The railways industry was started by the British bourgeoisie to appropriate raw materials and to have access to the markets. Why and how this took place had been explained by Marx. "I know that the English millocracy intend to endow India with railways with the exclusive view of extracting at diminished expenses the cotton and other raw materials for their manufactures. But when you have introduced machinery into the locomotion of a country, then it becomes necessary to meet the immediate and current wants to railway locomotion, and out of which there must grow the application of machinery to those branches of industry not immediately connected with the railways." Thus, "All that the English bourgeoisie may be forced to do will neither emancipate nor materially mend the social condition of the mass of the people, depending not only on the development of the production power but on their appropriation by the people."

Thus, the phenomenon of imperialism, its relationship with the indigenous emerging bourgeoisie, its attitude towards the working class, the attitude of indigenous bourgeoisie towards working class and imperialists and the responses of working class to indigenous bourgeoisie and imperialism is very intricate and complex. The nature of trade unionism in India, therefore, reflects the complexity of the socio-economic reality of the erstwhile colonies. Nonetheless, political factors exert a very important influence on trade union movement. The commentators on Indian trade union movement however, overlook the role of imperialism in complicating the nature of trade unionism. They take into account the social background of the workers, their religion, caste, age, financial condition, family size, etc. but not the socio-economic forces as the result of complex condition "created by field of labour and social legislation", which in turn were obviously determined by the political factors. In advanced capitalist countries, the non-Marxist western scholars trace the links of trade unions with politics only as groups concerned with the economic policy of the government as it affects their interest. In colonial countries, the fact has been admitted that the politician mobilised the workers to form trade unions and these trade unions played an important role in the national movement. Subrata Ghosh says "In the beginning of the twenties, the trade unions movement was strongly influenced by nationalists and humanists." "In fact, from our experience of trade union situation in the underdeveloped countries where trade unions are more recently born, we may safely consider that it is more possible that trade unionism first originates due to the impact of direct strains upon the workers, which tend to curtail their already low standard of living, rather than their desire to participate in the rule-making process." Ghosh refutes Kerr and Siegel's view that trade unions are formed by the workers "to participate in the rule making process in the country." This may be true in developed countries but not in the developing countries. Scholars, who looked at societies as only 'free societies' or 'totalitarian societies', have not paid attention to the vast society which was very recently under the dominance of imperialist powers. They talk of trade unions in a free society and assert that they are an expression of the fundamental right of men and women to organise themselves in order to protect and promote their interests by collective action. It cannot be assumed, however, on the basis of mere existence of trade unions that the societies of both right and left have made use of trade unions to achieve their ends.

Check Your Progress 7

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

- ii) Check your answers with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What are the specificities of trade union in developing countries?

23.8 TRADE UNIONISM IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

“Trade Unionism” writes G. D. H. Cole “is shaped not only by the stage of economic development but also by the general structure in which it has to act” The dominant trade unionism in developed countries has different goals and structures. They are considered as pressure groups and not part of state structure; they are considered to be apolitical. The socialist countries emphasise the political role of trade unions. They are considered to be part of state structure, and are assigned to carry out the work of socialist transformation. The trade union movement in the developing countries emerged and progressed in different circumstances and therefore are different in nature.

23.8.1 Trade Union Movement in U.S.A.

The Trade Union Movement in the United States of America is today an accepted and permanent part of American social scene. After decades of intense struggle, organised labour is now an admitted fact in economic, political and social life.

With the growth of industries the U.S. workers and factory system workers have realised that only through collective action could they bargain on anything on equal terms. They began to organise. Philadelphia printers appears to be the first trade union which in 1786 went on a strike for a minimum wage of \$6 a week, and after six years a kind of permanent formation took place among shoemakers of Quaker city. The scattered unions were formed in two decades and only in 1827 a labour movement appeared and workers in different trades came to form one central labour union - The Mechanics Union of Trade Association. After this Central bodies sprang up in New York, Boston and other cities.

During Civil war new factories were established to supply the armies. There was an expansion of markets from one locality to the nation. The development of national market compelled labour to organise increasingly on a national as well as local scale. However, they did not survive long. In 1869 another national labour organisation was formed - the rights of labour. It became very important but by 1894, its decline started, because of the emergence of another organisation American Federation of Labour in 1886. Samuel Gompers was its president. In 1905 apart from American Federation of Labour some other strong trade unions also came up as Industrial workers of the world, which espoused French syndicalism.

In 1935 John L. Lewis organised industrial unions inside the A.F.L. named Committee on Industrial Organisation—CIO. Bitter struggles followed after this with A.F.L. which resulted in the expulsion of these two leaders related to this Committee of Industrial Organisation, and shortly, thereafter, the committee changed its name to Congress of Industrial organisation C.I.O. The labour scene at national level is dominated by these two front organisations A.F.L. and C.I.O. They often try to come closer to each other. These trade union organisations are not closely associated with any specific political party of U.S.A., however at

times they are in forefront in declaring their choices for presidential candidates and express opinions in favour or against the specific policies of the state, and are affiliated to International Confederation of Trade Unions.

28.8.2 Trade Union Movement in United Kingdom

The British Trade Union Movement is the oldest in the world. With the emergence of industrialisation and development of capitalism, the workers realised the fact that they could not withstand the power of the employer alone and have to bargain collectively. The employer did not like the workers to join hands with each other and form a combination. The State helped them in this. G.D.H. Cole writes "there were, already in the eighteenth century a number of statutes forbidding workers. The workers faced persecution and repression. Yet against all odds they were able to win their right to unionise."

Interestingly the early manifestation of unionisation of workers expressed itself in a fear of modern industry. The workers feared that mechanisation in the production process would result in the loss of job of the workers. This led the workers to wreck the machine. This form of protest was called Luddism, and was severely dealt by the state. Ultimately the workers reconciled with the fact that modern industries would stay and they have to adjust with them and workers entered another phase of unionism. Apart from fighting for economic betterment in terms of wages and other facilities, the workers realised the importance of share in political power. The national Association for the protection of labour established in 1830. Robert Owen founded the Grand National consolidated Trade Union in 1834.

For the protection of workers rights through political process a charter of demands was prepared. This was called Chartist movement. During this period industrial workers obtained the representation of people's Acts of 1867, and 1884. In 1868 the Trade Union Congress, a central organisation of the English working class was formed.

At the present juncture British Trade Union Congress is the apex body of the workers of Britain. Most unions are affiliated to it. It separates itself from political parties of U.K. However generally labour party draws bulk of its support from trade unions. However, there are some unions which are staunch supporters of conservative party. By and large trade unionism in Britain is mainly 'economic' like U.S.A.

28.8.3 The Trade Union Movement in Socialist State: Former Soviet Union

The role of trade unions is considered very different in socialist countries from a capitalist system, where they are considered as pressure groups. The purpose of trade unions in socialist countries is to ensure workers' participation in socialist production management. Therefore the workers associations were considered the most important social force in the vast land of Soviet Union. The Trade Unions of the U.S.S.R. enlisted the working people in coping with tasks connected with the further development of production, teach the masses socialist discipline and communities attitude to work and public property, and instill in the industrial and office workers a sense of being masters of their own country.

A brief sketch of history of trade union movement brings out the fact that prior to Bolshevik revolution in Russia, Trade Unions had come up quite late. Capitalism got a very late start in the Russian Empire and the protective organisations of the workers were correspondingly late in making their

appearance. The first All Russian Trade Union Conference, composed chiefly of delegates from Moscow unions was held in October 1905. There was ruthless suppression of their activities by the Russian authorities. As a consequence it was difficult to withstand the ruthlessness of Russian State power and by the winter of 1916-1917 the membership of unions dwindled to 1500. After March Revolution a council of trade unions was formed in Moscow and one in Petrograd. In Petrograd, and Moscow and other cities union workers carried out final seizure of power which followed famous October revolution.

The new role of all Russian Congress of trade unions was discussed in 1918 at petrogard in its first congress. With the introduction of New Economic Policy, the unions became economic collaborators and advisers in the management of industry. Before October revolution there existed a large number of small unions that had sprung up mostly after march days which were later united in a central organisation known as the All Union Central Council of Trade Union/Central Council of Trade Union (ACCTU or simply CCTU).

Check Your Progress 8

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

1) What are the main national trade unions in USA, UK and the former Soviet Union?

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23.9 TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES — INDIAN TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

The Trade Union Movement in the developing countries developed very differently from the advanced capitalist countries and socialist countries. There are some specificities in the growth of trade union movement in these post-colonial societies.

One of the features of trade union movement is its belatedness. In real sense trade union movement emerged on national scene only after the first world war. Because of late development of industries, the workers are new to the industrial culture and dominated by rural moorings. Besides, there are strong political linkages with the trade union movement in the developing countries with national movement. Generally during the colonial period the trade unions were in the forefront of freedom struggle, and therefore apart from trade union activities were deeply involved in the politics of the country.

Indian Trade Union Movement reflects the special nature of the trade union movement of an erstwhile colonial country.

Before first world war the trade unionism in India was very negligible. Generally there were some organisations which came up but they were very short-lived. During the war some efforts were made to organise workers on modern trade

union lines which ultimately culminated in an All India Trade Union Organisation called All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) in 1920, so that India could be represented at International Labour Organisation.

A.I.T.U.C. had close links with the national movement. Many of its presidents were active in the national movement. Before Independence it was the front organisation of the workers, just like Indian National Congress which was an umbrella for different shades of opinions and ideologies. Similarly in A.I.T.U.C. also there were different approaches to trade unionism that merged in one trade union organisation. At times there were splits also because of sharp differences in view points. Apart from A.I.T.U.C. Gandhi also enunciated a trade union movement based on his ideology of Sarvodaya. Ahmedabad Textile Union or Mazdur Mahajan Sabha was a trade union organisation which represented Gandhian philosophy of industrial relations.

After independence there has been break up of Indian National Congress in many political parties as national movement got fragmented. The trade union movement also broke up in many trade union organisations. A.I.T.U.C has been split in many trade union centres which are strongly linked with one or the other political party such as Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC) linked with the Indian National Congress. Bhartiya Mazdoor Sangh, BMS with Bhartiya Janata Party, All India Trade Union Congress with Communist Party of India, (AITUC), Centre for Indian Trade Union CITU with Communist Party Marxist Hind Mazdoor Panchayat, (HMP) Hind Mazdoor Sabha with socialists. Besides these, there are some other trade union centres which are also affiliated with one or other political parties.

Thus the most important characteristic of Indian trade union movement in developing countries is its close political involvement.

Check Your Progress 9

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with the model answer given at the end of the unit.

- 1) How can the political nature of trade union movement in India be traced in Indian National Movement?

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23.10 LET US SUM UP

The working class organises itself in trade union organisations to protect their interests. The workers waged a prolonged struggle to achieve their right to organise themselves in an union. There are varied views regarding the goals of trade unions, their relationship with politics and class consciousness; therefore there are different theories of trade unions such as Behavioural theory, Anarchist Syndicalist theory, Marxist and Leninist theory, and New Left theories. Mostly these theories reflect the social reality of advanced developed countries or socialist countries. The trade union movement in developing countries is different. In India trade unions emerged out of national movement and have close links with politics. There is a multiplicity of trade unions.

23.11 KEY WORDS

- Bourgeois** : A term used by Marxist Socialists to denote proprietors (other than agricultural), capitalists, manufacturers, merchants, persons with a business of their own and persons of liberal professions.
- Class Conflict** : Conflict between different classes, in the present context particularly between bourgeoisie and proletariat for protection of their interests.
- Anarchists** : Believers in the doctrine that every form of government is evil and tyranny. Therefore state should be abolished and instead free association of individuals without arms be established.
- Proletariat** : The class of wage earners with little or no property of their own who depend on the sale of their labour.

23.12 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

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- Saxena, Kiran, *National Movement and Trade Union Movement*, New Delhi, 1990.

23.13 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Secc Section 23.1
- 2) Secc Section 23.1

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) Secc Section 23.2
- 2) Secc Section 23.2

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) Secc Section 23.3

Check Your Progress 4

- 1) Secc Section 23.4

Check Your Progress 5

- 1) Secc Sub-Section 23.5.1
- 2) Secc Sub-Section 23.5.2

Check Your Progress 6

- 1) Secc Section 23.6

Check Your Progress 7

- 1) Secc Section 23.7

Check Your Progress 8

- 1) Secc Section 23.8

Check Your Progress 9

- 1) Secc Section 23.9

UNIT 24 PEASANTRY

Structure

- 24.0 Objectives
- 24.1 Introduction
- 24.2 Definition and the Problem of Identifying Peasantry
 - 24.2.1 Categories of Peasantry
- 24.3 Determinants of Mobilisation
 - 24.3.1 Technological Development
 - 24.3.2 Historical Conjunctures
 - 24.3.3 Ecological Parameters
 - 24.3.4 Agrarian Structures and Communities Role
- 24.4 Varieties of Peasant Struggle
 - 24.4.1 Nationalist
 - 24.4.2 Anti - Feudal
 - 24.4.3 Anti State/Anti Government Struggles
- 24.5 Anti Globalisation or New Peasant/Farmer's Movements
- 24.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 24.7 Key Words
- 24.8 Some Useful Books
- 24.9 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

24.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit deals with rural categories called peasantry, how they have been treated as passive conservative forces over the years to a rational, progressive social categories. Can they be treated as a single homogeneous category in the midst of differentiations in land holdings, cultural diversities, social set ups etc ?. The most important question is how to define them. This unit also introduces you to the pattern or determining factors of peasant mobilisation and the varieties of peasant struggles at different places. In addition it focuses on various questions that the peasant movement posed to the politics, the state, the global capital etc. in recent years. This unit should help you in understanding :

- The debate about peasant categories in a comparative perspective:
- The struggles that the peasants carried out in different countries: and
- The nature of the peasantry and the issues that they raised in a comparative perspective.

24.1 INTRODUCTION

Peasantry has been treated as a docile, conservative tradition, value bound, reactionary, status quoist rural categories who have no interest beyond their respective rural areas and their social set ups. They are treated as those categories who are strictly adhering and linked to rural values and there by closed to all the options of modernity. Further they are also treated as dull heads, "sack of potatoes", or petty bourgeoisie categories who cannot form a class in the strict sense, nor can they form their own parties or associations in a schematic manner. All these treatment of the peasantry does overlook their capacity to change the regimes in different places and countries, participation in

the nationalist movement, fight against feudalism and feudal lords, oppression, accepting modern techniques of production, raising the larger issues of nationalism, the state, freedom, development and of course globalisation or liberalisation in recent years.

24.2 DEFINITION AND PROBLEM OF IDENTIFYING PEASANTRY

There is no single definition of the concept of peasantry. This is mainly due to the ambiguities while adding or excluding large number of rural categories and also due to the partial understanding of the historical role that the peasantry played. The term peasant literally means a person working on the land with simple tools. Even the entire rural population including the big landlords and the agricultural labourers have been treated as peasantry. This treatment does overlook the differences between and among the categories both in terms of the land holdings, technology, employment of labour etc.

There are few definitions about peasantry. Eric Wolf, an authority on peasant struggles defines them as “population that are existentially involved in cultivation and make autonomous decisions regarding the process of cultivation”. His definition leaves out certain categories such as poor and marginal peasantry including the share croppers. On the other hand another authority Theodor Shanin defines them as “consist of small agricultural producers who with the help of simple equipment and labour of their families produce mainly for their consumption and for the fulfilment of obligations to the holders of political and economic power”. This definition too does not take into account rich and capitalist farmers who try to maximise the profit by way of entering into larger market. A simple definition has been given by Irfan Habib. He defines peasantry as “a person who undertakes agriculture on his own, working with his own implements of his family”. Here the definition excludes rich and capitalist farmers / peasants. Taking all these definitions one can define the peasantry as a category of population having certain patches of land, largely dependent upon labour, family or the hiring in - for the production of agriculture, who believes in competitive market or restricted market system.

Nonetheless not all the categories can be called peasantry. There are rural categories like farmers and landless labourers. The farmer, for example exploits alternative uses of factors of production and is always in search of maximum returns and is subjected to market risk. A shift from the peasant to farmer is not only psychological but also materialistic one. However he becomes another name for peasant as he is also linked to the land.

Agricultural labourers can also be included in the category of peasantry for the simple reason that their involvement in the development of land and its allied products is as important a matter to them as those who own and cultivate the land. The land constitutes a common denominator and any change whether social, economic or technological will affect both the owner/cultivator and the agricultural labourers.

A landless labourer is different from the peasantry for the reason that he is psychologically and behaviourally different. He would prefer standardised wages, standard working hours, adequate educational and medical facilities, and increase in purchasing power.

Even tribals are treated as peasantry, especially those who have settled down for a long time in a particular area and have been working on the land. Any change in the land structure also affects them equally.

24.2.1 Categories of Peasantry

There are large number of categories within the peasantry : Small, big , rich, middle, marginal etc. This heterogeneity of categories is done depending upon the economic position including the land holdings of the peasantry. Marxists like Engels for example include the classes of feudal peasants , tenants and poor peasants and farm labourers, who respectively perform corvee service to their land lords, make payments of higher rents, cultivate and own small patches of lands.

In a situation of revolution in Russia, Lenin classified the peasantry into five categories— middle, rich, small, agricultural proletariat and semi proletariat. The agricultural labourers were identified as those categories living on hiring out thier labour. The semi proletariat were those owning small patches of land, and partly working as wage labourers; small peasants are tenant holders, and living on hiring out their labour. The big peasants, a category of capitalist entrepreneur employing considerable labour. He identified rich with “Kulaks” who are reactionary too. However, the middle peasant is a self supporting , oscillating category who would in due course either be pushed to the ranks of rich peasantry or proletariat category.

In a situation of revolution in China, Mao classified the peasantry into landlord, middle peasantry, poor peasantry and workers. However he did not use the category of capitalist landlords as it was either too weak or was unable to assert itself as a strong force. The landlord is a semi-entrepreneur who exploits the others by extracting rents. Eventhough middle peasants can not exploit the labour of others, however this is not the case with well to do peasants. The poor peasants sell their labour power and are subjected to the exploitation through rent, and interest on loan. But workers live by hiring out their labour.

In the Indian situation the same problems are prevailing mainly due to cultural diversities, differences in agrarian structures, land holdings and also due to the prevalence of numerous castes in India. In the Indian context broadly three categories can be made: Maliks , consisting of large absentee land lords and small proprietors who exploit the tenants and sub-tenants by means of rents ; Kisans who consist of small land owners and subsistence tenants having property interests and finally Mazdoors who include poor tenants and landless labourers who live on selling of their labour.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answers with the answers given at the end of the unit.

1) How do you define and identify the peasantry?

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2) Name the different categories of Peasantry?

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3) What do you mean by Peasantry?

24.3 DETERMINANTS OF MOBILISATION

There are many determinants that have helped the peasant mobilisation. Some of the determinants are technology, historical conjunctures, ecological circumstances, agrarian structures and relationships, Government policies, caste and community bonds.

24.3.1 Technological Development

Technological advancement has had an effect on the agrarian relations. The introduction of irrigation, seed technology, high yielding varieties, green revolution, introduction of chemical fertilizers in the place of organic fertilizers, introduction of tractors and tillers in the place of bullock carts etc. has helped in the growth of agrarian capitalism in different countries. In fact industrialisation / industrial capitalism in the Western world developed mainly due to the primitive accumulation from agriculture. This is apparent in the former colonial countries like France, England etc. In other words agriculture in the Western countries had undergone the capitalist transformation much earlier than the third world countries like India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Burma, China, Nigeria etc. In these countries capitalism in agriculture was introduced either during the middle of the colonial rule or at the fag end of the colonialism. Interestingly in these countries capitalism was introduced from above which is why these countries have not seen uniform development taking place. Most of the time agrarian capitalism compromised and co-existed with the pre capitalist social structure. This is the reason why the development remained uneven, lopsided and sporadic. However in the Western world which includes Russia, U.S.A, England etc. the capitalism developed from within either by the destruction of feudalism or by the exploitation of the colonies or by the state policy. There are two paths available for the development of agrarian capitalism— *American path and Prussian path (or Junker Capitalist path)*. The weak agrarian capitalism in the third world has not been able to pose challenges to the Western countries. Nonetheless introduction of agrarian capitalism has given rise to new categories to emerge. In Russia it has given rise to Kulaks, which acted as a reactionary force and also gave spaces to agricultural labourers. In India it has given rise to *bullock capitalist or gentleman farmers or Maliks*. At the same time it has had other effects too: A class of agricultural labourers have been able to demand more wages, fixing of working hours, medical and maternal facilities etc. In other words agrarian capitalism has increased the bargaining capacity of the agricultural labourers as well as the capitalist peasants both at the grassroot level as well as national and international levels. This is apparent in the demand for the protection by the wine brewing peasants in the European continent in the backdrop of liberalisation and integration of European continent in recent years.

24.3.2 Historical Conjunctures

Historical conjunctures like colonial rule, victory or defeat in war, inflation, nationalism, invention of new methods of development have also influenced the mobilisation. Even the issues like land reforms, while changing the social relations, have also affected the mobilisation process. In China, India, Algeria, Vietnam, etc. colonial rule had the larger bearings; In Japan, Taiwan, the land reforms have affected the mobilisation. Interestingly increase in the oil prices during the early seventies slowed down the pace of green revolution in different continents including India and Pakistan.

24.3.3 Ecological Parametres

Ecological parameters like cropping pattern, adoption of improved seeds, irrigation pattern also have affected the peasant mobilisation. In recent years new cropping pattern that the multi-nationals are introducing in the third world countries have created the fear of loss to the peasants. In third world countries like India the peasants are resisting such seeds as terminator seeds by way of destroying and uprooting the saplings.

24.3.4 Agrarian Structures and Communities Role

Agrarian structures that include land rights, distribution of land, social relations, patterns of tenancy or tenancy rights, control over lands etc. also have bearings on mobilisation. These factors have helped in raising issues like tenancy rights, land to the tiller, land reforms, security of tenants etc. This also includes such other issues as abolition of serf-dom or feudalism, slavery and bondedness. These issues are apparent in the mobilisation of peasants in different stages of history : In India in 1950-60, England (15th Century onwards), Russia in early 1900's, China (1920-47), Philippines 1946-52, Germany (15th Century onwards).

The role of the communities or the caste can also not be ruled out. Although caste is a predominant feature of India, community too has played a dominant role over the years. This shows that peasant mobilisation either in India or elsewhere is not an exclusive class phenomena. In India during the British rule castes like Wattars, Jats, Koilis etc. mobilised themselves against the landlords. Even communities like Mopillas, Kunbi and Pattidars etc. mobilised themselves against the issues of feudal oppression, high rents, cesses etc. In other parts of the world communities like Huks in Philippines and Cheapas in Latin America have mobilised on the basis of communities against the state, Government, land lords etc.

Even the Governmental policies like industrialisation, liberalisation, land reforms, bank nationalisation etc. have been viewed as anti-peasant in different places like India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nigeria etc.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answers with the answers given at the end of the unit.

1) What are the determinants of agrarian mobilisation?

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- 2) Differentiate between the agrarian capitalism of Western countries and India?

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- 3) Explain the common issues in agrarian mobilisation India and the Western world.

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24.4 VARIETIES OF PEASANT STRUGGLES

Given the factors that determine the mobilisation of peasants, it is true that the peasant struggle can take different forms. However, there are differences of opinion as to the class that takes the leadership in the peasant struggle or revolution. One opinion is that in the peasant struggles most of the time the "middle peasant" takes the lead because of vulnerability and the economic autonomy that the category has vis-a-vis other categories. Second opinion is that in the situation of nationalist movement, the "rich peasants" take the lead for two obvious reasons : one, its larger agenda to capture the larger market. Thereby they emerge at the national level as a big power or the force. And two, eliminate any obstacles coming its way of development. This can be done either by directly participating in the nationalist movement or supporting it. However, it is also true that many a times in the history the poor peasantry (China) has taken the lead. At the same time it is a fact that peasants sometimes rather than becoming revolutionaries become reactionaries. The role that the "Kulaks" played in the former Soviet Union is a classic case, wherein they opposed tooth and nail the very Soviet state. Nonetheless, in Indian context three factors have been attributed to the relative passivity of peasantry when compared to the other parts of the world: Caste system, influence of bourgeoisie and the influence of Gandhi. This cannot be fully comprehended mainly because of the sheer number of struggles that the peasants waged or undertook over the years. One scholar has estimated seventy seven peasant revolts between Mughal period and 1970s. Even Ministry of Home Affairs in 1960s had estimated 5 agitations in Andhra Pradesh, Assam and Uttar Pradesh, three in Bihar, Orissa and Rajasthan and two in Tamil Nadu. In the European continent between 1736 and 1789 one scholar has estimated 125 peasant revolts (excluding the German Peasant War).

In a comparative perspective peasant struggles take different forms and they can be divided into four categories: 1) Nationalist, 2) Anti Feudal, 3) Anti-state/Anti Government and finally, 4) Anti-globalisation or new peasant/ farmers' movement. They may also take the form of terrorist, religious, banditry, and liberal reformist etc. However all the struggles can be treated under the broad four categories given above.

24.4.1 Nationalist

This variety is also called anti colonial/ anti imperialist struggle which the peasants carried out either independently or as part of the nationalist movement. Their participation was prompted by the fact that they were directly exploited by

the colonialist or the different agencies of the colonialism including new social relations that the colonialists introduced in the colonial countries. Peasants wholeheartedly participated in the nationalist struggle of Cuba, Russia, Vietnam, China, Algeria, and India. In the Indian context colonialism exploited the peasantry both by direct methods and by introducing new agrarian structures like Zamindari and Ryotwari system. This system in turn created a hierarchy of feudal structures which made the life of peasants miserable. During the British period a large number of anti colonial struggles came to surface which were either part of the larger nationalist struggle or independent of it with many of them being spearheaded by the tribals and the poor peasants. Following are the major tribal as well as the peasant struggles against the Britishers or the British colonialists or their colonial agencies.

• Sanyasi Revolt	1771 - 1789
• The Munda uprising	1797
• Rajas of Dalbhum	1769-1774
• The Kolis, Hos and Mundas of Chotanagapur	1831-32
• Tarar revolt	1820
• The Santhals of Bihar	1855-56
• The Bhokta Uprising	1857
• The Birsa Uprising	1890-95
• The Kol Insurrection	1831-32
• The Deccan Revolt	19th century
• The Struggle of Worlis	19th century

Nonetheless, during the British rule peasant issues also became part of the nationalist discourse especially when Gandhi as well as Congress took up the issues of peasants. Gandhi, in fact, led three important struggles which made the peasants to become a part of political discourse/struggle waged by the nationalist movement under him. Gandhi led struggles in Champaran (1918), Kheda (1919) and Bardoli (1920). In these struggles the main issues were remissions at the time of calamity, revenue concessions, or concessions in rents or *Thikatiya* system. (Bardoli). However, in 1936 Congress adopted famous Agrarian Programme at the Faizpur Congress. However, the failure of Gandhi and the Congress prompted many independent peasant organisations to emerge in India - especially Kisan Sabhas came into being initially under the Congress and later under the influence of Communists. The peasant struggle under the communist ideology is not a new phenomenon specific to India. In Philippines the communists during 1946-52 in central Luzon fought for tenancy rights, or change in the tenant -landlord relations etc. In China, Cuba, and Vietnam they fought against the imperialist/colonialist forces or its various agencies and brought in complete change. In Russia during the time of revolution they aligned with the industrial working class/ or the party led by Lenin. In India during the colonial and post colonial period peasants either under the Kisan Sabhas or under the Communist Parties undertook many struggles: in 1920 Kisan Sabha launched agitation against the Zamindar Zulum, communist led the struggles in Kayyur in 1940s; they also led the struggle in Tebhaga and during the post independence period they led the famous Telangana struggle in Andhra Pradesh between 1946-51 and in 1967-71; they led another heroic struggle in Naxalbari, which became popular as Naxalite movement.

24.4.2 Anti - Feudal

Second important form of struggle is the anti feudal struggle. These struggles were aimed at opposing the atrocities committed or perpetrated by the feudal

classes by way of serfdom, corvée service, slavery, high taxes, abwabs, rents, forced labour. Medieval Europe witnessed large number of anti feudal struggles in Germany, Hungary, Austria, England etc. One famous anti feudal struggle was Dozsa Struggle of 1514. In India anti feudal struggle became a common feature after the inauguration of British rule. Their struggle was prompted by the fact that British rule or administration introduced new agrarian structure, which created a new hierarchy of feudal structure or relations. In many places a structure of Zamindars or feudal lords with varying degrees of relations came into being, who had very little interest in augmenting agricultural production than exploiting the peasants or tenants. For example *Wargadars* in coastal belt of India.

Following are some important anti-feudal struggles waged during all these years— beginning from colonial period to post colonial period.

- Nagar Peasant Uprising in Karnataka 1830-33
- Pabna Revolt against the Zamindars 1870
- Mopilla Revolt against the Zamindars 1920s
- Ellarinja Struggle against the Zamindars 1941
- Nadiyanga Struggle in Kerala 1940s
- Kodagu Satyagraha in Karnataka 1951
- Worli Revolt in Maharashtra 1945
- Kottiyoor Struggle of Kerala 1945

24.4.3 Anti State/Anti Government Struggles

Anti state/Anti government struggles were of two kinds: one opposing the state structure in toto or opposing certain policies of the state or the government, thereby, in the process negotiating with the political apparatus for larger concessions. Anti colonial struggles were primarily anti state struggles, mainly because peasants perceived in colonialism a threat to their own existence. Even after the independence/revolution the struggles have been waged against the new state or the government also. The classic case is the opposition of Kulaks in Russia. In India the Telangana and Naxalite movements contained the spirit of anti state/anti government, however, the movement could not sustain for a long time due to the state oppression. However, there is one more dimension to the anti state/anti government struggles in India: this was visible when large number of peasants joined hands with different forces demanding integration of the Princely states into Indian Union before and after the independence.

Finally anti state/anti government struggles also combined the spirit of appropriating large number of concessions from the state /government to the peasantry. They are in the form of demanding industrial status to the agriculture, remunerative prices, effective implementation of land reforms. This form of struggle in the process has given space for different categories to demand concessions from their immediate classes. Agricultural Labourers for example, after the inauguration of Green Revolution has been demanding more wages or scientific wages on par with industrial classes, bonus, medical facilities, fixed working hours. This has led to violent incidents in different parts of the world. The classic case in India is the incident of Tanjore in Tamil Nadu wherein the houses of agricultural labourers were burnt down, and were butchered.

24.5 ANTI GLOBALISATION OR NEW PEASANT/ FARMER'S MOVEMENTS

This is a new form of peasant movement in recent years. In fact it is a part of new social movement of the western world. More than the traditional struggles—for example the labour—this struggle covers large number of new issues—women, ecology, nuclear, human rights etc. In India it all started during 1980s, although its genesis can be traced to 1970s. The New Peasant /Farmers Movement can also be seen in England, France, Germany etc. However, they are not so veciferous as that of India—mainly because they are more vocal than any other countries.

They are new for some specific reasons: one, they address the larger issues like development, deprivation, economy, terms of trade, urban versus rural etc. Two, their activism is not confined to rural area alone, rather they stand for the broader alliances cutting across the state and the nations; they address those issues which are common to all the categories of peasantry like remunerative prices, debts, loans, electricity supply and also the larger issues like the consequences of globalisation or liberalisation on the life of rural population in particular countries in general. Three, these movements believe in unity among different categories, irrespective of social set ups or milieus. In other words these peasant movements oppose the differentiation of peasantry as small, big, rich etc. Fourth, unlike the previous peasant movements in India or elsewhere these movements eschew the notions of radicalism or violence as the core of their strategy, although in one or two instances they have resorted to violence to oppose the entry of multinationals or globalisation.

Most of the time they adhere to non violence, satyagraha, long marches, peaceful agitations, strikes etc. Some time they resort to new strategies like Gav Bhandi, Chakka Jam etc. Most important is their support or opposition to the international capital entering the country and displacing large number of categories. Their opposition also combine rationalist arguments/discourse about the World Bank WTO, IMF, Structural Adjustment Programmes etc. initiated by the world bodies or the Western countries. At the same time New Peasant Movements are also concerned about the opposition growing from within the Western countries to their policies vis-a-vis the third world countries. These oppositions are expressed within the larger ideological frame work of third world dependency theory although they focus on the ideologies of Gandhi, Marxism, Rosa Luxemburg internal colonialism etc. In fact, one particular movement, mainly Shetkari Sanghathan has coined the word “Bharat Versus India”, to understand the relationship between urban/Western influenced India and the Rural India, which has become its ideological premises.

Symptoms of New Peasants/Farmers movement can be located in the formation of Khetbari Zamindari Union in Punjab during the early 1970s and Tamiliga Vyavasaigal Sangam in Tamil Nadu. During the same period peasants in different parts of India were also organising conferences, meetings under the banner or umbrella of different political parties. In one of the conferences in 1970s they demanded procurement prices, peasant representations in different bodies, bridging the gap or disparities between the industries and the agriculture, subsidies for the agricultural goods, reducing the income disparities, allocating more funds to the rural areas etc.

Nonetheless, during the same decade of 1970 Punjab Khetbari Union resorted to six major struggles: anti single food zone (1974), against power rate hike (1974-75) against the increase in water rates and cess (1975) against defective

tractors, against unremunerative prices for sugar cane (1975) and diesel prices (1975). Meanwhile Tamiliga Vyavasaigal Sangam resorted to many struggles: against hike in electricity charges, against agricultural income taxes, land tax, cess, debt relief, subsidies to the agricultural labourers, remunerative prices to different crops.

A new twist to the movement came during 1980s when Shetkari Sangthana in Maharashtra, Bhartiya Kisan Union in Uttar Pradesh and Karnataka Rajya Raitha Sangha in Karnataka resorted to series of agitations in their respective states. A large number of issues have been brought to the centre stage: remunerative prices, writing off the loans, scientific wage policy, bridging the gap between the urban and rural areas, etc. Most important is the opposition to the globalisation on the grounds that it would depeasantise the categories, increase the unemployment, create cultural crises, convert the peasants into commodities, change the agrarian economy, introduce the regime of patenting and finally convert India into a Neo-Colony of the western countries. However, not all the peasant movements oppose the globalisation. Maharashtra movement supports it on the ground that it would help Indian peasants to earn huge profit from the international market by entering into it. It is hopeful of creating competitive capitalism. Nonetheless, the opposition has been expressed both by way of undertaking large number of agitations and by way of directly attacking the multinationals operating in different places. In Karnataka alone peasants have attacked Cargil Company, Kentucky Fried Chickens and Monsanto's Terminator seeds. Nonetheless their opposition has received acclaim when different organisations at the global level have joined them in opposing the globalisation. They also received the support from the peasants, feminists, human rights activists, Zapatista supporters, intellectuals and a host of organisations like Anti nuclear groups, peace march, greens etc. of France, England, Germany, Italy, etc. During 1999 nearly 500 peasants of Karnataka, Uttarpradesh, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Punjab etc., demonstrated, squatted, in front of international organisations, multinational corporations, in front of G-8 Conference in France, England, Italy, Germany.

This is done by resorting to what is called Intercontinental Caravan (ICC) or Totally Crazy Project. This shows that peasants in the present context cannot be treated as docile categories whose interests are confined to village areas.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answers with the answers given at the end of the unit.

1) What do you mean by New Peasant/ Farmer's Movement?

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2) Explain the varieties of peasant movement.

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3) What do you mean by anti feudal struggles of the peasantry?

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24.6 LET US SUM UP

In this unit you have studied about rural categories called "Peasantry". You have also studied about how to differentiate them into small, big, rich etc. and also the historical role that they played in different countries, including India. What are the varieties of struggles that they waged against the state, feudalism, globalisation etc., and also the determining factors of mobilisation. Now it is a fact that the peasant can not simply be reduced and treated as rural bumpkins, or docile categories; they have to be treated as active forces of history. Therefore any reference to history of people's struggle should also have reference to peasants.

24.7 KEY WORDS

Peasants	:	A person working on land for his survival.
Feudalism	:	The economic, political and social system in which land was held by vassals in exchange for military and other services to overlords.
Capitalism	:	Economic system where means of production are privately owned.
Colonialism	:	A system of subjugation by foreign powers for the economic means.
Market	:	A place of selling and buying goods.

24.8 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

- Eric Wolf, *Peasant Wars of Twentieth Century*, London, 1975
- Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India, 1556-1707*, Bombay, 1963
- Theodor Shanin, *Peasants and Peasant Societies*, Harmondsworth, 1976
- Tom Brass, ed., *New Farmer's Movement in India*, England, 1995
- Muzaffar Assadi, *Peasant Movement in Karnataka, 1980-94*, Delhi 1997

24.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Peasant can be defined in terms of the land holdings, capacity to exploit others' labour, and hold over techniques of production.

- 2) Marginal, poor, small, rich, middle, and big. This includes agricultural labourers and landlords.
- 3) Peasant is a person who works on land for his sustenance.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) They are technological development, agrarian structure, ecological changes, caste and community bonds, governmental policies and historical conjunctures/incidents etc.
- 2) Western capitalism in agriculture developed from within by destroying the feudalism and by exploiting the third world countries, however in India it is imposed from above.
- 3) Common issues are development, parity, feudalism, globalisation etc.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) Both in terms of the strategy, ideology, discourses and issues they are new. They believe in class collaboration and unity among the peasantry. They debate issues of globalisation, international capitalism etc.
- 2) Nationalist, Anti-Feudal, Anti state and Anti Globalisation.
- 3) Anti feudal struggles against the landlords who had least interest in the development of agriculture, and they depend upon exploiting the tenants.

THE PEOPLE'S
UNIVERSITY

UNIT 25 WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Structure

- 25.0 Objectives
- 25.1 Introduction
- 25.2 Global and Local Contexts of Women's Movements
- 25.3 Background and History
 - 25.3.1 Variety of Historical Forces
 - 25.3.2 First Wave Feminism
 - 25.3.3 Women's Mobilisation and Women's Participation in Movements
 - 25.3.4 Women's Movements for Suffrage
- 25.4 Contemporary Women's Movements
 - 25.4.1 The Western Context
 - 25.4.2 The Non-Western Context
- 25.5 Phases and Approaches
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- 25.7 Politics of Women's Movements – Diversity and Differences
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 - 25.9.1 Economy and Development
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- 25.10 Let Us Sum Up
- 25.11 Some Useful Books
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25.0 OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this unit is to deal with the nature of women's movements with reference to the issues involved, organisational basis of the movement, its politics, diversities both vis-à-vis the nature of women's problems as well as the nature of resistance. After going through this unit, you should be able to:

- Discuss the nature of the women's movements;
- Elaborate various issues around which the women's movements are organised in different parts of the world;
- Point out the diversities and differences within the women's movement politics; and
- Explain the basis of the theoretical debates arising out of and connected with these movements.

25.1 INTRODUCTION

Women's movements in the contemporary context, are a part of a new style of politics of the New Social Movements that have become the basis of active participation of the community in public life. Organised around the issues

including those of civil liberties, ecology, identity, ethnicity, education, health etc., these movements operate outside the party politics and shift the nature of participation from the traditional methods of representation to a direct collective action. The traditional methods of representation like elections based on party competition have not been found to be fulfilling the democratic requirement of extensive participation. It has been generally observed that even in the most institutionalised democracies of the world, the marginalised and powerless sections of the society are left out by the system of power. The New Social Movements giving voice to these marginalised people, create alternative political spaces and fulfil their quest for participation. By their very nature, these movements are extensive in their scope. While the traditional politics operates only in the public sphere, the new social movements operate even in the social and cultural sphere. Hence the boundary between the public and the private or between the political and non-political does not exist for the new social movements. For the marginal and the powerless sections of society [like the women], whose roots of powerlessness lie in the social and cultural spheres, these new movements acquire special significance. It not only provides them a basis for direct participation in the political system but also helps them challenge the dominant social and cultural values which underlie their oppression.

25.2 GLOBAL AND THE LOCAL CONTEXTS OF WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS

The phenomenon of women's movements is universal because it represents the resistance of women all over the globe. Women across the continents have been organising themselves against the conditions of oppression they face being women. Hence, from this point of view, the women's movements of the twentieth century reflect the common concerns of women and therefore the need for a common platform across the boundaries of state, nation, race, community and culture. Yet despite the global nature of women's movements, most of the movements are located in the local contexts and represent the local responses of women to their *specific conditions of oppression*. Hence, despite their global context, the women's movements represent the differences of political, economic and cultural nature.

25.3 BACKGROUND AND HISTORY

The women's movements are essentially modern phenomenon. The contemporary context of women's involvement based upon the notion of their rights and interests was not to be seen in the pre-modern times. It was the particular political condition of the west Europe and North America that led to the emergence of earliest of the women's movements. In the initial period, women's response followed the American Revolution of 1776 and the French Revolution of 1789. It was a response against the efforts of the white male leaders of these movements to restrict their newly won rights to men only. Olympe de Gouges was one of the earliest female leaders who was beheaded in 1793 for having organised the working women of Paris against their exclusion from the rights guaranteed to men. In her famous pamphlet 'The Rights of the Women and the Female Citizen', she demanded women's access to social and political rights. It was in this context that the demand for equal rights was raised. In 1868 the first international women's organisation, the International Association of Women was established. Its early demands included equal rights, access to education, equal pay for equal work etc.

It was in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that women in many other regions of the world also started organising themselves against inequalities based on sex. Among the early demands were those related to removing of the sex-based barriers to rights within the family and the society - a response against the patriarchal system of family rights. These movements were aimed at legal reforms. Meanwhile the suffrage issue was raised in the North America and European countries.

25.3.1 Variety of Historical Forces

It was not a single circumstance but a variety of historical forces and conditions that led to the organised collective action of women in different parts of the world. Besides the historical situation of the Western Europe, the response of women in many other countries was created by the conditions of colonialism, nationalism, socialism, modernisation, etc. In many colonial countries, the influence of the colonial powers on subject states led to the consciousness among women for their rights, while in many others, it was the result of the liberal constitutionalism that resulted in the movements for the rights of women. In some cases of revolutionary activism, it was even the exclusion of women from the revolutionary activities that led to women's protest and organisation. In many other cases the women's movements were linked with the political movements organised at the national levels.

25.3.2 First-wave Feminism

The germination of the women's movements can be traced to the *first-wave feminism*. It was the organised response of the middle class women in Europe, Latin America and United States, who felt excluded from the political and professional organisations formed by men of their class to represent their interests. The basic concern of the first wave feminism not only in the Western Europe but also in other parts of the world, (for instance, Peru, the Caribbean, Trinidad and Indonesia,) was equal rights and votes for women, though there were many other debates that underlay the movement in this early period. As the women were integrated into the paid work in Europe and North America, the context of the women's movements was changed and a number of women's groups were organised for representing 'women's interests'. It was this changed context of the socio-economic conditions of women that led to the formation of explicitly feminist organisations. One of the leading feminist organisations was formed in 1966 by American women - the National Organisation for Women [NOW]. Numerous other feminist organisations were formed in the USA and in the West European countries. The agenda before these organisations was equal rights for women, greater opportunities, economic independence and greater freedom for women to work. They challenged laws and practices enforcing sex-discrimination especially in the areas of employment, wages, contract, property rights, contraception, abortion, etc. They also challenged the prevailing stereotypes representing women as sex objects or as weak, passive and dependent beings. Among the most important influences on the modern women's movements was that of Simone de Beauvoir's book, *The Second Sex*, published originally in French in 1949 and Betty Friedan's book *The Feminine Mystique*.

25.3.3 Women's Mobilisation and Women's Participation in Movements

Even before organisation of women's movements, women were mobilised in many countries for participation on issues, which did not precisely touch their gender interest. Thus, women participated in large numbers in national liberation struggles in many colonial countries. In countries like Indonesia, Somalia and

Sudan, women's movements were concerned with the nationalist causes. In many countries, which witnessed the movements against discrimination based on race, women participated actively. They also participated in labour movements organised all over the globe.

Such kind of participation in the movement activities may not have directly led to the organisation of the women's movements or even to the articulation of the feminist agenda or raising of feminist issues, yet it might have had its impact on the evolution of the gender consciousness. In organising women around issues of general nature, these movements initiated the process of their politicisation and mobilisation – a process that was to lead to the potentiality of their organisation around the gender-specific issues later.

25.3.4 Women's Suffrage Movements

One of the most important issues that became the focus for the organisation and participation of women in movements was the demand for suffrage. Continued denial of women's right to vote in many countries where the franchise was extended led to organisation of women's groups around the issue. The most intense form of the struggle for women's right to suffrage, however, took place in countries like England and USA. In England, the ground for the struggle was prepared right from the time that Mary Wollstonecraft published her book, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792). In 1840, the demand for women's right to suffrage was raised by the Chartist movement. English Liberal thinkers like John Stuart Mill also forcefully pleaded the cause for women's rights. Nineteenth century witnessed sufficient mobilisation of women around this issue. Women's suffrage societies were formed in almost every major city of England. As there was lot of resistance to the idea of women being granted vote, every suffrage bill presented before the Parliament till 1869, was defeated. In 1869, the taxpayer women were granted the right to vote in municipal elections. In 1897, the women's organisations consolidated themselves into National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. It was in 1918 that women aged 30 or above were granted the complete right to franchise. Later this age was reduced to 21. It was in 1928 that the women of England were granted the right to vote on equal basis with men.

In USA, it was during the agitation against slavery that the demand for the suffrage right for women and the black slaves was raised. In 1869, the National Women Suffrage Association and the American Women Suffrage Association were formed. The major objective of these associations was to secure the right to vote for women through a constitutional amendment. These organisations joined together in 1890 and formed the National American Women Suffrage Association. Because of the sustained endeavour of this organisation, women of USA were granted the right to franchise on equal basis with men in 1920.

In many other countries also, the struggle for women's suffrage was launched. By the beginning of the twentieth century, women had been granted the right to vote in countries like New Zealand, Australia, Finland, Norway. Women of Soviet Russia, Canada, Germany, Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary etc. were also granted the right to suffrage by the 1930s. After the Second World War, the equal right to suffrage was granted to women in many other countries of the world. Though, women have been enfranchised in most of the countries of the world yet there are some countries where women are still denied the voting rights.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of this unit.

- 1) What is the global and local context of the women's movements?

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- 2) Mention some of the background conditions in which women's movements were organised in countries other than USA and Europe.

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- 3) When did the English and the American women get the right to suffrage on equal basis with men?

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25.4 CONTEMPORARY WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS

Contemporary women's movements became visible in the 1960s. It was in mid-sixties that the impact of the women's movements could be felt in the United States when various women's groups attacked those norms and laws which were discriminatory against women and which had the effect of reproducing women's subordination in society. By the 1970s, the phenomenon of the women's activism was perceivable in many countries of Asia and Latin America as well. Yet, it was with the declaration of the International women's year (1975) and the women's decade (1975-1985) that the women's movements actually evolved in different parts of the world. It was during this time that the national commissions on the status of women were formed in many countries and the United Nations called upon the non-governmental organisations to participate actively in the process of abolition of sex discrimination. So widely entrenched was the phenomenon of women's movements across the continents that by the beginning of the decade of the nineties it had acquired global form and the impact of the women's politics could be seen not only in several African countries but also in the post-communist states in Eastern and Central Europe.

It is in the global context of the women's movement that the First World Women's Conference was organised in Mexico in 1975. In this conference, emphasis was placed among other things, on increasing literacy, employment and policy making positions for women, on the goals of elimination of discrimination and providing equal opportunities and parities in social and political rights, etc. The Second World Conference on Women was held in 1980 in Copenhagen and the third Conference was held in 1985 in Nairobi. What was so significant about the Third Women's Conference was that this marked the presence of the women representatives from Non Governmental Organisations, women's groups and mass movements. By the time the Fourth World Women's Conference was organised in Beijing in 1995, the women's movements had already become a global reality.

25.4.1 The Western Context

The second-wave feminism emerged in the west during the decade of seventies. In the United States, the feminist organisations, especially the National Organisation of Women (NOW) became very active. During the same time, there was a mushroom growth of the women's organisations in the West European countries. In many of these countries, there was the expansion of the middle class base of women's organisations, which led to the intensity in the women's movements. In many of these movements, the middle-class women were joined by the working women.

In most of the movements of the North America and Europe, the two demands which were focused by the women's groups were those related to women's control over their bodies and the access to economic independence. The first demand in fact, aroused sufficient response in countries like USA, France, West Germany and Britain. The National Organisation of Women in USA emphasised upon the demand for reproductive right. It was a demand for a right to safe and legal abortion. There was similarly an impassioned movement around the issues of abortion and contraception in France. The French women campaigned against the existing law that banned contraception and abortion. They used a number of strategies to put forth their demand including legislative lobbying for the repeal of the law and the mass demonstrations. The West German women similarly organised around the issues of family planning and abortion. In a nation-wide campaign they demanded abolition of the existing abortion law. In Britain as well, the movements of women were based upon the issues of body and representation of women.

25.4.2 The Non-Western Context

Movements for the emancipation of women have continued to emerge in many countries beyond Europe and the US. What is notable about these movements is that these have not necessarily followed the pattern of the western movements but on the contrary, have located their struggles in their own social and economic perspectives. Hence, these movements are at variance with the Western feminism in terms of their demands and perspectives. The difference in perspective is a result of the differing circumstances in which the women in the other countries, especially the women in the developing countries perceive themselves. While the key issues for the women's organisations in the North America and the European countries have been focused around the reproductive rights, especially the right to abortion and contraception, the women of the developing Southern countries have not responded to these issues very enthusiastically, for two reasons. Firstly, there have been other issues, which they considered more important in the context of their poverty and underdevelopment. Secondly, the question of the reproductive rights for women of the South have been linked with the family planning programmes. The family planning programmes generally controlled by the state in some of the Southern countries have been pursued in such a manner that these have harmed the interest of women themselves. The women's organisations therefore have not responded to the birth control programme in an unproblematic way. Hence, along with the right to control fertility, the issue of reproductive health has emerged as a very crucial issue for women of the South. Here women's organisations have been campaigning against hazardous contraceptives, irrational drugs, and adverse impact of globalisation on women's health and have been emphasising on the need to pay attention on the general health, education, economic advancement and raising of the level of awareness of women. Emphasis is also being placed on strengthening of traditional systems of knowledge including the knowledge of traditional medicine and indigenous health practices.

The issues raised by women's groups in non-western countries are also influenced by their cultural, social, economic and political specificity. Following are some of the examples, which point out the specificity of the women's movements in the non-western contexts.

An example of cultural specificity can be provided in the context of Japanese women. Even though the movements of the Japanese women influenced by the women's movements in the North America have raised issues related to suffrage, free love, lesbian rights, contraception, etc. yet, the local social and cultural contexts remain important for them. The most crucial issue raised by the Japanese women's movements has been the double burden of work and the continued social discrimination against women. Women here have entered the market with less pay and poor working conditions and still have to manage domestic front without the help of man.

The women's movements in India were initially organised around the issues of sexual and domestic violence against women but gradually other gender-specific issues were also incorporated in the agenda of women's groups. During the period of eighties and early nineties the feminist issues related to sexuality of women, right to choice and control over their fertility and bodies, reproductive health, violence on the images of women, sex-stereotyping and sex-objectification of women in media etc. also assumed importance. Yet, the challenges posed to women's organisations by the population control programmes and the impact of medical technologies and the global and commercial interests underlying these technologies on women's health resulted in a critical approach to the issues related to women's right to control their fertility. The issues like amniocentesis, female feticide, women's reproductive health, also emerged as crucial areas in the women's movement politics. As the women's movement matured in India, it was also faced with the complexity underlying the relationship between gender on the one hand and the caste, class and community, on the other. Women's politics was therefore extended in the context of their 'dalit', 'tribal', 'peasant' or the 'worker' existence. Thus the issues specific to the context of the dalit women or the tribal women or the peasant women were also raised.

The Pakistan women's movement has been located within the larger framework of the political movement for democratic politics. Women have been the major victims of the political regime that is still struggling to institutionalise its democratic structure. The periods such as those of authoritarian regimes of Zia-ul-Haq specifically have been harsh upon women. Women's movements in Pakistan, therefore, have been organised against the imposition of the religious restrictions on the women's public behaviour and their occupational choices.

Women's movements in countries of Latin America have reflected the diversity and complexity of these countries. Women's movements of Peru echoing the diverse realities of women represent multiple voices and disparate issues. While one can see the feminist organisations raising the issues related to conditions that women face because they are women, their sexuality and sex-objectification, at the same time the women's groups have also been involved in the movements of the miners, workers and teachers. Women have also been organised around issues of specific nature mainly dealing with problems that they face due to their poverty and deprivation. Women have also used the forums provided by the trade unions and the political parties to raise their voices.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

- ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of this unit.

- 1) What have been the most important issues of the contemporary western women's movements?

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- 2) Mention some of the issues underlying the Indian women's movements?

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- 3) In what ways are the issues raised by women of the south different from the issues raised by the women of Europe and North America?

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25.5 PHASES AND APPROACHES

On the basis of the directions followed by the women's movements in their varied periods of evolution and development, we can identify three distinct phases that have coincided with three distinct approaches towards the goal of women's emancipation.

Firstly, the visionary and utopian period of the movements. There was two-fold emphasis of the women's movements at that time – i) the demand for *women's equality with men* and ii) the sisterhood among women. The phase emphasised consensus among women's organisations in different parts of the world and stressed upon the need for solidarity at the global level.

This phase was followed by a period when emphasis was shifted from the equality of women with men, to the *difference between men and women*. This was a phase when womanhood was celebrated and significance of woman's own experience was highlighted. This phase further strengthened the idea of commonality of the women's problems and highlighted the need for common platform to organise their resistance. The oppression of women was located in the structure of patriarchy. These features specifically defined the western women's movements in the period of seventies. At that time three concepts were evolved – firstly, the concept of '*woman*'. It implied that the oppression of women emanates out of condition of their '*womanhood*'. Second was the concept of '*experience*'. This concept implied that women being women share the common experience of womanhood and oppression at the universal level. Third was the concept of '*personal politics*' and emphasised the need to abolish the dichotomy between the public and the private. In accordance with this concept, the women's politics brought to the public sphere the power exercised upon

women in the private and the domestic spheres. Women's organisations therefore demanded the intervention of the state in dealing with issues relating with women's position within the sphere of family and culture. Since the assumption underlying the women's emancipatory politics in this period was the universalisation of oppression, it was emphasised that women should band together irrespective of their differences on the basis of class, race, ethnicity or any other category.

The present period forms the third phase of the women's emancipatory politics. The peculiarity of this phase is emphasis on plurality and *differences* among women. The assumption, that women are a homogenous group and therefore share the common experiences, has been challenged by the contemporary women's movements located specifically in the South. Instead of commonalities, emphasis is placed on the differences among women on the basis of their specific contexts of their nationalities, races, classes, cultural situations etc. The underlying contention is that women do not form a single group and their oppression is not rooted in their universal condition of 'womanhood'. On the contrary, there is a more contextualised basis of women's oppression. The way white women perceive their oppression may be quite different from the way the women of colour experience it. The nature of oppression of the women of one class may be different from the other class. Hence there are different 'sites of oppression' and therefore, different 'sites of resistance'.

25.6 ORGANISATION OF WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS

The contemporary women's movements have been defined by their autonomous nature. Autonomy implies that women organise themselves, set their own agendas and pursue their own strategies. Many of the women's organisations formed during the period of seventies and eighties were totally independent in their organisational structure. As against the hierarchical and bureaucratic structures of the traditional organisations, these organisations were mostly small group collectivities and were defined by their non-structured nature and represented the plurality and multiplicity of voices within. These organisations had no linkage with any political party or any other kind of existing social movements. What made the politics of these organisations unique, was a conscious effort on their part to distance themselves from the political parties or other organised groups.

The question of autonomy of women was also linked with the emphasis on the specificity of gender-issues. The politics of the autonomous women's movements was therefore defined by a basic commitment to resist gender subordination. In ideological terms, the oppression of women got located in the structures of patriarchy. Hence, emphasis was placed upon those issues which specifically revolved around women's gender interest and which aimed at resistance to the patriarchal norms and structures.

Such a politics of autonomous nature of women's movements with exclusive emphasis on gender-specific issues has initiated a debate regarding the very nature of female activism and the issues related to it. It is argued that the boundary of the women's movements is neither defined by the autonomous nature of women's organisations nor by the specificity of gender interests. Thus, women activists within the political parties are as much a part of the women's movements as the women members of any social movement organised around issues other than gender-specific ones. In fact, the whole issue of what forms the gender interest of women is also debated. It is argued that not only the issues related to the sexuality of women but also the issues

related to their poverty and economic deprivation form the gender interest. Following is an overview of the various issues related to the movement politics of women.

25.6.1 Specificity of Gender – Implications for Left Party Politics

The question of autonomy and specificity of gender issues has been crucial for the women party activists especially of the leftist leanings. Ever since the rise of the contemporary women's movements they have been faced with the issue whether women's struggle for equality should be a part of the overall struggle for a new socialist order or should women be autonomously organised to fight specific gender based oppression. In other terms what is the basis of oppression of women – whether class, gender, or both class and gender. The radical women activists who formed the autonomous women's organisations believed that women themselves form an exploited class and therefore rather than becoming a part of a wider political organisations, they should devote their energies exclusively to the women's specific politics. The leftist political parties on the other hand, hold that the women's struggle for equality should be a part of the overall struggle for a new socialist order.

Following inner debates within the left-oriented organisations in many countries, many socialist-feminists came around the idea that fight against oppression of women has to be organised both around the issues based on gender and the issues based on class. The reasons for oppression of women, according to them, lay not merely in structures of capitalism but also in the structures of patriarchy. Many left organisations, consequently, have been persuaded to incorporate gender-specific issues in their agenda. The women's wings of many of these organisations have also been activated.

25.6.2 Women's Movements and Women in Movement

There are many who argue that the definitions of women's movements as autonomous and representing only the gender interest of women are restrictive by nature and do not incorporate other kind of activities where women act in pursuit of common ends, be they 'feminist' or not. While the movements that pursue the gender interests of women are significant in development of feminism, yet these are not inclusive enough and do not incorporate the full nature of women's mobilisation. In this context, one may refer to the phenomenon of 'women in movement'. It is a phrase used to describe other kinds of female mobilisation, which though not directly pursuing the specific gender interest of women represent the basis of female mobilisation and even female solidarity. These include the variety of social movements, trade unions, revolutionary and nationalist movements.

The 'women in movement' politics is a pointer towards the complexity underlying the nature of the women's issues and the nature and direction of women's movements. One of the posers that this complexity raises relates to the linkage between wider movements of the oppressed classes of which women are a very significant part and their struggles around their gender-specific interests. It is important to acknowledge that these other forms of female mobilisations, excluded from the consideration as 'women's movements' nonetheless constitute a large proportion of female solidarity in much of the modern world. What is important to note in relation to the gender agenda is that many movements that involve women in large number, at a particular stage of their participation undergo the process of gender-sensitisation. Because of such sensitisation, women in these movements articulate women-specific demands and exert pressure on the leadership to take cognisance of women and their demands. It is the result of

such a pressure that many mass movements raise situation-specific issues of women. Such gender sensitive politics of the 'women in movement', therefore, forms an important part of the women's movements.

25.6.3 Issues Related to Difference Between Practical Interest of Women vs. Strategic Interest

Gender sensitivity within mass movements can be placed in the context of the debate related to the very question as to what exactly is implied by the gender-specific interest. This is a debate focusing on the relation between the practical interests of women and their strategic interests. The practical interests of women, according to Molyneux, are those that are 'based on the satisfaction of needs arising from women's placement within sexual division of labour'. The strategic interests are those that involve 'claims to transform social relations in order to enhance women's positions and secure a more lasting re-positioning of women within the gender order and within society at large'. [Molyneux, p.232] Seen from this perspective the issues of daily survival and strategies related to this, form the particular interest of women while, the issues categorised purely as their gender interest, like the issues related to sexuality, reproductive health and control over their fertility, form their strategic interest. The issues of practical interest are as important to women's movement politics as those of strategic interest. One may point to the frequency of struggles of poor women over consumption needs and their protest against social injustice in countries like those of Latin America, Indian sub-continent, and of Africa and East Asia. During the conditions of economic recession in 1970s and 1980s, women's activism in countries like those of Peru and Kenya was organised around the basic needs of women rather than their specific gender interest.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of this unit.

1) What are the characteristics of the autonomous women's movements.

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2) What is the difference between the women's movements and the women in movements.

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3) What is the difference between the practical interest of women and their strategic interest.

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25.7 POLITICS OF WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS - DIVERSITY AND DIFFERENCE

Women's movements may be characterised by a diversity of interests, forms of expression, and spatial location. A number of distinctions, therefore, need to be drawn among women's movements of varied kinds. For instance, the nature of the educated middle class women's movement may acquire different nature as compared to the Working class women's movement or the movements of peasant women. In this context, one may find not only the difference around the issues but also the strategies.

It is in the context of the plurality and diversity within the women's movement politics that the idea of universal basis of women's movement is resisted. It is felt that any understanding of universal experience of women is bound to actually reflect a Euro-centric bias. Already such a bias has resulted in defining the women's concerns from the limited experiences of the white, middle class women. It is the result of such a bias that the western stereotyped notions have entered the vocabulary of global development related initiatives. One of the consequences of such notions is that the woman's contribution in the Southern economies, in the subsistence agriculture has been totally devalued. Many women activists from the South therefore are quite critical of the western tendency to gloss over differences among women. They ask for recognising the differences and situating women's movements within the cultural, economic and political contexts of specific societies. Recognition of differences enables women to approach their exploitation from a position of strength.

25.7.1 Specific and Simultaneous Exploitation

It is therefore, important to acknowledge that women are not undifferentiated mass and do not constitute a monolithic category. They are placed in different socio-economic contexts provided by the categories of class, race, caste and community and are implicated in many forms of domination and oppression. Gender plays a crucial role in the subordination of women, yet it is intervened by these categories. Women, as Gail Omvedt notes, are caught up in different categories and they are exploited both as women and as members of these categories. Their exploitation therefore is both 'specific' and 'simultaneous'. Thus the dalit woman's exploitation is specific to her reality of being a 'dalit woman' and that of the black woman is specific to her reality of being a 'black woman'. In the first case the dalit woman is simultaneously exploited both as 'dalit' as well as 'woman' and in the later case she is exploited simultaneously both as 'black' and as 'woman'. The crucial point is that though both are exploited as women, yet the nature of exploitation of each is located in the specific context of their being 'dalit' or being 'black'.

25.7.2 Black Women's Movements – the Dilemma

Such a situation of specific as well as simultaneous exploitation of women and the paradox that it raises for the movement politics can be explained further with reference to the black women. Bell hooks refers to this paradox. She notes that for a long time, the black women confronting the issues of oppression arising out of racism as well as patriarchy could not deal with both the situations of oppression. In the initial phase they became the part of the black people's movements and did not recognise 'womanhood' as important part of their identity. Rather than acknowledging that sexism could be just as oppressive as racism, they expected that liberation from social oppression would free them

from sexual oppression as well. Gradually they became conscious of the sexism of the black men. Even when these women recognised the gender basis of oppression and became part of the global women's movements they were confronted by racism of white women. Hence caught between the racism of women's movements led by the white women and the sexist basis of black people's movement led by men, they found themselves in a double bind. Supporting only women's movements would have implied allying with white women's racism and supporting only black movement would have meant endorsing a patriarchal social order. Compelled to choose between 'a black movement that primarily served the interest of black male patriarchs and a women's movement that primarily served the interest of racist white women', the great majority of black women joined the black movement while a few of them allied with the feminist movement. Many black women were disoriented while many others started black feminist groups. [hooks, pp.4-9]

This experience of black women reflects a paradox faced by women all over the world in limiting their experience of oppression to any one of the categories, here either race or sex. Over the period, it has been realised by many that there are multiple sites of oppression and multiple sites of resistance. What is important is to understand the relationship between these different sources of oppression and the response of collective resistance. In case of black women, it is being increasingly asserted that race and sex based oppression cannot be treated as two separate issues. The two get intertwined and hence the struggle to end racism and sexism has also to be intertwined.

Check Your Progress 4

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of this unit.

1) What is the nature of diversity in women's movements?

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2) What is the nature of paradox faced by the black women's movements?

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25.8 STRATEGIES UNDERLYING WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS AND THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE STATE

Women's groups use plural strategies for pursuing their agenda. Besides adopting the strategies of resistance against the structures of power, they also use opportunities to gain access to various levels of power to use the same for pushing the cause of women. Women's groups also negotiate with institutions and governments for defending women's interest.

It is this context of the multiplicity of the strategies followed by the women's groups that one can perceive variegated approaches towards the state. On the one hand, there is a feeling of criticality and scepticism regarding the patriarchal nature of the state and on the other there is also an attitude of dependence upon the state.

Women's movements approach the state with sufficient suspicion. This suspicion is about the gender bias that may exist within the policies of the state. The state is perceived to be a major agency reproducing and modernising the patriarchal structures. State's regulatory powers over women's productive and reproductive lives have also made women critical of the state.

Yet, at the same time, women's groups all over the world have been addressing their issues to the governmental agencies of the state with a view to get new laws, administrative actions or judicial interventions. The issues raised by women in terms of equal rights, fertility control, maternity protection, equal pay for equal work etc, have been specifically directed towards the state.

Such a scepticism and yet the dependence of much of the movement politics of women upon the state has led many to define the attitude of women's movements as that of 'strategic ambivalence'. The intervention of the state is sought when there is a need to introduce change through laws and welfare policies and yet it is realised that the state can play only a very limited role in dealing with many of women's problems of powerlessness and gender-discrimination.

Yet there may be some cases where there may even exist a smooth relationship between feminism and the state. Threlfall, has noted a process of institutionalisation of women's movement in Spain which has resulted in making state institutions gender-sensitive. In her opinion, the women in Spain have been able to raise their voices through the state institutions. The Spanish bureaucracy, specifically is very sympathetic to the issues raised by women's groups. [Threlfall, p.145]. But this smoothness in the relationship between the women's movements and the state is not to be found in many other countries. There are, in fact, varied contexts in the areas, specifically those related to modernisation and development where the tension between the women's movements and the state continues to exist.

25.9 ECONOMY, DEVELOPMENT, DEMOCRACY AND WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS

25.9.1 Economy and Development

One of the crucial concerns of the contemporary women's movements especially in the countries of the South relates to the impact of the global political economy and the developmental policies upon women. Here, the issues like those of inflation, displacement, deforestation, unemployment, poverty have been raised by the women's organisations because all these issues have affected women. These issues are the fall-out of the process of economic modernisation, increasing mechanisation, liberalisation and globalisation. The new international economic order that aims at one unified global market with no barriers to trade and that has forced the countries of the South to follow the Structural Adjustment Programmes [SAP] with its emphasis on privatisation, trade liberalisation and cuts in subsidies has long term impact on women. They have been dislodged from their traditional source of employment in the small scale industries as a result of the competition that these industries face from the organised industry

and have been forced to work under increasingly exploitative conditions. Meanwhile, they have also been facing the brunt of the deforestation, displacement, unemployment, poverty etc.

Of late, the women's organisations have started voicing their concern over the inherent gender bias underlying the development strategies and techniques. Hence, they have been raising the demands for sustainable development based on principles of equality and equity. They are also asking for basic rights of survival, right to livelihood, right to common property resources, right to identity and the need to regenerate the environment. Women's groups have been actively raising the issues like those of displacement resulting from the process of development. It is the result of the voices raised by women's organisations all over the world that women, instead of being viewed merely as the recipients of the development programmes, are now being considered as the key actors of the development process. Women's movements along with other mass based movements therefore, are in the process of redefining development and offering alternative paradigms. Calling the present form of development as anti-people and anti-women, the women's groups call for a pattern of development based upon principles of equality and linked with nature. It is this concern of women for nature that has taken the form of a unique form of movement commonly known as 'Ecofeminism'. Attempting to voice the concerns of the marginalised, especially the women, ecofeminism calls upon women to act against ecological degradation. The presumption is that when nature is destroyed, women get affected the most. Ecofeminism, therefore, is that form of women's movement that addresses inequality between humans and nature as well as between men and women. It not only merely questions the perspectives of development, but it also challenges the dominant idea that science and technology are measures of progress. It therefore lays emphasis on the alternate knowledge systems.

25.9.2 Democracy, Civil Society and Women's Movements

Women's movements along with other social movements, all over the globe, have contributed to the process of democratisation of the polity and society. This process of democratisation has also resulted in reassessing some of the concepts related to emancipation, rights and social justice for women. It is the result of such reassessment that the discourse of women's movements has become focused on issues based on 'rights'. Demand has been raised for women being treated as full citizens enjoying the social, civil and political rights and gaining institutional power. [Molyneux] Citizenship is understood in a broad way extending beyond the political realm. Hence the question of women's rights does not remain limited to the public sphere but gets broadened to include the social and the private spheres governing women's lives. Hence, the issues related to women which were earlier considered as falling in the 'private' sphere are very much part of the politics of the women's movements. The women's movements therefore have challenged the distinction between the political and the non-political, public and the private.

Check Your Progress 5

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

- ii) Check your answers with the model answers given at the end of this unit.

- 1) Why are women's organisations generally critical of the state?

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2) How does the Structural Adjustment Programme [SAP] affect women?

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25.10 LET US SUM UP

Ever since 1975, there have been remarkable landmarks in women's movements. Women all over the world have organised themselves into numerous organisations and have raised myriad issues that go even beyond their gender interest. The movement politics of women is therefore, multi-dimensional and impinges on issues that lay in the domestic, cultural, social, economic and ecological spheres of society. It has on its agenda the objectives of transformation of the social order and democratisation of the political space. By organising resistance and manifesting social critique, it challenges not only the established practices but also the dominant discourse.

Seen from this perspective, the women's movements have been described as 'discursive practices'. A discursive practice can be understood as that process of resistance which also produces new meanings. Women's movements, through their collective resistance, have been successful in challenging the traditional meanings of womanhood and contesting the essentialist notions about their gender roles.

The plural issues raised by women's organisations all over the globe indicate that women do not necessarily have identical direction of politics. Women do not speak in a single voice. On the contrary, the women's movements, especially in the decades of eighties and nineties have emphasised differences among women. Therefore, the movement politics of women is defined by diversity. Diversity within the discourse of women's movements is considered a positive point because it allows for recognition of multiple patterns of domination and enables women to simultaneously resist such patterns of domination at various levels and from multiple sites.

25.11 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Bell Hooks, 1982, *Ain't I A Woman*, London, Sydney, Pluto Press

Mumtaz, Khawar, and Farida Shaheed, eds. 1987. *Women of Pakistan :Two Steps Forward, One Step Back?*, London : Zed.

Monica Threlfall, ed., 1996, *Mapping the Womens' Movement*, Verso, London, New York.

Maxine Molyneux, 1998, 'Analysing Women's Movements', in Cecile Jackson and Ruth Pearson (eds) *Feminist Visions of Development*, London, Routledge.

Omvedt, Gail, 1993, *Reinventing Revolution: New Social Movements and the Socialist Tradition in India*, New York, East Gate.

Saskia Wieringa, ed., 1995, *Subversive Women: Women's Movements in Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean*.

25.12 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) See Section 25.2
- 2) See Sub-section 25.3.1
- 3) See Sub-section 25.3.4

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) See Sub-section 25.4.1
- 2) See Sub-section 25.4.2
- 3) See Sub-section 25.4.2

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) See Section 25.6
- 2) See Sub-section 25.6.2
- 3) See Sub-section 25.6.3

Check Your Progress 4

- 1) See Section 25.7
- 2) See Sub-section 25.7.2

Check Your Progress 5

- 1) See Section 25.8
- 2) See Sub-section 25.9.1

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UNIT 26 ENVIRONMENT

Structure

- 26.0 Objectives
- 26.1 Introduction
- 26.2 Definitions
- 26.3 Historical Insights
- 26.4 Imperatives
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 - 26.5.1 Sarawak Tribals Movement
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 - 26.6.10 Kaiga Campaign
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 - 26.6.12 Narmada Bachao Andolan
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 - 26.6.14 Tehri Dam Campaign
 - 26.6.15 Rayon Factory Pollution
 - 26.6.16 Chilka Bachao Andolan
 - 26.6.17 Centre for Science and Environment
 - 26.6.18 Chattisgarh Movement
 - 26.6.19 Water-shed Movements
 - 26.6.20 Auroville Movement
 - 26.6.21 Bishnoi Tradition
- 26.7 The Indian Scenario : A Perspective
- 26.8 Let Us Sum Up
- 26.9 Some Useful Books
- 26.10 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

26.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit endeavours to illustrate that people organised or otherwise can ventilate their responses to changes in their environment through dissents, protests and resistance instead of the usual political mechanisms of parties and representatives.

This unit covers the following subjects – ecology, environment, resources, development, consequences of development to society and responses of people to these challenges. After going through this unit you will be able to understand:

- what constitutes ecology and environment;
- meaning and nature of environment movements;
- types of some environment movements in various countries; and
- nature and importance of environment movements in India.

26.1 INTRODUCTION

The improvement of living conditions of mankind, through the exploitation of natural resources, economic growth and social development, has been happening for centuries. However, this progress is considered very limited for five major reasons by the Club of Rome and supported by the Global 2000 Report.

- Over population
- Insufficient Energy
- Depletion of Resources
- Hygiene and Sanitation
- Pollution

Therefore a brief knowledge of ecology, environment, resources, their systems, development and consequences is desirable to understand why social movements occur in defense of environment. Let us start with some definitions.

26.2 DEFINITIONS

Ecology

Ecology means a continuous symbiosis – mutual dependence of all the constituents of the planet earth – on water and land – forming a common pool utilising each other yet replenishing the common pool of resourcefulness. Therefore, all constituents ultimately balance each other – soil, water, plants, animals, minerals, atmosphere, energy and humans. All these are distributed on earth in different combinations and permutations. Each of such units is called an Ecosystem with its diagnostic and distinguishing characteristics.

Environment

Environment suggests that human species considers himself as external to the symbiotic milieu of all other components and treats them merely as his resources for his satisfaction. Therefore, *SWAMPEAH* became the environment of human society.

Resources

Water, soil and land, plants, animals, microbes, minerals and atmosphere constitute the resource base of humankind besides themselves. These have a variety of distributional patterns and productivity profiles both in quality and quantity.

Ecosystems

The above resources are distributed on the planet in about 40+ ecosystems accommodating different types of the above and developing distinguishing

features of themselves in due course of evolution, such as forests, deserts, wetlands, seas, islands, rivers, grasslands, savannahs in equatorial, tropical, subtropical, temperate and other climatic and geographic zones and influenced by longitudes and altitudes.

Development

Resources present in various systems are exploited for human consumption and development by the use of knowledge, experiences and experimental knowledge through science and technology. This usage is done by a planning by the political authorities following a political process using administrative mechanisms taking into consideration the social and economic well being of people. Consequently the distribution of resources as well as the products of development constitute a basic ingredient of all these processes for equity and justice to be ensured. Industry, trade, commerce and markets, therefore, are inseparable. During these processes several consequences have resulted.

Consequences

Development changes though designed to be good to all concerned have had consequences in time and space on (a) other components of earth, Swampeah, as a whole, i.e. ecosystems and their ecology, (b) on other peoples of other ecosystems, (c) on people of their own ecosystems and (d) on themselves.

- a) The First consequence is a change in the existing scenarios – depletion of resources, degradation of the systems and ecological imbalances where the ownership of resources and/or development changes hands sowing the seeds of injustice, inequalities, discontent and ferment.
- b) The second consequence is economic – reorientation in the internal production and distribution, external trade deficits, internal and external loans and investments, debt burdens and the economic back lashes on sections of people who have nothing to fall back.
- c) The third consequence is social – inequalities, hopes and despair, divisions, conflicts, hatred and violence. As the traditional values disappear along with the traditional resources and usage patterns the world gets divided into rich nations, poor nations, rich people, poor people with buffers everywhere becoming fixed stars, while hopes and despairs alternate periodically as per the whims of people in power. Goodness and other human values continuously vane inexorably making most lives worthless. This is the inherent meaning of Dandekar's Poverty Line.
- d) The fourth type of consequences are the backlashes in the environmental and ecological processes which often defy even a comprehension leave alone alleviations. Once these are set in, it is difficult to reverse. Examples: Acid Rain, Ozone depletion, etc.

Responses

Consequently people react to adversities responding to the challenges to their ecological security. This happened in the past and continues to happen in different parts of the planet earth. These are outlined later in this unit.

The responses were first expressions of concern, advises and cautions. They gradually grew into protests and resistances – local, regional and even global in character and magnitude. These resistances assumed legal form, social movements and finally crossing the normally accepted political mechanisms of change. These are the social movements in defense of human environment or environmental movements for social harmony.

Note: i) Use space provided below each question to write your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the answers given at the end of the unit.

1) What do you understand by Ecology, Environment and Ecosystem?

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2) What are the consequences of Development?

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26.3 HISTORICAL ASPECTS

The state of the planet earth can be summarised as a patch work quilt of nine worlds brought about by four World Wars, the final fifth one on-going. This scenario will be characterised by a ratio of 2:3:5 between the upper, middle, and lower classes among the global populations as the final settlement of all wars in history. The major victim is the Planet Earth, the mother of all resources and the major villain, consumerism, the mother of all problems. The only solution for all these is ecological sanity characterised by continuous environmental movements.

The above story has many authors. A few of these are: Huxley, Vogt, Ehrlich, Commoner, Leopold, Boulding, Mead, Club of Rome, Greens, Gandhi, WWF, Auduborn Society, Sierra Club, Geographical International, etc. All these, however, were preceded by Vedic Wisdoms, Buddhism and Jainism rooted in India which was taken to heart by Beat Poets like Dylan Thomas and Alan Ginsberg, ISKCON and other similar followers of Indian thought. Modern Indian philosophers without much roots in western materialism voiced similarly – Radha Kamal Mukherjee, Sisir Kumar Ghose, Krishna Chaitanya and Gandhians. The most interesting of all these is the Chief Baltimore who warned the Europeans taking over their lands and introduced the term RAINBOW WARRIORS for ecological activists of today which was rightly chosen by the Green Peace Movement as the name for its monitoring and scouting Flagship!

The environmental movements have no left or right. They have only front and back – Thinking globally but acting locally.

26.4 IMPERATIVES

All over the world, the Altruists have come to the open in the form of voluntary organisations (NGOs) committed to social justice and ecological security and recovery, first as adjuncts to governmental activity, later as better agents of change, and now as weak political forces. India's environment movement is a product of its democratic system. It essentially rests on three planks – increasing involvement of voluntary agencies and social activists across the country – their

increasing access to the country's media and the courts. Indian environmental groups have organised numerous protest movements against deforestation, construction of high dams, mining, pollution and nuclear power plants with varying degrees of success.

26.5 MOVEMENTS IN SOME COUNTRIES

26.5.1 Sarawak Tribals Movement

Sarawak is an enclave of Malaysia in the island of Kalimantan (Borneo) which mostly belong to Indonesia. Malaysian government started felling trees on a large scale for export to Japan en route to Europe. The trade profits went to some contractors of Malay origin by executive orders. The mainland people were debarred from access to Sarawak by law. There was a veil of secrecy about the whole operations.

The natives of Sarawak, victimised both by a depletion of resources, as well as deprivation of the accrued profits, were outraged by the censorship of the information flow also – adding insult to injury. There was a popular upsurge against timber mining led by an educated young tribal, Harrison Ngao until some concessions were extracted. And the outrage on resources and profits were mitigated considerably and the whole world came to know of this macabre episode climaxing with the alternate Nobel Prize to Ngao.

26.5.2 The Rainforest Protection in Brazil

Rain forests in Brazil were under constant stress of cattle ranches, mineral prospecting, rubber cultivation besides timber mining. In some parts rubber plantations were replacing pristine forests forcing the local tribals into cheap labourhood in the rubber plantations. This victimisation was sought to be resisted by the local tribals under the leadership of Chico Mendes. While the governments and media were alerted and some semblance of justice was forthcoming Chico was murdered by the agents of Rubber Mafia. But the movement was not in vain.

26.5.3 Maoist Movement in Tree Planting in China

During the cultural revolution in China Mao Tse Tung realised the value of trees in revitalising the ecology and provision for a welcome environment to Humans as no Marxist leader has ever realised. Consequently 500 million trees were planted all over China by the young revolutionaries and were mandated to maintain them until developing permanency in the habitat.

26.5.4 Tribal Resistance in Mexico

As a sequel to North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) among Mexico, USA and Canada the agricultural pattern was sought to be altered in the South-East Aztec Region of Mexico. The local tribals resisted the implementation of any changes in their traditional mores with an armed rebellion. NAFTA itself was questioned forcing the government to intervene in their favour.

26.5.5 Chico Movement in Philippines

Chico river in Northern Philippines was sought to be dammed for electricity generation and irrigation of the plains. The construction was objected because this region was uncared for despite being undeveloped for decades. It has been,

therefore, agreed by the government to develop the region simultaneously on a priority basis. But nothing of this kind has happened. The workers on the dam side struck work inviting repression from the government. The response was a counter action by the local people. The perception of the local people was that the irrigation and electricity benefits other people while they are not even in a position to appreciate them leave alone utilise them. The counter violence gradually became a Guerrilla warfare. The Manila Government was not able to quell this armed rebellion in defence of their natural resources from getting hijacked for other peoples.

26.5.6 Southern Nigeria's Resistance Movement

Southern Nigeria is a contrast to the rest of the country. It is richer in resources of nature; better educated and cultured; preponderously Christian and politically uninfluential. The local people resented the siphoning of their resources. A movement for human rights was organised by them under the leadership of Ken Sarowivo which grew from strength to strength in popularity. The movement demanded a share of the revenues from petroleum in their region. The companies as well as the government became restive as the field operations came to a stand still and a little violence erupted which is natural in all confrontations. The leadership was rounded up and the supreme leader Ken Sarowivo hanged very cruelly ignoring the protests from global leaderships.

26.5.7 Greens of Germany

By far the most important of the environmental movements in the world is the 'Die Grunen' of Germany. This group was formed in 1970s when many sectorial groups with inherent internal inadequacies discovered a common cause in ecological consciousness. Thus Leftists, Feminists, Anarchists, Marxists, Liberation Theologians, Hippies, Atheists, Nonconformists and the like joined together with a single motto of ecological sanctity which resembles Marxism and Gandhism. This evoked such an opposition that they were ostracized clubbing with terrorists and anarchists and debarred from holding public offices. They however enjoyed a popularity among the commoners. Finding this of no avail to change the suicidal policies of governments, they entered civic elections and captured some city corporations. Yet they could only be partially successful. Fearing that they may enter mainstream politics, the establishment reacted by imposing a minimum 5% national vote for any party if its representatives were to sit in the Bundestag. Yet they obtained over 7% vote and the unfancied Greens entered the parliament. This is a watershed in the evolution of ecological movements in the world.

Green movements have spread all over Europe. The traditional political parties included ecological agenda in their manifestations. In Germany, the greens fared badly in the next elections but societies in Europe became sensitised to ecological issues. The recent elections in Germany saw the Greens back into reckoning. They now share power along with other parties. The entire Europe has similar outfits now.

They brought earth consciousness, developed an unopposable and universally acceptable agenda, introduced electoralism and civic environmentalism, green manifesto. In short ecology has been politicised and politics ecolised. One of the foremost leaders of this movement was Petra Kelly.

26.5.8 Green Peace Movement

Green Peace Movement which has origins in Europe is more down to earth than others. They are more practical and direct. They have championed many causes

in defense of human environment following a variety of methods. Some of the movements they carried out with varied success are: against whale hunting by Japan, nuclear testing by France, copper mining in Brazilian rainforests and generally in favour of disarmament and against radiation hazards anywhere. This is a great role model for other movements elsewhere.

26.4.9 Other Contributors to Environmental Movements

World Watch Institute, World Resources Institute, Friends of the Earth and a score of others in Europe and America have been either conducting information campaigns to help initiate changes or environmental movements. Most of the people who were felicitated with Right Livelihood Awards, popularly known as Alternate Nobel Prizes, were activists in defense of human environment – Rosalie Bettrell, Vandana Shiva, Harrison Ngao et al.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use space provided below each question to write your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the answers given at the end of the unit.

- 1) How and why have the environment movements emerge?

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- 2) What is the importance of Greens of Germany?

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26.6 MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

26.6.1 Chipko Movement

Spearheaded by the Dasholi Gram Swarajya Mandal, a Gandhian organisation, the Chipko Movement began as a protest movement in 1973 against the policy of the government of Uttar Pradesh to auction forests. Chipko activists stand for people's rights in forests and have since gone on to organise women's groups for afforestation. Chipko essentially meaning – HUG the TREES – to prevent felling, remains the most favoured environmental movement in India. It was launched by Sunderlal Bahuguna and Chandi Prasad Bhat.

As a sequel to the above movement, several wild life sanctuaries have been carved out and poaching in these areas has been made a cognizable offense. Indeed, laws which prohibited killing endangered species of animals and birds were passed through mid-sixties. The Gir lion, the Bengal tiger, the great Indian Bustard and a few other species benefited a great deal through such laws. For some species, they came too late: for example, the Indian Cheetah and the musk deer. But the questions raised by environmentalists are far more basic and it is in question so raised that the quintessence environmental movement lies.

Over several years this experience had inspired another movement called “Appiko” in Karnataka again to hug trees to prevent felling around the Western Ghats.

26.6.2 Save the Silent Valley Campaign

This is the first major campaign against a dam in India, which started in the early 1980s. It successfully saved a genetically rich and one of the last remaining rainforests in Kerala from being submerged. The campaign was spearheaded by the Kerala Sasthra Sahitya Parishad, and supported by all specialists in India.

26.6.3 Save the Taj Campaign

Environmentalists feared that pollution from the Mathura refinery, located 40 kms. away, could damage the Taj Mahal. The heat they generated forced the authorities to take precautionary measures and monitor the monument from any sign of deterioration from air pollution.

26.6.4 Save the Soil Campaign

Known as the Mitti Bachao Abhiyan, the movement was launched in 1977 against the waterlogging and salinity caused by the Tawa dam in Madhya Pradesh. The campaign mobilised local farmers to demand compensation for the lands affected.

26.6.5 Thai Vaishet Campaign

The setting of the world's biggest urea plant just 21 km. from Bombay at Thai Vaishet evoked enormous opposition from city groups, notably the Bombay Environmental Action Group, which feared that the plant will increase Bombay's pollution and over congestion. Their concerted efforts delayed the project over two years but failed to change the site.

26.6.6 Bedthi Campaign

This hydroelectric project located in Karnataka was the second in India – after Silent Valley – to be abandoned after environmental protests. The project would have submerged tracts of forests and prosperous areca nut, cardamom and pepper gardens. Local farmers and eminent scientists from Bangalore campaigned against the project.

26.6.7 Stop Bhopalpatnam – Inchampal Dams

These two dams on the Indravati river in Maharashtra were stopped due to local protests from tribals led by the Jungle Bachao Manav Bachao Andolan – a coalition of activists, politicians and social workers.

26.6.8 Doon Mining

Limestone mining in the Doon valley and Mussorie hills has left permanent scars on the famous hill, destroying forests and permanent water sources. The Rural Litigation and Entitlement Kendra in Dehra Dun filed a public interest case in the Supreme Court and the Court in a historic judgement ordered the closure of the mines on grounds of environmental destruction.

26.6.9 Karnataka's Degraded Forests

The Karnataka government's decision to grant nearly 80,000 acres of degraded forest land and revenue land to a joint sector company, for afforestation was opposed by environmentalists. Samaj Parivartana Samudaya, a local voluntary agency has filed a petition in the Supreme Court contending that people's access to government forest land is crucial to their survival and so the governments decision to undertake afforestation through commercial interests, affects their fundamental right to life.

26.6.10 Kaiga Campaign

Opposition to the nuclear power plant at Kaiga in Karnataka started in 1984. In spite of the government's decision to go ahead with the project, local groups comprising farmers, betel nut growers, fisherfolk, journalists and writers wanted the project to fold up. The project continued with considerable improvements to allay the fears of local people.

26.6.11 Gandhamardhan Bauxite Mining

The proposal to mine bauxite in the Gandhamardhan reserve forest in Orissa even though formally cleared by the government, has been stalled because of the intense agitation of the local tribals who do not want to see their forests destroyed.

26.6.12 Narmada Bachao Andolan

This campaign against the massive river valley projects on the Narmada river, one in Madhya Pradesh and another in Gujarat, evinced enormous public interest. In a now famous meeting in Harsud in Madhya Pradesh, several thousands of campaigners across the country, gathered to express their solidarity to the cause.

Sardar Sarovar and Narmada Sagar Projects are designed to take water to Kutch to Gujarat. Four states are involved in the execution of this Project – Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Rajasthan, Gujarat being the major beneficiary. The mandatory report on the environmental status dealt with eight relevant issues: catchment area, treatment, compensatory afforestation, command area development, rehabilitation, flora/fauna, archaeology, seismicity and health aspects.

This report pointed out that while the environmental and rehabilitation aspects should be implemented simultaneously with the main construction work, the construction work progressed faster by four years while all others are far behind schedule. The worst was resettlement of the oustees. It is against this background that Ms. Medha Patkar has launched a historic agitation. Meanwhile the dam height was sought to be raised. Every trick conceived was faced squarely until World Bank revised its stand and the government of Madhya Pradesh softened its stand. The Andolan continues.

26.6.13 Save the Western Ghats March

This padyatra, jointly organised by a number of environmental groups in 1988, covered over 1,300 km. across the States of Maharashtra, Goa, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Kerala. The March focused attention on the environmental problems of the Western Ghats.

26.5.14 Tehri Dam Campaign

The construction of Tehri dam in seismic Himalayas has been challenged by many environmental groups. Protests by the Tehri Bandh Virodhi Sangharsh Samiti, a local organisation, have continued for over 20 years.

Setting of industries and power plants has increasingly become a cause of protest because of fears of possible pollution and destruction of the surrounding environment.

In recent years, there have also been protests against nuclear power plants at Narora, Kakrapur, Kaiga, Koodankulam and Nagarjunasagar and against their possible setting in Kerala.

26.5.15 Rayon Factory Pollution

The case of “Mayur” in Kerala illustrates what law can do. The Birlas built a Rayon factory there taking advantage of abundant availability of bamboo in that area. Soon the local population began to enjoy a better level of prosperity than before. The factory let out the effluents into the nearby river. The water consequently became non potable. An agitation forced it to close up. The township went back to its earlier poverty. A new agitation to get the factory reopened succeeded ensuring steps to prevent air and water pollution.

26.6.16 Chilka Bachao Andolan

Chilka, Asia's largest brackish water lake lies on Bay of Bengal in Orissa State and is 60 km. long and 30 km. broad at farthest points with an area of 1,200 sq. km. during monsoon. Winter brings millions of migratory birds from the far corners of the world. Therefore, open part of the lake, along with Nalaban Island, has been turned into a sanctuary. The lake's mouth into sea is rich in dolphins. With all this, Chilka has been a major attraction for tourists and nature lovers for a long time. But over the last few decades things turned murky converting it into an area of conflicts and violence.

It all started by the Tata Project with Orissa Government – a large shrimp culture complex in lake with a Rs.30 crore turnover. In response a former Orissa Revenue Minister Banka Behari Das launched the Chilka Bachao Andolan. The Andolan contended that the project (a) would block local fisherman's access to the lake (b) take away a vast grazing ground of the local cattle (c) pollute the lake with organic nutrients and fermented feed at regular intervals – killing the marine life and drive the fish catch already falling due to salutation and declining salinity, and (d) drive away the migratory birds because of the large number of diesel pumps of high horse power to be used for maintaining the flow of water.

India is a signatory to the Ramsar International Treaty on wetland preservation where Chilka was identified as one of the world's most important water bodies on account of its unique ecosystem. Therefore, in October 1992 central government decided not to grant environmental clearance to the Tata Project. And in November 1993, came a judgement from Division Bench of the Orissa High Court in defense of Chilka Lake Ecosystem.

Meanwhile, economic pressures made many non-fishermen turn to the lake for survival. The Chilka Bachao Andolan, took up the cause of the fishermen with renewed vigour involving local villagers on a large scale. This movement was supported by environmental specialists by and large.

Yet commerce and profit proved stronger than ecology and welfare. The outsiders have used local non-fishermen to encroach upon the lake and the barriers used by prawn farms near the lake connection with sea reduced the local catches leading to popular agitations and police firing. The current demand is to ban the prawn farming in toto in Chilka and the andolan continues.

26.6.17 Centre for Science and Environment

This Centre has been doing immense service to the cause of environment for the last two decades under the leadership of Anil Agarwal. Though they have not directly organised any environmental resistance movements, they have championed their causes, provided information supports background materials, advised for policy changes, lobbying the paradigm shifts and attitudinal changes from Presidents and Prime Ministers to commoners with exemplary positive efforts. Without CSE and its periodical Down to Earth reports many movements in India would not have been known to the concerned citizenry.

26.6.18 Chattisgarh Movement of Sankar Guha Neogi

Sankar Guha Neogi organised tribals of Chattisgarh against exploitation of every kind the most prominent being against the profiteering from forest produce. While he mixed environment with trade unionism and representative politics, his thrust has always been ecological security for the local people and tribals. No wonder he has been killed, unable to bear his successes, by the oppressive elements.

26.6.19 Water-shed Movements in Maharashtra, Palamau and Sukhmojori

These are comparatively smaller movements not aimed against any oppression. These are concerned about sharing the most sacred of resources, water, among all the needy. The Paani Panchayats in some parts of Maharashtra were successful. The experiment at Sukhmojori on the regeneration of a whole village based on water use has been repeated at Palamau and is considered a Role Model, shortcomings notwithstanding.

26.6.20 Auroville Movement

Auroville is a small settlement of concerned individuals of many nationalities bound by the philosophy of Aurobindo and ecological conservation and security. This has been functioning for the last 30 years. Just by example they have been able to resurrect both concerns as well as efforts for better environment. Restoration of degenerated soil, harvesting solar and wind energies, recycling wastes for better agroproductivity, alternatives to chemical pesticides, social forestry, organic farming, tank regeneration, watershed management, ecologically sound housing are some among their activities. In fact this Auroville movement can be mother of a myriad peoples' movements in the rest of India.

26.6.21 Bishnoi Tradition

The Chipko movement derived inspiration from the tradition of Bishnois in Rajasthan to protect the trees and the wild life associated with them for which their women folk laid their lives long ago. Even recently the media reported how some film stars of Bombay were hauled up for violating this sanctity under Bishnois' initiative. This tradition is by far the most sustained environmental movement in India.

26.7 THE INDIAN SCENARIO : A PERSPECTIVE

Resources of water, soil, land, plants, animals, air, energy, forests are all inadequate to meet basic needs. Common properties are owned up. The projects of development do not spread equitably. Yet their by-products and improper exploitation of resources degrade the common heritage, the ecosystems. As a natural corollary more and more people are deprived of subsistences, who go down the poverty-line. They will soon constitute half of India.

Huge projects, irrigational and industrial provide only a very short – lived relief. In the long run, each project disturbs the ecology of the area so much that clear water, clean air, healthy food and bio-resources cannot be taken for granted. A natural corollary to all inequalities will be conflicts, violence and even Bosniation – because injustice will not be accepted by all people and for all times. The expansionism of development syndrome will ruin our resources, ecology and environment still further. Human progress is taking place at an unsustainably high cost.

Government is responsible for development and progress. It has all the resources for protection of environment: knowledge inputs – decision making – finances – bureaucracy and party functionaries and workers – external inputs and expertise. Yet voluntarism is preferred, advocated, encouraged and depended upon. HAS THE POLITY DEGENERATED?

How long can a voluntary Action sustain itself? A federation of NGOs is essential for enhancing the power of lobbying for and achieving the cherished objectives. If the political forces, parties and mechanisms do not become ecology conscious environmental activists themselves have to turn into political forces. Otherwise ecological anarchy breeds social and political anarchies.

In the meantime judicial activism has come as a 'welcome innovation'. Public Interest Litigation and Green Benches ensure to prevent assaults on environment especially polluting industries and provide necessary life breath to environmental movements to sustain themselves.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use space provided below each question to write your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the answers given at the end of the unit.

1) Describe the nature and importance of Chipko Movement.

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2) What are the issues involved in Narmada Bachao Andolan?

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3) What are the issues involved in environmental degradation?

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26.8 LET US SUM UP

Earth and its components are heritage resources of mankind. Due to owning up of these by some sections of human society severe negative consequences fell on others. When governments are unable to prevent these avoidable problems before they become irreversible backlashes, some rear guard action is initiated by intellectuals, concerned citizens and locally affected people. This substitution for the responsibilities of a welfare government, by Gandhians, Marxists, Scientists, Conservationists and Victims, in fact, constitutes a new dimension to political theory.

These movements may be political and social resistances, educational and awareness campaigns, public opinion builders, but are policy changers all for better environment to more people for longer time.

Million mutinies have occurred in this world by a variety of people against environmental unconsciousness and damage, but have remained unrecorded and unheralded.

26.9 KEY WORDS

Guerilla Warfare	:	Fights conducted by small secret groups not members of regular army in towns.
Liberation	:	Concern and action for social justice by those who are
Theologians	:	basically religious scholars. In other words religions
	:	Concern for social justice.
Feminists	:	Those who are concerned in the women's rights and
	:	involved in movements for the same.
Anarchists	:	Persons who believe that government and laws are
	:	undesirable and therefore should be abolished.

26.10 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Down to Earth, Ecologist, Publications of CSE, Earth Scan, and World Watch Institute

TV Channels of Discovery and National Geographic

26.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Ecology – A continuous symbiosis – mutual dependence of all the constituents of the planet.

Environment- Consideration by human beings outside ecology and making use of that only for their use.

Ecosystems- Distribution of environment resources in different systems like forests, deserts, wetlands etc.

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) See Section 26.4
- 2) See Sub-section 26.5.7

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) See Sub-section 26.6.1
- 2) See Sub-section 26.6.12
- 3) See Section 26.7



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UNIT 27 HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENTS

Structure

- 27.0 Objectives
- 27.1 Introduction
- 27.2 Meaning of Human Rights
 - 27.2.1 Difference between Democratic Rights and Human Rights
- 27.3 Historical Background of Human Rights Movement
 - 27.3.1 Demand for Human Rights after World War II
- 27.4 UN Declaration of Human Rights
- 27.5 Human Rights Movement
- 27.6 United Nations and Human Rights
- 27.7 Regional Conventions and Covenants
 - 27.7.1 European Convention
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 - 27.7.4 South East Asia
 - 27.7.5 Middle East
- 27.8 NGOs and Human Rights Movement
- 27.9 Human Rights Movement in India
- 27.10 Human Rights Movement: An Assessment
- 27.11 Let Us Sum Up
- 27.12 Key Words
- 27.13 Some Useful Books
- 27.14 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

27.0 OBJECTIVES

In the context of social movements, this unit deals with the meaning, nature, characteristics and justification of human rights movement in the twentieth century with special reference to UN Declaration of Human Rights. After studying this unit, you should be able to:

- understand the concept of human rights;
- differentiate between the democratic rights and the human rights;
- ideas behind the UN Declaration of Human Rights and various other Covenants on human rights;
- why there is a need for human rights over and above the rights enshrined in the constitutions of the states;
- development of human rights as a worldwide movement; and
- various regional, national, local and non-governmental organisations involved in the protection and promotion of human rights.

27.1 INTRODUCTION

To emphasise the importance of rights, adjectives like 'natural', 'fundamental', 'human' have been used in the long history of their development. Twentieth century has been described as the century of human rights because the concept of 'Human Rights' became increasingly important in liberal democratic and socialist

countries as also in the underdeveloped world. After two world wars, there started various types of movements for human rights, particularly after Nazi and Fascist repressions and curbs on freedoms. Today virtually all states subscribe officially to some doctrine of human rights; in every case, there is a general political theory justifying the kind of society and the political institutions. The UN Declaration of Human Rights and the subsequent covenants on human rights (1966) recognised that individuals have rights and obligations over and above those set down in their own judicial and administrative system. The Declaration accepted the fact that there are clear occasions when an individual has a moral obligation beyond that of his obligations as a citizen of a state, i.e., opening up a gap between the rights and duties bestowed by citizenship and the creation in international law of a new form of liberties and obligations. To understand these we discuss below the meaning and nature of human rights and various movements for promotion and protection of these.

27.2 MEANING OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The term 'human rights' refer to the concept that every member of the human race has a set of basic claims simply by virtue of his humanness. They are rights claimed in respect of all human beings as human beings. They are said to be universal rather than national and are different from legal rights. They are claims that belong to everyone regardless of any provisions that may or may not exist for him in a particular state. They are based upon the simple fact that a human being should not be forbidden from certain things by any government. They are inherent in human beings rather than in societies and states. They are called human rights because they are no longer derived from the operations of natural reason but from what is called 'human'. It is derived, for example, from the fact that a person, who is malnourished, tortured, wrongly imprisoned, illiterate or lacks in regular paid holidays, is not living in a manner appropriate to a human being. According to Macfarlane, human rights are those 'moral rights which are owned to each man and woman solely by reason of being a human being'. Similarly human rights are possessed by the human being irrespective of the fact that they belong to any state, society, race or religious faith.

27.2.1 Difference between Democratic Rights and Human Rights

Broadly speaking, rights are those conditions of social life without which a man cannot attain his best. They are the sum total of those opportunities which ensure the enrichment of human personality. With the rise of liberal democratic states in Europe, rights became an integral part of enlightened citizenship. The provision, enforcement and protection of rights of the individual became the criteria for judging the validity of the state. However, with the rise of legal constitutional states, more emphasis began to be laid on the legal aspect of rights i.e. the rights are the creation of the state and they are granted to the individual as a citizen of the state. Only that which the law gives is right. According to legal view Rights are not natural or inherent in man but are artificial in the sense that they become rights only when they are determined and secured by the state. It is the state which defines and lays down the rights; it is the state which provides the legal framework which guarantees those rights and more importantly since it is the state which creates and sustains the rights, whenever the contents of the law changes, the substance of the rights also change. Hence rights are not universal but are relative to the nature and form of the state, which gives those rights. For example, the rights granted to the citizens of USA may not be the same as those of India or Russia. The human rights on the other hand emphasise upon the universal character of rights – rights simply possessed by human beings as human beings irrespective of the fact that they belong to any state, society, race

or religious faith. They are based on the pledge given by the member states of the United Nations to promote 'universal respect for the observation of the human rights and fundamental freedoms'. The Preamble of the UN Declaration says the purpose of human rights is to set 'a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations to the end that every individual and every organ of society keeping this declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teachings and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of member states themselves and among the peoples of the territories under the jurisdiction.'

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

1) What is the meaning of human rights?

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2) Distinguish between 'Democratic Rights' and 'Human Rights'

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27.3 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT

The term human rights came into being in the twentieth century. In early centuries, these rights were commonly spoken of as 'natural rights' or the 'rights of man'. The theory of natural rights had emerged in the seventeenth century in the writings of Grotius, Hobbes, Locke etc. which attributed natural rights to 'natural law', which provided that 'no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty or possessions'. That law, could therefore, be said to give each person a natural right to life, liberty and property, though it also imposed upon each a natural duty to respect the lives, liberties and properties of others. The theory got its classical expression in the writings of John Locke in his book *The Two Treaties on Government*. Locke termed the rights to 'life, liberty and estate' as natural rights. He further stated that the whole idea of establishing a state was to better protect these rights and if a government violates these rights, the people can revolt against it. Similarly, the American Declaration of Independence in 1776 enunciated as 'self evident truths that all men are created equal and they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights that among them are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness'. It then went out to assert that governments are instituted to secure these rights, that they derive their just power from the consent of the governed and that the people could abolish a government which sought to destroy these rights. Again, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen 1789 made similar claims in relation to the 'natural imprescriptible and inalienable rights that it enumerated. In short, all these declarations emphasised upon the rights of man as man and not as a citizen of a

The early international treaties concerning human rights are linked to the abolition of slavery in the nineteenth century such as Treaty of Washington 1862, Conference in Brussels in 1867 and Berlin in 1885, laws of war such as Declaration of Paris 1856, Geneva Convention 1864, Hague Convention 1899, the creation of International Committee of Red Cross in 1864.

27.3.1 Demand for Human Rights After World War II

Prior to World War II, there existed no international human rights law binding on nation states. Two social movements were, however, important antecedents to current human rights regime. The first was the movement to abolish slavery and the slave trade, which began in Britain in the 18th century and gave birth to the Anti-Slavery Society an NGO that still exists to fight modern forms of slavery, and whose lobbying culminated in the first anti-slavery treaties. The second was the Red Cross movement, which originated during the Crimean War in the revulsion of a Swiss businessman, Henri Dunant, to the immeasurable suffering of wounded soldiers.

In the period between the World War I and II there were other significant beginnings. Efforts were made to offer protection to individuals by means of the 'minorities treaties' whereby States concerned agreed not only to provide certain rights and minimal levels of treatment to minorities within their territories, but also to accept a degree of international supervision by the league of nations over their compliance with these obligations. Economic and social rights began to receive international recognition with the founding of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in 1919 and assistance to refugees was first organised under international auspices in 1921 with the appointment of a League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

It was, however, in response to the horrors of the Nazi Holocaust that NGOs began pressurising States to lay the conceptual and legal foundations for international human rights law. It was NGOs that were largely responsible for inserting human rights into the Preamble and six different Articles of UN Charter. It was NGOs that convinced the governments that human rights should become one of the central pillars of the United Nations System.

The human rights regime introduced by the newly formed United Nation Organisation immediately after the Second World War thus marked a sharp change. It was the direct consequence of revulsion against the genocidal policies followed by the Hitler regime. This revulsion led to the victorious nations to put a number of German leaders on trial for an offence that had no place in any statute book but was created by the decision of the international court. The offence was called 'crime against humanity'.

The Nuremberg Trials tribunal lay down for the first time in history that 'when international rules that protect basic humanitarian values are in conflict with state laws, every individual must transgress the state law. The legal framework of Nuremberg Trials challenged the principle of military discipline and subverted the national sovereignty. However, the contemporary international law endorsed the position taken by the Tribunal and affirmed its rejection of the defence of obedience to superior order in matters of responsibility for crimes against peace and humanity. As a standard for the future, a special committee of the UN drafted a Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. The UN Declaration was followed by the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1950), the UN Convention of Rights (1966) and various human rights conventions and declarations by the European, Latin American, Africa and South Asian countries. Gradually, the concept of human rights spread

throughout the world and today in almost all the countries, a number of organisations both governmental and non-governmental have come into existence for the preservation, promotion and protection of human rights.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

1) Mention some of the treaties concerning human rights in the nineteenth century.

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27.4 UN DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

As explained above, the context for the human rights was provided by the crimes committed by the Nazi regime of Germany during the Second World War. While a number of German leaders were tried for 'crimes against humanity', to set a standard for future, a special committee was appointed by the United Nations Organisation in 1948 to draft a Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Declaration proclaimed 'a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations'. It declared that all human beings 'are born free with equal dignity and rights' and are, therefore, entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in the Declaration 'without distinction of any kind such as race, colour, sex language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status'.

The UN Declaration enumerated two sets of rights:

- i) Civil and Political Rights, and
- ii) Socio-economic rights.

The civil and political rights include right to life, liberty and security of persons, freedom from slavery and servitude, equal protection of law, right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty, freedom of movement, freedom of thought, conscience and religion, freedom of opinion and expression, the right of association and assembly etc. right to participate in periodic free elections based on universal adult franchise. The socio-economic cultural rights include the right to social security, to work, to rest and leisure, to adequate standard of living, to education and to participate in the cultural life of the community. It also recognized that everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which these rights and freedoms may be fully realised.

The UN Declaration reaffirmed its faith in the human race and talked of human rights as universal – the rights which could be ascribed to human beings irrespective of the law of a particular state. It covered significant aspects of human freedoms and conditions of life, and imposed duties on government to promote these claims. The package of human rights set out major rights and duties of man and society in relation to other individuals, the institutions within which all live and the organs of government.

The Declaration, however, was only a statement of principles and not law. It was only in 1966 that the UN adopted two covenants relating to human rights: the

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Both are binding on the signatory states and came into force in 1976 after they were ratified by the required number of states. Together the Declaration and the Covenants have emerged as the standard setting instruments of human rights.

In this context, it is worth noting that a sharp distinction is made by some states between the economic, social and cultural rights on the one hand, and the civil-political rights on the other. It was USA, which urged a split of the universal human rights into two covenants. It declared that the economic, social and cultural rights were less genuine rights with less binding duties. The civil and political rights on the other hand must be enforced immediately on all the states, which are signatories to the covenants. The UN on the other hand time and again advocated that all rights are human rights. Various UN conferences and international human rights conferences have held the same view that human rights and fundamental freedoms are indivisible and that the full realisation of civil and political rights without the enjoyment of social, economic and cultural rights is impossible.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

1) What is the UN Declaration of Human Rights 1948?

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27.5 HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Soon after the adoption of UN Declaration, the issue of human rights began to be pursued vigorously throughout the world and gradually attained the status of a movement. While the western democratic countries saw in the human rights a vindication of the liberal capitalist ideology and a weapon to fight the cold war, the ex-colonial countries of Asia and Africa saw in them an opportunity to get rid of their old feudalistic systems and a necessary tool for their development. For example, the concept of human rights proved a potent weapon to fight apartheid in Africa. Numerous organisations at the level of UN, continental, regional, national and local levels came into existence in various parts of the globe to promote and protect the human rights. While the UN created a number of organisations and passed a number of laws to protect the human rights, the national governments in various countries set up human rights commissions. Simultaneously, a host of non-government organisations (NGOs) also came into existence to keep a watch on the national governments against the violation of human rights.

Here we have to keep in mind that when we talk of human rights as a movement, we mean a collective effort by numerous organisations and individuals to promote and protect the human rights. Such a movement may consist of the legislators and executive policy makers, journalists and opinion leaders, foundations, academics and others. They consist of non-governmental organisations (international, national, regional or local) and a multitude of other

private associations such as trade unions, churches, professional associations and peoples – Organisations that have shown active concern for and involvement in the human rights struggle. These organisations have been exposing and denouncing human rights violations, lobbying governments and extending legal and humanitarian aid to the victims, helping to draft protective legislation, devising legal remedies, educating governments and civil societies about human rights standards and building links of solidarity across the globe. Such organisations are typically led by human rights activists or human rights defenders, that is individuals who make a major commitment to and openly take up, the defence and protection of the human rights of others. These human rights NGOs and human rights defenders have been the spearhead of the human rights movement that began to coalesce into a significant force in the late 1970s. Before discussing the role of NGOs in the promotion and protection of human rights, let us have a look at the role played by United Nations in this respect.

Check Your Progress 4

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

1) Human Rights issue is a movement. Justify this statement.

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27.6 UNITED NATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The United Nations has played a crucial role in propagating and protecting the human rights in various parts of the world. Soon after the Universal Declaration in 1948, the United Nations along with the International Labour Organisation passed a number of conventions, which elaborated and extended norms in the international human rights movement. Some of the important conventions are : Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crimes of Genocide (1948), the Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Conditions of the Wounded and the Sick in Armed forces (1949), the Geneva Convention relating to the Treatment of Prisoners (1949), the Geneva Convention for the Status of Refugees (1951), Convention on the Political Rights of Women (1954), Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Racial Discrimination (1966), Convention on the suppression and Punishment of the Crimes of Apartheid (1975), Convention on the Abolition of Slavery and Slave Trade (1976), Convention Against Tortures and Other Convention on the Rights of Child (1989). The basic purpose of all these conventions was to persuade the national governments to consider and treat people as human beings irrespective of race, colour, statelessness etc. and to raise the human dignity to a new status.

The Human Rights Commission of UN is a potent organ for focussing attention on incidents relating to the violation of human rights by the member states. There is what is known as 'point 13 of the Agenda' of the Commission, which is devoted exclusively to the violation of human rights anywhere in the world. The item gives the opportunity to the members of the UN Human Rights Commission to express themselves on serious and urgent situations in specific countries. The

Commission from time to time has discussed various topics such as human rights in Arab territories, in Chile, South Africa and denial of self-determination in El Salvador, Iran, and Poland. In 1980s, it began to undertake research into various issues such as disappearance, slavery and treatment of indigenous people. Though not empowered to take a coercive concrete action in this matter, the Commission has the ability to point to an incident, draw attention to it and give publicity to at least embarrass the wrong doer.

Although there have been sharp differences between liberal and socialist countries about the nature of human rights during the Cold War era, the profile of human rights has changed in the post Cold War era and the UN has emerged as a significant institution to evolve human rights standards. The 1993 world Congress on Human Rights in Vienna noted 'the promotion and protection of all human rights is a legitimate concern of all international community'. It also established a Human Rights High Commissioner. Of late, the UN has taken steps to protect the rights of people through the use of humanitarian intervention in Iraq, Somalia and Bosnia. It also established tribunals charged with the indictment and persecution of individuals accused of crimes against humanity and genocide in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda.

Check Your Progress 5

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

1) What is the role of the UN in propagating and protecting the human rights?

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27.7 REGIONAL CONVENTIONS AND COVENANTS

The second major effort in the direction of promoting and protecting the human rights was taken by the regional organisations of Europe, Africa, Latin America and South East Asia. These organisations provided separate conventions and machinery for the enforcement of human rights and fulfilled the gap left by the UN.

27.7.1 European Convention

A more marked reaction in favour of human rights was seen in Europe because of its memories of the atrocities of the Nazis and Fascist rulers and also because the democratic Europe lived very near to the communist USSR whose outlook negated all the conclusions of philosophy which had led to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Congress of Europe at The Hague in May 1948 announced its desire for a 'Chapter on Human Rights guaranteeing liberty of thought, assembly and expression'. It was followed by a European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms signed in November 1950. The Convention guaranteed the right to life, liberty, security of persons, of a fair trial, to respect for one's private and family life, home and correspondence, to marry and found a family, to an effective remedy if one's rights are violated: the freedom from torture or inhuman treatment or punishment.

freedom from slavery and servitude, freedom of thought and expression, conscience and religion and freedom of assembly and association. Subsequently, right to property, to free election, right of parents to educate their children in conformity with their beliefs, freedom from imprisonment for debt, freedom from exile and prohibition of collective expulsion of aliens were also added. In marked contrast to the UN Declaration, the European Convention was 'to take the first step for the collective enforcement of certain rights of UN Declaration. The important feature of this convention were i) it obliged the parties to secure these rights and freedoms to its citizens, ii) emphasised the principle of universality of its application, iii) the benefits of this convention are not limited to contracting parties, and iv) it does not contain any territorial limitations and thus the measure of protections is wider. Nearly all the European countries have now accepted the clause of the Convention which permits citizens to petition directly to the European Commission on Human Rights. The great merit of this convention is the protection of rights through three organs: The European Commission on Human Rights, the European Court of Human Rights and the Committee of Ministers. The Convention permitted the individuals to complain to the commission even against his own government. While the system is far from straightforward and is problematic in many respects, it has been claimed that besides legal changes introduced by the European Community, it no longer leaves the state free to treat its citizens as it thinks fit.

27.7.2 Latin America

Similarly, across the Atlantic, the Latin American states established an American Organisation of States in 1959. The various articles of the charter of OAS held the states responsible for protecting human rights. An American Convention on Human Rights was signed by Chile, Columbia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama Paraguay. Uruguay and Venezuela in 1969, which came into force in 1978. Article 1 of this Convention gave civil and political rights and identified the role of states in their implementation. A notable feature of this convention was that single instrument covered civil-political and socio-economic and cultural rights. It has both a commission and a court.

The Commission receives and reviews communication from individuals and groups within the member states, studies conditions, holds sessions and public hearings in particular states and made findings and recommendations to the state or states involved. The Commission made remarkable efforts to save the innocent lives in the social strives in Dominican Republic in 1965, to safeguard the rights of prisoners, to investigate the charges of violation of human rights in Brazil, Chile, Haiti and Cuba. It also performed useful humanitarian functions during the hostilities between El Salvador and Honduras.

27.7.3 Africa

In 1960s when the winds of change were blowing across Africa, the leaders of African states formed, the Organisation of African Unity (without South Africa) and proclaimed the right of the people of self-determination. It prepared a draft of an African Charter of Human Rights and Peoples' Rights in 1981 and worked hard to establish bodies to provide, promote and protect human rights. It also has a commission to promote human rights. It covers peoples rights known as group rights or collective rights. It too has a commission to promote human rights. The Commission examines the periodic reports from state parties on their complaint within the provisions of the charter and establishes dialogue with the state representatives aimed at encouraging states to implement their human rights

obligations. The Organisation of African Unity has been successful in bringing apartheid to an end.

27.7.4 South East Asia

The experience of European, Latin American and African countries proved an encouraging example for the countries of South East Asia also. But much progress could not be made because of certain factors such as lack of political rights and civil liberties, lack of democratisation and multi-party system, self serving constitutional process, excessive national security laws, preventive detention and constraints upon due process of law, extensive limits on freedom of thought, expression and assembly, a compromised and defective judicial criminal system, uneven development, inadequate social safety nets etc. Still some regional initiatives have been taken in the direction of human rights such as the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the United Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific (ESCAP), and South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). The landmark achievement of the ASEAN is a treaty signed between EEC in 1980 in which ASEAN expressed its willingness to work for the betterment of human rights at regional level. Nearer home, SAARC was formed with a strong signal for human rights awareness. It has been fighting against terrorism and human rights violation and hopes to adequately respond to these challenges. Also national human rights institutions in the form of human rights commissions and committees have begun to be established such as in Philippines, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, India, etc.

27.7.5 Middle East

In the Middle East consisting primarily of Muslim countries, no separate convention has been entered into. Although as members of UN all subscribe to the UN Declaration of Human Rights on paper, but events everywhere do not encourage optimism. What is important to note in this context is that some ethos of the people as well as their cultural heritage forcefully denies the concept of liberty and equality as understood in the West. For them Shariat is the last word. Their constitutions clearly show that their polity rests firmly on the words of the holy book. The Constitutions of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Jordan, Qatar, Syria, Iraq all emphasise on Islam being the religion of the state. The Islamic Shariat or jurisprudence as the source of a primary source of legislation is meant to prevent the enactment of laws contrary to the spirit of the Shair and to thwart any movement for an independent social and political development emancipated from the hold of religion. However, there is also liberal interpretation, which suggests that human rights are built in the very spirit of Islam. There also are some significant human rights movements in these countries.

Check Your Progress 6

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

- 1) What is the role of European Convention in the development of human rights?

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27.8 NGOs AND HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT

As has already been mentioned that after World War II, it was the NGOs that expressed their concern for Human Rights. In the 1950s and 1960s they were few in number but from 1970s onwards, a number of NGOs have come into existence throughout the world to keep a watch on the national governments with regard to any possible violation of human rights on the one hand and to promote and protect the human rights awareness on the other. An NGO is a private association whose *raison d'être* derives from the promotion and protection of one or more international human rights. To a large extent, a NGO not being a government organisation, is not controlled by the government but is an independent organisation. These human rights NGOs and defenders have been at the forefront of the human rights movement. Some NGOs of international fame are International Commission of Jurists, Geneva, the International Federation of Human Rights (Paris), the International League of Human Rights (NY), the Minority Rights Group (London). All these organisations have a special consultative status with UNO. Apart from them there are many social sector organisations including trade unions, churches and professional organisations. Some organisations are country specific and some are issue specific and do not share the same vision of human rights regime. What gives these organisations the character of a movement is that they all appeal to the same set of international standard – the international declaration of human rights – in trying to hold the national governments accountable for their behaviour.

Two important NGOs of international recognition are the Amnesty International and the Human Rights Watch Group. The Amnesty International was established in 1961. Its main thrust is to secure immediate and fair trials of political prisoners. It seeks an end to torture, execution, disappearance, arbitrary killings, hostage taking and other inhuman cruel or degrading treatments and punishments. Meeting prisoners and mediating with the government officials concerned in trying to find remedies to the problems of prisoners have been an ongoing programme. It has investigated more than 42,000 prisoners' cases and has successfully fought more than 38,000 cases. It was awarded Nobel Peace Prize in 1981 for its tireless activities in the protection of freedom of speech, religion and belief, for the rights of political prisoners and in the fight against torture and discrimination.

The Human Rights Watch was established in 1987 in New York and it has 8000 members. It evaluates the human rights practices of governments in accordance with standards recognised by international law and agreements and UN Declarations. It identifies governmental abuses of human rights by monitoring the works of NGOs. It also evaluates the performance of USA in promoting human rights worldwide and its domestic practices, particularly the treatment of visitors to the US and the refugees.

As a result of the pressure from the human rights organisations in the late 1970s, the national governments moved from the promotion of human rights and a concentration on the drafting of international instruments and standards to the protection of human rights and an emphasis on their implementation and enforcement. Gradually human rights commissions were formed by various national governments such as Human Rights Commission in Australia, India, etc. With a view to facilitate effective functioning of Human Rights regime and provide a special role to NGOs, UN charter creates a formal relationship between it and NGOs. The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) of the UN has established a Committee on NGOs to receive information. The NGOs are granted consultative status with ECOSOC and are allowed to participate in the sessions

of UN Human Rights Commission and its sub-commission. The World Conference on Human Rights at Vienna (1993) specially focussed on a vigorous role of the NGOs in human rights movement. NGOs have become particularly known for their ability to reach poor people, disseminate awareness, monitor violation of human rights at various levels and in different ways and promote participation in promotion and protection of human rights.

27.9 HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN INDIA

The Constitution of India, which came into existence in 1950, had a rich content of human rights in parts III and IV in the form of fundamental rights and directive principles of state policy. The framers of the Constitution not only referred to the other Constitutions of the world but also to the UN Declaration and charters on various political, economic and social matters. The Constitution pledged to secure for the citizens of India justice, liberty of thought and expression, belief, faith and worship, equality of status and of opportunity and promote among them all fraternity, assuring the dignity of the individual. In accordance with the Directive Principles of State policy, the state passed a number of acts relating to human rights such as abolition of untouchability, suppression of immoral traffic, prohibition etc. Again, to safeguard the interests of minorities and weaker sections of the society, the Constitution created many independent bodies such as Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Commission, Minorities Commission, Language Commission, National Commission for Women, etc.

In spite of these measures the issue of implementation, as also violation of human rights had remained a matter of serious concern. The issue of human rights became particularly prominent during the internal emergency proclaimed by Indira Gandhi government in 1975 when a number of political leaders and prominent citizens were put behind the bars without any trial. Many human rights activists came forward to fight the emergency. Jaiprakash Narain founded the Peoples Union for Civil Liberties. Its main goal was to oppose the suppression of civil and political liberties during emergency. It brought cases in the Supreme Court against encounter killings. It has been organising camps and workshops to motivate human rights activists, lawyers, politicians and general public. Another organisation the "Peoples Union for Democratic Rights" was formed in 1981 to fight the cases in the Supreme Court against encounters killings. Punjab Human Rights Organisation is associated with Amnesty International. The Association for Democratic Rights and some other organisations work in Punjab to preserve and protect the human rights. The Human Rights Organisation of Manipur, Civil Liberties Committee of Andhra Pradesh, Naga Peoples Movement for Human Rights of Nagaland are other organisations struggling for justice on behalf of minorities and the oppressed. Considerable progress has taken place for the protection of the rights of the individuals as a result of these movements. For example, the rights of the prisoners and under trials, which were not mentioned, anywhere were sought to be protected. Similarly the efforts to release and rehabilitate the bonded labour have been quite fruitful. However, most of the efforts to protect these rights have been through the judicial decisions and public interest litigations. Nevertheless the increased awareness of human rights has led to many important issues being raised. Attempts to gag the freedom of press and expressions, the specific attacks on women's rights, the question of dalits' struggle for dignity and self-respect have all been seen as constituting the wider field of human rights violations.

The Government of India, on its part, also did not lag behind and established a National Human Rights Commission in 1993. The commission incorporated all

the basic standards recommended by Amnesty International. The main objectives of the NHRC are:

- i) to strengthen the institutional arrangements through which human rights issues could be addressed in their entirety in a more focussed manner,
- ii) to look into allegations of excess independently of the government in a manner that would underline the government's commitment to protection of human rights;
- iii) to complement and strengthen the efforts that have already been made in this direction.

The Commission undertook the study of arbitrary detention under the TADA and dealt with a range of issues concerning the rights of the child, child labour, and the rights of women. Also it has given direction for the treatment of Chakama refugees in Arunachal Pradesh and Sri Lankan refugees in Tamil nadu. Apart from the National Commission, various state governments in India such as Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal have also established their own State Commissions to deal with the human rights issues and they have focussed attention on custodial deaths, rape, torture, prison reforms, etc.

27.10 HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT: AN ASSESSMENT

Although human rights movement has been quite popular after the second world war, a number of objections have been raised from time to time ranging from philosophical, legal to ideological. Altogether they have led to the question as to how far human rights are justified?

The opponents of human rights have dismissed them as no more than merely a set of prejudices. While the natural rights were justified on the basis of natural law, the concept of human rights has been detached from natural law thinking. Contemporary political philosophers justify a case for human rights as a commitment to fundamental values such as freedom, autonomy, equality and human well being. However, the issue of human rights is a complex one because of the diversity in the socio-economic, political and cultural differences among the states. In fact in spite of their popularity, hitherto the human rights are far from universally accepted. In some cases, they are rejected on the basis of a general critique of the rights approach to politics, whereas in others, the criticism is directed against the specific human rights. Some of the important points of criticism are as follows:

- 1) The first objection is on the philosophical basis of human rights and its utility. The assertion that human rights are inherent in all human beings is clearly a very sweeping statement irrespective of faith. The UN Declaration is based on a political commitment by the founding states of UN but raises questions about why the governments of those states at that moment of history should have the power to commit the successor states despite numerous changes of regime. It must presumably be based on reason or an appeal to common understanding about the human situation but those who raise the familiar philosophical dilemma about how values, particularly values said to be binding can be extracted from facts. All governments might agree that human beings seem to enjoy freedom of action in this field or that without agreeing that it is good for them to be given such freedom. In short, the philosophical argument for the Declaration is shaky.

As for the utility of the Declaration, it is pointed out that many states are dictatorial and the declaration has not deterred most of them from violating

several of the human rights. It might be said that appeals to the Declaration have been at best as empty gestures, at worst a weapon in the Cold War. Moreover, it has made violators of human rights to appear before Nuremberg tribunals type tribunal difficult because article 11 states 'no one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed'.

- 2) The second objection is the legal one. Followers of Benthamite tradition claim that human rights are asserted as though their existence is as much a matter of facts as the existence of legal rights. There is a fundamental difference between legal and human rights and if this distinction is recognised, then human rights is no more than a moral claim.
-) The social, economic and cultural rights such as right to education, work, social security, rest and leisure and an adequate standard of living, though not completely unprecedented have become prominent within the human rights. But they have raised doubts not only about social justice but also about their intelligibility as human rights. Maurice Cranston has objected that the economic and social rights are of little relevance because they are no more than utopian ideals for the poorer states and their inclusion may lead sceptics to regard the other rights also as utopian ideals. Similarly, Brian Barry has also questioned the inclusion of social rights because they involve relativities about which arguments are always possible. An analogy to 'an adequate standard of living' would be a 'moderate amount of free speech' but latter is not what is called for 'a declaration of rights'. A number of underdeveloped and developing countries do not have the resources to provide the goods. It is awkward to tell people that they have rights, which cannot be provided, while on the other side of the globe, there are people who are enjoying them for a long time. Hence they become different standard for different people. The other questionable feature of socio-economic rights is that for any specific person, the corresponding obligation to provide the goods falls upon the particular government: the right to have that good depends on citizens of a particular state rather than a member of the human race. Again whatever the intention of those who have drafted declaration of rights, it is not logically non-sensical to hold that human beings have a responsibility on a world scale for one another's economic well being.
- 4) A number of socialist and developing countries objected to the universal character of human rights in the fear of cultural imperialism of the West. The Declaration enumerates a list of rights whose relevance and motivation is questioned by under developed states. They claim that the western societies are imposing their value system on other cultures. For example, the western idea of freedom of speech may not be relevant to an illiterate unemployed or starving individual. Hence employment, food, shelter, education may be more important than political rights and civil liberties in a particular state (though some states have also used it as an excuse to curtail the civil liberties). Also the concept of human rights as developed in the west ignores the rights of the groups such as classes, nations and races. Liberal democracy has paid too little attention to the concerns of class exploitation, national self-determination and racial discrimination. However, cultural values are not necessarily too complex. If the UN Declaration says that torture, stagnation, humiliation and oppression of human beings is bad, it is appealing to the universal character of all cultures.

We live in a period of civilisation in which human rights have received recognition through universal instruments and in some countries through national

constitutions or commissions. But at the same we cannot forget the paradox of the contemporary times that everywhere such rights are being violated or ignored. Human beings without rights are on increase, blood and tears, trauma and torture claim victims everywhere. Human inhumanity takes many forms. Social divisiveness and political instability coupled with different institutional framework and inadequate resources make it impossible to comply with the requirements of UN Declaration. However, certain changes in the international scenario from 1990s onwards have raised hopes that the implementation of human rights is not an impossibility. Firstly, the world has experienced scientific revolution in communication and information. This has made possible instant transmission of information, pictures and data. This advent of mass media has increased public awareness about human rights violations and created new possibilities for people's power to be exercised on humanitarian issues. Secondly, in 1990s, the global economic system has come to be known by internationalisation of production and distribution and free movement of capital and global information infrastructure such as Internet. Such facilities are available in countries like China, Iran, and Saudi Arabia, which traditionally decried the concept of human rights. Thirdly, there has been a tremendous rise in NGOs at the world level. These organisations have established effective network and are accepted as authoritative sources of information. They are playing a significant role in order to expose the state governments, which pay lip service to human rights or use human rights only for political propaganda. As such the Human Rights movements is now playing an important role both in developed and developing countries, though in some cases there is difference of perception in them.

Check Your Progress 7

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

1) What is the role of NGOs in Human Rights Movement?

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2) What are the main objectives to establish NHRC in India?

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3) Describe the important points of criticism of Human Rights Movements.

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27.11 LET US SUM UP

In this Unit, you have studied the issue of human rights – both as a concept and as a movement. We have seen that in spite of the fact that rights are granted in

the Constitutions of various countries, the need for universal human rights over and above the state laws was acutely felt particularly after the Second World War due to certain crimes committed against humanity. The lead for this was given by the UN Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 which was followed by the European Convention, UN Conventions on Human Rights in 1966, the African Charter of Human Rights, the OAS Convention on Human Rights etc. The issue of human rights became a worldwide phenomenon in the post war period and it caught the attention of both the developed and developing countries. A number of regional, international, national NGOs and local human rights organisations came into existence almost in every state to promote and protect the basic human rights of the people. These organisations have done a splendid work in securing the rights of the ethnic minorities, refugees, children, victims of gender bias, bonded labour, mentally disabled, prisoners, under-trials etc. It is not that the efforts of these organisations have removed cruelty and inhuman behaviour from the face of the earth; many people still lack even the minimum necessities of life. But the upholding of human rights are important. They are to reverse the process of human sufferings and to restore the dignity of the individual.

27.12 KEY WORDS

- Human Rights** : Human rights are the rights, which every human being is entitled to enjoy and have it, protected. The underlying idea of such rights – fundamental principle that should be respected in the treatment of all men, women and children – exists in some form in all cultures and societies.
- Human Rights Movement:** By human rights movement, we mean 'a totality of norms, institutions and processes that seek to protect the individual from arbitrary and excessive state action'
- NGOs** : These organisations are private associations (not controlled by the governments) concerned with the promotion and protection of human rights.

27.13 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

J.L. Macfarlane, (1985) *The Theory and Practice of Human Rights*, Maurice Temple Smith, London.

Maurice Cranston, (1962), *Human Rights Today*, Ampersand London.

Abdulla Rahim (ed.) (1991), *Essays on International Human Rights*, Asian Vijaypur, New Delhi.

Chiranjivi J. Nirmal (2000) *Human Rights in India, Historical, Social and Political Perspectives*, Oxford.

David Solby (1987), *Human Rights*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Robert G. Patman (ed.) (2000), *Universal Human Rights*, Macmillan Press Ltd. London

Peter Schotrab, Adamantia Pollis, (1982), *Towards a Human Rights Framework*, Praeger, New York.

27.14 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) Human rights are rights that belong to every human being by virtue of his/her being a human being irrespective of the fact that he/she belongs to any state, race, caste, community, religion or society. (see section 27.2)
- 2) Democratic Rights are legal rights which are recognised and granted by the State through constitutions or statutes. Human Rights are claims of human beings irrespective of the fact that they are recognised by the State or not. These are universal in character (see Sub-section 27.2.1)

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) See Section 27.4

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) Universal Declaration of Human Rights is the Declaration adopted by the U.N. General Assembly on 10 December 1948. It proclaimed a common standard of achievement for all peoples and nations. It lays emphasis on equality of human beings and universality of Human Rights.

Check Your Progress 4

- 1) There has emerged a sense of collective effort by organisations, individuals, states and international community to make the idea of human rights a reality. This collective effort has made the concept of human rights a global movement. (For elaboration see section 27.5)

Check Your Progress 5

- 1) Apart from adopting the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and several other conventions U.N. has established U.N. Human Rights Commission to promote and protect Human Rights. It has also established various treaty bodies for that purpose.

Check Your Progress 6

- 1) See Sub-section 27.7.1

Check Your Progress 7

- 1) See Section 27.8
- 2) See Section 27.9

UNIT 28 GLOBALISATION : BACKGROUND AND FEATURES

Structure

- 28.0 Objectives
- 28.1 Introduction
- 28.2 Historical Background
- 28.3 Features of Globalisation
 - 28.3.1 Economic Globalisation
 - 28.3.2 Globalisation in Communication Field
 - 28.3.3 Globalisation and Tourism
 - 28.3.4 Globalisation due to International Organisations and Social Movement
 - 28.3.5 Globalisation in the Political Field
 - 28.3.6 Socio-Cultural Aspect of Globalisation
 - 28.3.7 Globalisation due to Global Problems
- 28.4 Dimensions of the Current Economic Globalisation
 - 28.4.1 Growth of Trade
 - 28.4.2 Growth in Investment
 - 28.4.3 Migration of Labour
- 28.5 The Limits of Globalisation
- 28.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 28.7 Some Useful Books
- 28.8 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

28.0 OBJECTIVES

This unit is intended to acquaint you with the nature and understanding of 'Globalisation and its importance'. After studying this unit, you should be able to:

- explain the meaning of globalisation;
- trace the evolution of globalisation;
- list the features of globalisation; and
- know the limits of globalisation;

28.1 INTRODUCTION

The term globalisation has gained wide currency in the last quarter of 20th century, more emphatically in 1980's and 1990's. It is a term which is, on the one hand highly considered as indispensable and on the other, criticised as the return of Western exploitation of the developing countries. It refers to a process by which the earth planet is considered to be one single unit or a global village where social and economic interaction among the people are guided and conditioned accordingly. The world is supposed to be a global society with global issues and problems which are to be tackled with global efforts and cooperation. This has led to a feeling and a consciousness that world is a single place. As a result of revolution in science and technology more and more people interact with each other. This has fundamentally changed the concept of sovereignty of the state. The State is increasingly finding it difficult to control the activities of its citizens. As Steve Smith and John Baylis say 'globalisation refers to processes whereby social relations acquire relatively distanceless and borderless qualities, so that human lives are increasingly played out in the world as a single place'. According to Martin Albrow, "Globalisation refers to all these processes by which the peoples of the world are incorporated into a single world society, global society." The other view which is highly critical of globalisation defines it as

‘What we in the Third World have for centuries called Colonisation.’ (Martin Iehor). The concept and process of globalisation especially its economic content has been controversial not only in developing world but also in developed nations. Yet there seems to be no escape from the phenomenon.

A distinction with ‘international’ may further clarify the term globalisation. The international system envisages relations between different states with clearly defined boundaries in which they are sovereign and this sovereignty is to be respected and maintained. But the globalisation is supposed to be supra territorial as the global field is a web of trans-border networks which cut across the national territories and States have little control over them.

28.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Globalisation is viewed as an on-going process. It is very difficult to determine the exact period or time when this process started. There are many people who would like to trace the process from the dawn of the civilization. Many of them are not over enthusiastic. They find origins of globalisation in the expansion of imperialism in Asia and Africa by the European Powers notably the Great Britain, the empire of which was so huge that the sun never used to set in the empire. There are still many people who argue that globalisation came about with the revolution in transport and communication technology and they find its period in the middle of either 19th century or 20th century. There can be great debate on this aspect but the fact remains that the process of globalisation was increasingly felt only in 1970's. Before this period the revolution in science and technology had brought the people closer which was creating the paraphernalia for a global outlook. Hence one may mention few important landmarks in the development of globalisation. As early as 1865, International Telegraph Union was formed which was a global regulatory agency. In 1930, George V's speech, while inaugurating the London Naval Conference, was broadcast in radio simultaneously over six continents. The two world wars were also global in nature as they were fought in different areas of the world and their impact was evident globally. The events following the Second World War especially the Cold War which sought to divide the entire world into two well defined military camps influenced the entire globe. The year 1966 was very important for globalisation as for the first time the photographs of planet earth were flashed by the newspapers, magazines and televisions through out the world. In 1969, Boeing 747 was constructed which made air travel cheaper facilitating easy and affordable air travelling. The year 1976 saw the launch of Satellite television, 1980's was almost a revolution from the globalisation point of view because of two important events - (i) worldwide direct dialing was introduced, and (ii) Ozone hole was found over Antarctica which created the global awareness over the environmental and ecological crisis of the earth. At the same time countable changes accompanied in the field of worldwide economics and finances where the use of sophisticated computers and new communication technologies were bringing the world closer and closer. The advent of satellites and other developments in information technology increased the people's awareness about each other. However, the people were still divided into two ideologically hostile world's between so-called democratic or capitalistic states and socialist states, rest calling themselves as non-aligned. The ideological strife between the democratic or capitalist bloc led by the USA and the Socialist bloc headed by the USSR had artificially divided world into two groups and it was impossible to think of one global society. But the events in early 1990's witnessed the breakdown of Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. Also, socialism was given a goodbye by the socialist states, As a result the confrontation between the two super powers heading the two groups came to an end with the victory of capitalistic/democratic order which became the dominant force. This paved the way for a global thinking. The Western Political Scientists took this as the triumph

of liberal and western values. This is also precisely the reason that the process of globalisation is invariably identified with capitalism or even westernisation (or as a source would like to say, Americanisation).

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

1) What are the two views regarding the globalisation?

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2) Define globalisation.

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3) Complete the following:

The distinction between international and globalisation is

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4) Trace the evolution of the globalisation.

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28.3 FEATURES OF GLOBALISATION

The process of globalisation entails a widely comprehensive phenomena.

28.3.1 Economic Globalisation

Globalisation is most evident and at the same time controversial in economic sphere. Let us call it as Economic Globalisation. Economically the world is increasingly becoming one unit and economic events in one country affect other places. Economic processes have also become progressively internationalised in a

number of key spheres: communications, production, trade, finance and in many matters of economic coordination. There is a tremendous flow of trade and finance through out the world which hitherto had been unparalleled. We have global currency like dollar, pound, yen and mark especially the US dollar 'about which it is claimed that about as many dollars circulate outside as inside the USA.' These international currencies float around the world. Besides there are new super territorial denominations like the Special Drawing Rights (SDR) issued by the International Monetary Fund or European Currency Unit (ECU) created by the European Economic Community (EEC). Plastic money in the form of credit card has a worldwide acceptance. Even the banking has taken a supra-territorial character.

Further there is a substantial rise in global factories and global products. Global factories have come up in automobile, electronics and other fields where right from the research to the various stages of manufacturing, it is not confined to a single national economy but spread over the world. There are many global products available through out the world like Coke and Pepsi. The various fields which have been occupied by the global products include packaged foods, bottled beverage, cigarettes, household items, music recordings, audio-visual productions, printed publications, interactive communications, office and hospital equipment, armaments, transport vehicles and travel services. We have global fast food retail chains like McDonald and Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC). Similarly, Mark and Spencer, Ried and Tailor, Arrow Shirts are some readymade garment products which are available throughout the world.

The rise of Multi National Corporations (MNCs) has unleashed a powerful global force. Their strength and domination can only be estimated from the fact that about 20,000 Multi National Corporations account for a quarter to a third of world output, 70 per cent of world trade and 80 per cent of foreign direct investment. Their budget is more than the budgets of many developing countries of the third world who are now competing with each other in inviting them for investment. These multinational Corporations operate globally.

They may have a national base but they are more interested in global profitability and their country of origin may contribute relatively little to their overall financial position.

Economic globalisation means that the national economies must lose their autonomy and merge with the global economy which is based on open trade and free market. For developing countries, this has been termed as liberalisation and privatisation. Liberalisation demands the state to liberalise its economy i.e. remove all the barriers and restrictions which were imposed so as to protect the native industry and there should be global access to national economy. Privatisation means that the public sector enterprises should be removed from state control and become private enterprises. As a result many developing economies are undergoing transformation. In many cases they have been forced to change as international aid has been linked with liberalisation and privatisation and without international aid these economies cannot survive.

28.3.2 Globalisation in Communication Field

Globalisation is also seen in communication field. The multiple revolution in communication through space and satellite technology, computer network, fax, e-mail, e-commerce and electronic mass media has made the world compact both borderless and distanceless. We can have access to people, ideas and information in far away areas. Events in one place can be seen in all the parts of the world. In fact there is a tremendous flow of information and people know each other more than at any other period in history.

28.3.3 Globalisation and Tourism

Another globalising force has been the tourism. Since the construction of first wide-body passenger jet in 1969, there has been a tremendous increase in tourist flow in different parts of the world. Travelling has become affordable (in terms of fares). There are many travel services which are offering travelling facilities like payments in easy instalments.

This is the most important development of the modern age. The tourists of different regions, religions, race and castes who are millions in number are physically seeing and understanding each other. Karan Singh aptly puts it; "These tourists criss-crossing the globe are.... spinning the warp and woof of the new garment of global consciousness that is steadily enveloping this planet".

28.3.4 Globalisation due to International Organisations and Social Movement

Many organisations and social movements have developed in international field which operate in a global framework. After the demise of socialism in 1990's, the United Nations Organisation has really become global and it is now becoming more effective. Now national governments cannot take the UNO for granted and each state has to work within the framework of the UN Charter. We also have Amnesty International and World Intellectual Property Organisation which have a worldwide access. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Trade Organisation (WTO) are other important global institutions. Besides, there are international non-government organisation (NGOs) whose numbers continue to rise and they have been responsible in changing the attitudes of the world population in a big way. A number of social issues relating to environment, gender and other varied fields have developed. As a result a global bond is being created which can be seen in women, lesbian and gay movements, environmental and ecological groups and human rights issue.

28.3.5 Globalisation in the Political Field

There is a political aspect of globalisation too. It is a forceful assertion of liberal values. It means defence of democracy and human rights. After the collapse of Soviet Union and the establishment of democracy in erstwhile socialist states, democracy has become a globally accepted form of government. International aid is also connected with the maintenance of democratic order. However, the most important feature of globalisation is that it has eroded the sovereignty of the state both externally as well as internally. The nation state in the international system has been regulated under the Westphalia Treaty (1648) which recognises the equality of states, internal and external sovereignty and non-intervention in internal affairs of a state by another. While in theory the system persists but the sovereign structure of a nation state is heavily influenced by global tendencies. David Held points out the following facts in this regard :

- i) As pointed above, the national economies are increasingly becoming a part and parcel of international capitalist system and the nation. State's control over its economy has diminished. The monetary and fiscal policies of individual national governments are dominated by the movements in international financial products markets' and 'the internationalization of production, finance and other economic resources is unquestionably eroding the capacity to control its own economic future. The global economic system insists on free market and competition and accordingly the national government has to liberalise and privatise its economy, and withdraw subsidies and other welfare measures.

- ii) With the increase in global inter-connectedness, the number of political instruments available to governments and effectiveness of particular instruments have shown a marked decline; border controls have lessened; and flow of goods and services, ideas and cultures has increased. The result is a decrease in policy instruments which enable the state to control activities within and beyond its borders.
- iii) States can experience a further diminution in options because of the expansion in transnational forces and interactions which reduce and restrict the influence, the particular governments can exercise on the activities of their citizens. The impact, for example, of the flow of capital across borders can threaten anti-inflation measures, exchange rates and other government policies.
- iv) In the context of a highly inter-connected global order many of the traditional domains of state activity such as defence, communication and the like cannot be fulfilled without resorting to international forms of collaboration.
- v) Accordingly, States have had to increase the level of their political integration with other States so as to control the destabilising effects that accompany global interconnectedness. For examples, they have to strengthen the International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organisation.
- vi) There has been a vast growth in the number of international institutions and organisations and they have laid down the basis for global governance. International bureaucracies have developed and the governments have to work within their framework. As a result the rights and obligations, power and capacities of the states have been redefined.
- vii) Further, the military blocs like North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), the South East Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO) and ANZUS (Australia, New Zealand, US) and the Organisation of American States (OAS) exert a considerable influence on the member states. The block politics diminishes the member state's activity in decision making. Held says, "A State's capacity to initiate particular foreign policies, peruse certain strategic concerns, choose between alternative military technologies and control certain weapon systems located on its own territory may be restricted by its place in the international system of power relations."

The functioning of a military alliance is such that the leader of the military alliance commands while the other member states merely submit, like NATO where USA dominates other member-states. The USA also gains strategic and economic leverage over them. The system helps boosting US trade especially the weapon sales. Further even without a commitment to a NATO armed conflict, Held says, "State autonomy as well as sovereignty can be limited and checked." This is because, he continues, "The routine conduct of NATO affairs involves the integration of national defence bureaucracies into international defence organisations". Such organisations creating trans-governmental decision making systems, escape the control and even consultation of any single member state. They lead to establishing informal and yet very powerful trans-governmental personnel networks or coalitions outside the control of and accountability to any national mechanism.

- viii) The International law is also putting restraints on state sovereignty. The basis of this was laid by the International Tribunal at Nuremberg which tried the Nazi criminals of Hitler's Germany. It upheld the superiority of International values which protects basic humanitarian values over the state laws.

The UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1947), the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1950) are some of the examples which limit the State's authority to control its citizens. Human rights are becoming very important and no government can arbitrarily deal with its own citizens. There is a strong move to the creation of a International Criminal Court where criminals accused of crimes against humanity will be tried. The traditional international law gives immunity to state officials in the discharge of their duties and they cannot be tried in other country's court. But in case of gross human rights violations, these principles are being challenged. The best example is the former Chilean President Augusto Pinochet's extradition hearings which are taking place in Great Britain. The sustained international pressure forced the Indonesian Government to deploy foreign troops in East Timor when the Indonesian army failed to stop bloodshed. Violation of ethnic and human rights have invited the international intervention even though it was considered the violation of state sovereignty. The crisis in Bosnia and Kosovo (Serbia) amply proves this where international intervention took place on ethnic and humanitarian grounds.

But this is not to say that the states sovereignty is abolished. Many a times the states have successfully resisted the international pressure. One can only conclude that the sovereignty has definitely been subjected to many limitations.

Globalisation can be witnessed in the development of military technology and warfare. There are global weapons like intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM), remote Sensing Spy Satellites which make the world a single strategic place. The war technology has been highly sophisticated and computerised and it has become possible to attack or raid from a place to remote corners. The Gulf War was a classical case of such phenomenon.

28.3.6 Socio-Cultural Aspect of Globalisation

The socio-cultural aspect of globalisation is simply amazing. Now we have a common global language— 'English' for communication and interaction. The western society which is essentially open, permissive and a market society is spreading globally. The electronic media is playing the most important role in this regard. The jean culture with rock music, the Hollywood films are fashioning the new culture which is spreading globally. The cities around the world are becoming same, so much so that they resemble each other. These developments are creating a feeling of single consciousness which will further increase as the time passes.

28.3.7 Globalisation Due to Global Problems

Finally, there are certain global problems which need a global thinking to tackle. They include ecological and environmental crisis, destructive trafficking, arms smuggling and dreaded diseases like HIV AIDS.

The environmental and ecological crisis affects all of us. Due to industrialisation and man's greed, the land, water and air have become polluted. The Ozone layer has been depleted by the release of Ozone depleting compounds anywhere in the world. The forests are shrinking and the over-exploitation of oceans is creating a situation where, for example, fish and other sea food may become extinct. The earth is becoming warmer which may lead to submergence of many islands and coastal areas. This is the global warming which, if not addressed in time, may annihilate the mankind from this world. The UN Conference on the Human Environment (1972) in Stockholm and the UN Conference on Environment and

Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro (1992) were the consequences of this warming. The UNCED has been followed up by various international conferences on particular issues and global awareness on the hazards of environmental degradation has been achieved. The nuclear weapons are proliferating which till recently were the monopoly of five nuclear states - USA, Russia, Great Britain, France and China. In 1998 India followed by Pakistan joined this group. Israel, Argentine and Brazil and other states have the capacity to acquire nuclear weapons. A severe international problem arose due to the break up of Soviet Union and subsequent emergence of new States of Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine where the nuclear weapons were located. Fortunately, the problem was solved as they were eventually dismantled. There is also, though remote, possibility of nuclear weapons being made available to ethnic or terrorist groups who may use them to achieve their objective. In 1986 a powerful explosion took place in Chernobyl nuclear complex in Russia in which nuclear radiation spread across many states due to wind and many people suffered radiation induced illness. Terrorism has become an universal problem. No country, not even the USA, the most powerful country on the earth, is immune to this problem. International terrorism like the one sponsored by Osama bin Laden who dared to declare jihad against US and India has to be tackled by global effort else the humanity will never be able to live in peace. Similarly drug trafficking has gone to alarming level. There is a close connection between terrorism, crime and drug trafficking. Many terrorist groups indulge in drugs to buy arms and spread terror. As per the report of United Nation Drug Control Programme (UNDCP) the underworld in USA and Britain have been investing in drugs ranging from 20 to 50 per cent. The drugs also go in a big way in increasing social and family violence. Finally the sexual revolution and frequent human interaction has spread the AIDS epidemic world wide. It is the most dreaded disease and millions are suffering.

These are some of the problems which the entire humanity is facing. They cannot be solved by any unilateral effort. They need a very close global cooperation and willingness, else the very survival of the mankind is the question that the world has to face. Fortunately these problems have been subjected to global awareness and while addressing them the process of globalisation has been further strengthened.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

1) What do you understand by globalisation in economic sphere?

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2) How the sovereignty of the state is being eroded by the process of globalisation?

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3) What are the new developments in international law?

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4) What are the socio-cultural implications of the process of globalisation?

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5) Which one is not a global problem:

- i) environmental crisis
- ii) terrorism
- iii) drug trafficking
- iv) AIDS
- v) Bonded Labour

6) Complete the following:

Globalisation in military warfare has occurred due to

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28.4 DIMENSIONS OF THE CURRENT ECONOMIC GLOBALISATION

Economic globalisation of today is multifaceted. It is not world trade, which has grown substantially, but also capital flows in respect of equity investment and short-term portfolio investments have increased considerably as well as migration of labour overseas.

28.4.1 Growth of Trade

In the 1990s alone, trade in goods and services has grown twice as fast as global gross domestic product (GDP) suggesting thereby that the growth of trade has been faster than the growth of world output. To substantiate further, the total trade of exports and imports accounted for only 28 per cent of world output in 1970. But in 1998 it had risen to 45 per cent of the world GDP. This growth was experienced across the world by both developed and developing countries. For example, trade as percentage of GDP of low-income countries grew from 12 per cent in 1970 to 46 per cent in 1998. In fact, the performance of middle-income

countries has been even more dramatic for, during these very periods middle-income countries registered twice as much growth in trade. In comparison, the high income countries, though experiencing an increase in total trade, had not attained the level of the middle-income countries. For, trade of high-income countries went up from 29 per cent in 1970 to only 44 per cent in 1998.

28.4.2 Growth in Investment

The magnitude of capital flows currently witnessed has made the economic globalisation of today qualitatively different from the earlier waves. According to current estimates, foreign direct investment (FDI) has reached an all-time high level of US \$ 1 trillion. There are three important aspects to this development - (i) the amount of capital invested; (ii) the spread of this investment over a large number of countries; and (iii) the organizations which have been the leaders in investment.

Between 1990-99, gross private capital flows in developed countries have more than doubled - from 9.9 per cent to 22.3 per cent to 22.3 per cent. However, as far as the developing countries are concerned, the capital flows have not been substantial. The low-income countries for that matter received capital flows amounting to no more than 2.0 per cent of their GDP.

One major feature is the growth of transnational corporations and their activities. It is estimated that there are more than 60,000 parent companies with as many as 700,000 overseas affiliates and a number of inter-firm networking which span over virtually all countries and engage in most economic sectors. As a result, the transnational corporations have become a formidable force in the world economy.

Of these transnational corporations, the world's top 100 non-financial transnational corporations are based exclusively in the developed countries. Primarily, they are the major force in international production, such as electronics, electrical equipment, automobile, petroleum, chemicals and pharmaceuticals. Together with their concentration there has occurred mergers and acquisitions of companies across the globe. In turn, this has strengthened the capacity of these corporations to internalize cross-border transactions and bypass national policies in terms of trade, tax and tariffs.

With regard to investment, a notable element of current globalisation is the short-term capital flows, also known as foreign portfolio investment. The portfolio investment has grown enormously as most countries have deregulated the capital market. By mid-1990s portfolio investment was valued around at US \$ 20 trillion. Of this, the gross portfolio capital flow as percentage of GDP was around 2 per cent for low-income countries; 6.4 per cent for middle-income countries and 22.4 per cent for the high-income countries.

28.4.3 Migration of Labour

Besides capital flows, migration of people has also been considerable. It is estimated that since the beginning of 1990 each year between 2-3 million people have emigrated to developed countries. At the beginning of the 21st Century, more than 130 million people live outside their country of origin and their number has been increasing at about 2 per cent per annum.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer
ii) Check your answers with those given at the end of the unit.

- 1) How has the growth in foreign direct investments in recent years affected the developing countries?

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28.5 THE LIMITS OF GLOBALISATION

There are certain limitations in the globalisation which must be understood before we come to any conclusion. Firstly, globalisation has been experienced in certain parts of the world. It will be an exaggeration to say that for all people the world has become distanceless. The fact is that the sophisticated computer technology is prevalent in the countries of north and certain areas of developing countries. They are also concentrated in urban areas. In fact globalisation has affected the urban population/sectors professionals and younger generations more than other people. As Jan Aart Schatte points out, “the point about globalisation is not that certain conditions come to exist in all places and for the people to the same degree.” Rather, it means that many things happen in the contemporary world largely irrespective of territorial distances and borders. Secondly, as we have seen state sovereignty persists though it is not as effective as it used to be earlier. Thirdly the cultural diversity also persists and many cultures have not taken kindly to the phenomenon especially the permissiveness of the western culture. As a result we find a proliferation of national, ethnic and religious movements against the impact of westernisation. Finally, the globalisation has also been identified as the return of the exploitation by former colonial powers and USA of the poor and developing countries. Therefore, there is a great deal of resistance among the developing countries and they are not ready to welcome it with open arms.

Check Your Progress 4

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

- 1) Discuss the limitations of the globalisation.

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- 2) Read the following carefully and identify the incorrect one:

- i) Globalisation has not been universal.
- ii) The cultural diversity remains despite globalisation
- iii) Globalisation has not disturbed the sovereignty of the globe.
- iv) Globalisation has also been understood as the return of western exploitation of developing world.

28.6 LET US SUM UP

Globalisation is an ongoing process by which the world is becoming closer and distanceless.

This process has been going on since a long time.

Since 1970s the process of globalisation has been increasingly felt. Following are the features of globalisation:

- Economically the world is becoming one. The national economies are diminishing and they are becoming part of the international economic system.
- Global factories and global products have come into existence in a very big way.
- Globalisation is witnessed in the communication field where there is a world wide access to people, ideas and information.
- People are also coming to know each other by travelling in different parts of the world.
- Many organizations and social movements have developed which regard the entire globe as their work field.
- Globalisation means acceptance of liberalism and democracy.
- Globalisation has put limitation on State's sovereignty.
- Globalisation is also seen in the military technology and warfare.
- Another globalising factor is the development of single socio-culture in the world.
- Need for globalisation occurs because of global problems which are to be tackled globally.

28.7 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

Baylis John and Smith Steve (ed.), 1997, *The Globalisation of World Politics*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Held, David, 1995, *Political Theory and the Modern State*, Polity Press, Cambridge.

Melkote, Rama (ed.), *Meaning of Globalisation*, New Delhi 2001.

28.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) See Section 28.1
- 2) See Section 28.1
- 3) 'International' is the relation among the sovereign states with well defined territorial areas while globalisation transcends them.
- 4) See Section 28.2

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) See Sub-Section 28.3.1
- 2) See Sub-Section 28.3.5
- 3) See Sub-Section 28.3.5
- 4) See Sub-Section 28.3.5
- 5) See Sub-Section 28.3.6
- 6) Global weapons have access to each and every part of the world.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) See Sub-Section 28.4.1 and 28.4.2

Check Your Progress 4

- 1) Globalisation has not been universal. It has influenced a limited section of people; states are still sovereign in their respective areas; the spread of western culture, and western domination is being resisted.



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UNIT 29 IMPACT OF GLOBALISATION ON DEVELOPING SOCIETIES

Structure

- 29.0 Objectives
- 29.1 Introduction
- 29.2 Developing Societies
- 29.3 Globalisation
 - 29.3.1 Old and New Globalisation
 - 29.3.2 Factors Behind the Acceptance of New Globalisation
- 29.4 Impact of Globalisation on Developing Societies
 - 29.4.1 Positive Aspects of Globalisation
 - Economy
 - Politics, Society and Culture
 - Education
 - 29.4.2 Negative Aspects of Globalisation
 - Economy
 - Society and Culture
 - Education
- 29.5 Imperatives of the Developing Countries
 - 29.5.1 Debt Trap
 - 29.5.2 The impact of Uruguay Round
 - 29.5.3 The Final Outcome
- 29.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 29.7 Key Words
- 29.8 Some Useful Books
- 29.9 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

29.0 OBJECTIVES

Globalisation is a phenomenon which had resulted due to various developments in the fields of science and technology and their use in industry and commerce. As such, it can not be wished away. The various countries, therefore, have to adapt themselves to this new reality in order to be able to reap its benefits and avoid its adverse effects. This adaptability is all the more important for the developing societies which do not have a strong politico-economic background to absorb the impact of globalisation. The main objective of this unit is to emphasise this urgent need. After going through this unit you will be able to:

- understand the meaning and concept of globalisation, its tenets and its characteristics.
- to analyse the impact of globalisation on developing societies.
- to understand the negative aspects of globalisation.

29.1 INTRODUCTION

The process of globalisation had begun in 1970's, itself but it gained maximum momentum in the 1990s. The big Multi National Companies (MNCs) had always wanted to have free access to all markets in the world but were restricted by the protectionist policies of the various countries. They had been pressurising their 'powerful' governments to get the "artificial restrictions" removed and facilitate free flow of capital and goods. Their efforts got a big boost by the sharp rise in consumerism among people of various parts of the world. This rise can be largely attributed to the phenomenal increase in the reach of electronic media through

cable network and Internet. Thus, the rise in the demands for foreign goods coupled with the pressure of the developed world through IMF, World Bank, etc. has made various developing societies adopt new economic policies. This shall be discussed later in the unit.

There are two important terms in the topic - 'globalisation' and 'developing societies'. We shall first try to understand these concepts. Then we shall move on to the discussion of the impact of globalisation on the developing societies.

29.2 DEVELOPING SOCIETIES

Taking a broader view of development, it can be argued that all societies are developing. In fact, no society can afford to stagnate or stop developing because such an approach will lead them to degeneration and decay. Nevertheless, some societies need to develop faster to catch-up with the rest.

After the second world war several countries got independence. In most cases, the colonial masters had shattered the socio-economic fabric of these countries and had deliberately restricted development in all fields. As a result, at the time of independence, most of these societies faced acute economic crisis, illiteracy, acute socio-cultural tensions/conflicts, lack of political awareness and huge gaps between the elites and the commoners.

The tasks before these post-colonial societies were economic progress with justice, stability, socio-cultural re-construction, ensuring education, awareness and participation of all citizens, etc. These tasks required specific measures (approach, policy, implementation, administration) which were to be developed/evolved in accordance with the particular context of particular societies. It is due to this specificity that these post-colonial societies have been clubbed together to be called 'Third World' or "Developing" Societies.

Another reason behind such a categorisation is the ethno-centric approach of the western social scientists. These scholars presume, probably on the basis of the level of industrialisation, that the west is developed and the USA is almost the ideal type, and that, all other societies are developing to become like it (developed). This approach, however, ignores various other parameters of development.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

1) What are the specific features of developing societies?

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2) What are the specific problems of developing societies?

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29.3 GLOBALISATION

Robertson has defined globalisation as “a concept that refers to the compression of the world and the intensification of the consciousness of the world as a whole.” (R. Robertson, *Globalisation*, London : Sage, 1992, Page 8). Globalisation is generally understood in terms of two distinct processes:

- a) globalisation as a process that has made communication instantaneous and has encouraged people to think in more global terms; and
- b) globalisation which tends to combine a market ideology with a corresponding material set of practices drawn from the world of business.

In other words, globalisation does not only refer to an economic system in which international boundaries do not pose ‘unnatural’ restriction on international trade, it also refers to ideological and cultural globalisation through communication media, computers and satellites. In fact, it is due to the communication media, computers and satellites that the “new” globalisation has come to acquire such features which distinguish it from the old one(s).

29.3.1 Old and New Globalisation

Several scholars like Wollmerstein, Amin, etc. argue that globalisation had begun with the overseas expansion of capitalism in the form of imperial conquests and white colony settlements. The process of imperialism had brought the Asian, African and Latin American countries under the European political and economic domination. These countries were compelled to ‘open-up’ their economies for unfettered penetration by the global industrial capital. This phase has generally been referred to as the “widening phase” of globalisation. During this phase, the economic integration of the world was confined to international trade and colonial exploitative relationships.

New developments in the field of communications have forced the economic powers to renounce the use of force for the exploitation of the ‘colonies’. Instead, indirect pressure through World Bank, IMF, GATT, WTO, etc., is generated on the capital-starved developing societies to make structural adjustments to accommodate the interests of the Multi-National Companies (MNCs).

Another important shift from the earlier phase is that the contemporary form of globalisation has witnessed the setting up of production centres by the MNCs in the developing countries accompanied by a tremendous increase in the velocity of capital flow across national boundaries.

The third distinctive feature is the remarkable growth in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) which has been many times higher than world trade and world output.

Finally, with the arrival of computer-aided communication network, the international movement of capital has acquired an independent life of its own, unrelated to the needs of international trade.

29.3.2 Factors Behind the Acceptance of New Globalisation

Most of the developing societies which had set for themselves the goals of economic self reliance and import-substituting industrialisation, have adopted new economic policies in line with the Structural Adjustment Package (SAP) sponsored by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

The SAP has laid ultimate emphasis on export-promotion by the developing countries to get rid of the debt-trap and has undermined the objectives of import-substitution, poverty alleviation, re-distribution, etc.

In fact, most of the post-colonial developing countries had very little option in the wake of massive debt crises. In these countries, the colonial rulers had not allowed industrialisation, as a result of which, the list of items to be imported was quite big. Compared to it, the list of exports was insignificant in most of the cases. In other words, these countries have been paying much more on imports than they have been earning from their exports. This resulted in balance of payment crisis for most of these countries.

In most of these post-colonial societies, governments are being run by the authoritarian ruling elites. Most of these elites do not have comfortable mass base and, therefore, have largely been dependent on the West for their political survival. Naturally, their economic policies have been guided by the interests of the powers which help them in continuing as ruling elites. Most of the ruling elites of most of the developing countries have lavishly and freely borrowed huge amounts of money to pay for the imports. Here it is pertinent to mention that most of the items imported by these societies are meant for elite consumption and not for the common masses. The common masses, nevertheless, have to bear the burden of payment for such imports.

The third factor was the jolt in the form of a slump in the world demand for agricultural exports from the developing countries in the 1980s. As the International Banks were not willing to take any risks, the credit rating of these countries took a severe beating. The West increased the Global Interest Rate and also curtailed governmental assistance to the developing countries.

All the above mentioned factors combined together to cause massive debt crisis for most of the developing countries. In this situation, the World Bank and the IMF, under the influence of the developed West, offered help on the condition that these countries would accept SAP and open up their boundaries for un-restricted world trade and commerce.

The new economic policies designed in accordance with globalisation include withdrawal of all restrictive rules, regulations and tariff on internal and international trade, investments, collaborations, etc., and shrinking of the public sector in favour of private sector.

Check Your Progress 2

Note:i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

- 1) What do you mean by globalisation? Differentiate between old and new forms of globalisation.

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- 2) Why have most of the developing societies adopted new economic policies in accordance with the demands of globalised economic order?

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- 3) Discuss the rationale behind the Structural Adjustment Package (SAP).

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29.4 IMPACT OF GLOBALISATION ON DEVELOPING SOCIETIES

Here, we shall discuss the modern phase of globalisation which has been brought about or has been necessitated, by the processes of liberalisation and privatisation in the various countries of the world.

Due to the impact of the second world war as well as the influence of the socialist systems adopted by the Soviet Union, China, etc., more and more countries had gone in for state-controlled economies. But, by the early 70s, several countries of the West began the process of providing full freedom to the market forces by gradually reducing state interference. The rules and regulations which had been made to provide authority to the state over market forces were drastically modified, and even annulled, in the name of liberalisation. The state's shares in various industries (owned completely or partially by the state) began to be disinvested in order to replace state-ownership by private ownership. Another aspect of liberalisation concerns international trade and commerce. This means abolition of all 'artificial' barriers of national boundaries, tariff and protectionist/discriminatory policies. In other words, it means that the market forces should be allowed to operate similarly in all parts of the world.

After the Second World War, several countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America got independence. In most of them, the colonial rulers had not allowed any industrialisation. As such, it was impossible for them to have competed equally with the developed countries in the international market. It was due to this perception of being overwhelmed by the companies of the developed West that most of the developing countries had adopted protectionist policies to protect the indigenous entrepreneurs against the big Multi-National Companies.

Some countries like India also adopted specific policies, rules and regulations to protect the small scale entrepreneurs from the onslaught of the big business houses. The policies like FERA, MRTP Act, Licensing, Nationalisation of Banks, requirement of governmental approval for collaborations and terms of collaborations, etc., were all meant for protection of Indian entrepreneurs from 'outsiders' and to protect small scale Indian entrepreneurs from big Indian Business Houses.

Globalisation is based on the principle of universalism as against protectionism. It is guided by the rationale of capitalism which calls for free market, free competition and survival of the fittest. The capitalist logic has got a big boost by the developments in the field of computers, space and communication which have together made every part of the world easily accessible. People in every part of the world can be made to know about any product through TV and Internet. Sky Shopping and E-Commerce have made procurement of any product possible in matter of days. Markets have got flooded with foreign (made) goods mainly because demand for such goods is on the rise. In other words, developments in the field of communication have led to a steep rise in consumerism in various parts of the world.

As different developing societies have different potentialities, different problems and different socio-economic and political milieu, the impact of globalisation on each of them would be different too. On some of them, the impact would be more positive than negative while on others it may be more negative than positive. It will also depend on the capabilities of various societies in adjusting to the reality of globalisation in such a manner that the interests of the people of these societies are not jeopardised.

Globalisation is a reality which can not be wished away. This is why the discussions on the desirability or otherwise of globalisation has now been replaced by discussions on the measures which can help the developing societies derive more advantages from globalisation or minimise its disadvantages. Although most of the developing societies have not been able to make proper structural adjustments and, as a result, have suffered in the wake of globalisation, it would be a grave mistake to conclude that globalisation is devoid of any virtues or positive aspects. We shall concentrate on the impact of globalisation in three areas, namely, economy, society and culture and education. In all these three areas, we shall first study the positive aspects and then the negative ones.

29.4.1 Positive Aspects of Globalisation

We shall take up the positive aspects of the impact of globalisation on economy, society and culture and education one by one.

Economy

In most of the developing countries, the economic policies had not been yielding good results, especially for the poorer sections. The gap between the rich and the poor had constantly been on the rise. Due to lack of competition, the big business houses had been selling average products at high prices.

In other words, the consumers were not getting the best products available in other countries at much cheaper prices. The monopoly of the internal big industrialists and business houses was not meant for any special benefits to the common people. This can be illustrated by the example of the television industry in India.

Before the opening up of the market, the Indian TV makers had been selling sets with hardly any latest provisions at very high prices. With the advent of the international brands with modern features, the Indian manufactures, too, are becoming more consumer friendly in terms of latest features and low prices. In several other sectors, too, the international competition has resulted in enhancement of quality and slashing of prices.

Another positive economic impact of globalisation is the incorporation of sales of imported goods in the tax-net. As the demand for imported goods was always

there, the supply was managed by smugglers who could not be taxed. Now the imports would be done and sold by businessmen who will be paying tax to the Government. The menace of smuggling would also get curtailed.

The third positive impact would be in the field of exports. With the vanishing restrictions on international trade, the producers of good products will get access to the markets of all parts of the world.

Politics, Society and Culture

The debate over the desirability or otherwise of fixing parameters of developed socio-cultural systems, is an ever-lasting one. One set of scholars has been coming up "Ideal Types" or the systems having the most desirable socio-political and cultural traits. These scholars suggest that all the societies should make conscious efforts to acquire the traits of the 'ideal' system. They also suggest that the pre-modern traits should be shed-off.

On the other hand, there are scholars who argue that every society and every culture has its virtues, and that, "ideal types" should not be imposed upon. They advocate for the right of every group to preserve its own socio-cultural and political characteristics.

A third group of scholars, however, argues that although "Ideal Types" developed by the western scholars is ethno-centric having little appreciation for oriental systems, there is no logic in conscious preservation of tribalism or the barbaric traditions like 'Sati', sacrifice, 'Sarkar', etc. Moreover, equality, liberty, justice, etc. should form the basis of any good system.

In short, even though scholars may disagree on "Ideal Types", they all agree on the desirability of equality, liberty and justice becoming the basis of any socio-cultural and political system. They also agree on the position that the oppressive, barbaric and inhuman aspects of all socio-cultural and political traditions should be shed-off. It is here that globalisation has had a positive impact. With the phenomenal increase in the reach of the media, happenings in any corner of the world is brought to the knowledge of all in no time. The reaction and the position of the world community, too, gets easily conveyed to the concerned people. The cases of Human Rights violations and 'ethnic cleansings', etc. no longer go unnoticed. In several cases, pressure of the world community has successfully managed to get redressals. Further, various inherently oppressive systems (South Africa, Namibia, etc.) have changed to liberal ones for which globalisation had played an important role.

Education

Education provides knowledge and prepares people to adjust to, or if necessary, mould the environment in which he/she lives.

Due to various factors, the level of knowledge and capabilities developed by education systems of different countries are different. Education in some countries provides the latest knowledge while in some others it provides obsolete and irrelevant knowledge.

Globalisation will help in making the obsolete education systems up-to-date. Knowledge of the latest events, technologies, facts, developments, discoveries and human endeavours is essential for the development of any society. With the demolition of restrictions/barriers, universities and institutions of the developed countries will be offering their knowledge in the less developed ones through franchise or partnerships with local universities/institutions.



We shall now discuss the negative effects of globalisation on economies, cultures and education systems of the developing societies.

Economy

Economies of most of the developing societies had suffered badly due to colonial exploitation. After independence, these societies had been trying to develop their economies by combining local expertise and imported technologies. In some of these societies, special efforts were being made to develop indigenous technology to compete with the developed world. But, 40-45 years was too small a period for them to catch up with the developed economic powers. As such, some protectionist measures were required to save the indigenous entrepreneurs from the unequal competition with the Multi-National companies of the developed world.

Breaking up of barriers and protectionist measures in the name of globalisation exposes the upcoming but weak indigenous entrepreneurs to the onslaught by the powerful MNCs. The MNCs, having huge surpluses generated from various parts of the world, can easily marginalise the indigenous manufacturers. The example of Akai and Aiwa companies, which have effected closure of several Indian TV companies, can be seen by anyone. Another example is that of the ouster of almost all Indian soft drinks companies from the market by Coke and Pepsi.

Some scholars argue that globalisation means free access to all raw materials, all labour and all markets. Theoretically this access is equally available to the entrepreneurs from all parts of the world. But in practice, the big MNCs backed by big capital, advanced technologies and their powerful States have become the main beneficiaries. These companies are buying cheap raw materials from various developing societies, hiring cheap labour from there, selling the products and services in these very societies, and making huge gains. With the relaxation in restrictions (as per the New Economic Policies adopted by developing societies) on taking the profits out, several of these societies are bound to experience almost similar 'drain of wealth' as they had experienced during the colonial rule.

A very important tenet of globalisation is privatisation as public enterprises do not, generally, conform to economic rationalism. In most of the developing societies, including India, public sector enterprises were set up with the following purposes:

- a) to maintain secrecy about defence-related productions;
- b) to create infra-structural facilities;
- c) to provide services to the masses without caring for profits.

Later on, for reasons better known to the policy-makers, several public sector enterprises came up in various sectors including consumer sector. Public enterprises either should not have come up in these non-core, non-service sectors or should have worked to generate profit to support the non-profitable service sector. Unfortunately, most of these enterprises became burdens on the State. Due to these loss-making companies some people have formed an opinion that public sector is worthless, and hence, should be done away with. However, the attack on the public sector has become more potent in the recent years mainly by the protagonists of globalisation who believe that public sector and globalisation do not go together.

Thus, disinvestment of government's shares from public sector undertakings has been caused by the logic and pressure of globalisation rather than by the

realisation that the PSUs are unviable. This argument can be corroborated by the fact that most of the disinvestments in India have been from profit-making PSUs.

In fact, the original reasons behind having Public Sector Undertakings are still relevant; the suffering masses still need to be looked after with a service motive rather than a profit motive. If some of the PSUs are not performing or have become burdens on the State's exchequer, public sector as a whole should not be done away with. In most of the developing societies, majority of the people can not afford to pay for all the basic amenities/services. Therefore, total privatisation would badly affect them. The difference between the fees charged by government Hospitals/Schools and private Hospitals/Schools clearly indicates what havoc privatisation can create for the poor masses.

Society and Culture

Every society has its own set of ethical codes and values, traditions and conventions. While it is good to be open to new ideas for a positive change, the choice should lie with the recipient. In this era of globalisation, however, the people of the developing societies are being bombarded so heavily through the electronic media that they hardly are left with options or choice. Through Cable TV and Internet, the MNCs are successfully promoting consumerism and even Western values. This creates big adjustment problems in the developing societies. Most of the people in these societies do not get even the basic amenities and even those who get can not afford the luxuries being promoted so aggressively. This leads to frustration, adjustment problems and materialist approach to life.

Several researchers have found that the people of the developing societies, especially children and youth want to become rich to be able to buy all that they get fascinated with. The craze of Coke/Pepsi or famous Western brands of clothing or watches or cars or cosmetics are all creation of electronic media. Earlier, people either did not know about them or could not get them in the open market. Today, thanks to globalisation, everybody knows about all the products and the products are available in the market. When one sees others using them, the urge to have them increases manifold. This can be one of the important reasons behind the rise in crime-rate in these societies.

Education

The worst impact of globalisation on education can be seen in the rapid commercialization of education and over-emphasis on market oriented courses. The undermining of Social Sciences and Humanities is already having detrimental effect on the society. While education should prepare the students to be able to earn their livings, a more important role of education is to develop the mental horizons and personalities of the students so that they become aware, concerned and balanced citizens.

Due to the demands of market in this era of economic globalisation as well as due to serious propaganda by western institutions and industries, education in most of the developing societies is gradually becoming one-dimensional. Educational institutions are putting more and more emphasis on courses which create skills for the market. The social, cultural, political, traditional and moral education is being neglected and being termed as irrelevant and obsolete. This is an unfortunate development as study of these subjects provides stability and balance to a society facing the onslaught of cultural and economic imperialism.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) Check your answer with the model answer given at the end of this unit.

- 1) Discuss the positive impacts of globalisation on developing societies.

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- 2) Discuss the impact of globalisation on the economies of the developing societies.

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- 3) Discuss the challenges which the developing societies have to face in the globalised world. How can they effectively respond to those challenges?

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29.5 IMPERATIVES OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

In the current globalisation process, large number of developing countries per force have sought to integrate increasingly with the world economy. A number of imperatives explain the currently witnessed trend.

29.5.1 Debt Trap

A large number of developing countries are today dependent upon foreign capital flows especially portfolio investment. Among them, a number of countries are faced with a considerably worsened external debt situation. For instance, the external debt of low income developing countries has reached a high of nearly US \$ 70 billion. In the case of middle-income developing countries their external debt volume is estimated around US \$ 1700 billion. Placed in this predicament, many developing countries including India have had to seek the support of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to balance their external payments. The IMF lending is linked with what are known as “conditionality clauses” which emphasize structural adjustment policies as well as trade liberalization and capital market deregulation. Given these imperatives, many of the developing countries unilaterally adopted economic policies, which in turn, have forced them to integrate into the world economy.

Also, following the collapse of the Soviet Union, East European countries as well as countries elsewhere including India, which had had substantial trade linkages with the Soviet Union had to seek structural adjustment loans from the IMF and the World Bank. Consequently, they too became subject to the IMF “conditionality clauses” which led to their integration into world economy.

29.5.2 The Impact of Uruguay Round

Ever since the establishment of the regime of **General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1947**, periodically the signatory member countries negotiated among themselves on a number of issues related to trade and tariff in their international commodity transactions. GATT provided a forum for both the developed and the developing countries to bring to bear the problems they face in their external trade. Developing countries for long have been skeptical of the usefulness of the GATT system and persistent in their demand for special and differential treatment in international trade. It is in these circumstances, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development through its collective negotiations succeeded in extending what is known as Generalised System of preferences (GSP) to the developing countries under which developed countries offer preferential tariffs to selected products of exports from developing countries. Even the GSP was far from satisfactory because a large number of products of interest to the developing countries were not included in the list of products, which received such concessions under GSP. However, in subsequent years the GATT made it possible for the grant of unilateral tariff concession by developed countries to those from the developing countries.

Trade was not the only knotty issue. The flow of foreign direct investment from the developed countries was also hurting the interest of the developing countries, which among other things, it was argued, was undermining the sovereignty of the developing countries of their natural resources. Also, the expected technology transfer did not take place and through transfer pricing they drained the resources of the recipient developing countries. It is under these circumstances that attempts were made under the auspices of the UN in its Conference on Trade and Development, prepared a code of conduct for the multinational corporations. However, when the developed countries opposed this code, the issue was side tracked.

As pressure mounted from the developing countries seeking a New International Economic Order (NIEO), there was a serious attempt to achieve two basic objectives by the developed countries led by the United States. They related to seeking a fundamental change in the agenda of the developing countries and the then trajectory of the international economic relations largely determined by the developing countries.

It is in these circumstances that the United States, on the basis of its domestic legislation, sought inclusion of services, investment and intellectual property rights to be negotiated under the aegis of GATT. The developing countries obviously were opposed to this on following grounds:

- 1) They argued that services cannot be brought under the multilateral trade negotiations because GATT's mandate was only to deal with merchandise trade and related tariffs and quotas. Since services are too many and go beyond, they cannot be included for negotiation.
- 2) They stated that questions relating to intellectual property rights should be the concern of international organizations such as World Intellectual Property Rights and therefore should not be brought under the GATT system. What is more, the developing countries were of the view that they need to develop their own national legislations regarding intellectual property rights before it could be discussed in the international forum.
- 3) Regarding investment the developing countries asserted that they needed a national approach before subjecting this issue to the scrutiny of GATT.

Notwithstanding their reservations, the developing countries were unable to stall the negotiations. At best they could only postpone negotiations. Two factors can be attributed for their failure - one, lack of cooperation among the developing countries to adopt a common strategy and two, as some of the developing countries were working under pressure from the United States especially with regard to their external debt liabilities.

29.5.3 The Final Outcome

Despite opposition from the developing countries the Uruguay Round took certain initiatives which altered the course of international economic relations. Issues such as services, intellectual property rights and investments were taken up for negotiations. **Legal and technical questions such as whether under the GATT these issues could be negotiated were resolved.** For instance, regarding services it was decided that they would be discussed separately and intellectual property rights and investment being linked with trade would have to be discussed under GATT auspices. Added to this the issue of subsidy to agriculture was also brought under negotiations in the GATT. Thus under the Uruguay Round international economic relations took a new and different direction, prompted by the forces of globalisation led by the developed countries. By the time the Uruguay Round was ending the collapse of the Soviet Union finally nailed any hope of building an alternative trajectory in respect of international economic relations from the perspective of the developing countries. The compliance of Russia and Eastern European countries to join the mainstream by seeking admission to IMF and World Bank and their efforts to integrate themselves with the world trade system reduced further any prospects of a world system that would protect and safeguard the interests of the developing countries.

Check Your Progress 4

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with that given at the end of the unit.

- 1) To what extent were the developing countries successful in achieving their ends in the Uruguay Round Trade Agreements?

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29.6 LET US SUM UP

Globalisation is a reality which can not be wished away. It has both positive as well as negative effects on developing societies. While positive effects have to be absorbed, the negative effects need to be carefully handled and minimised. Here, education systems have to play a very important role. The role of the developing countries in shaping international economic policies consistent with their national needs has been considerably reduced. Not only have the developing countries been forced to adapt themselves to the current process of globalisation, but also they have now been left with little option to evolve external economic policies to suit their needs and interests.

29.7 KEY WORDS

Adaptability	:	Ability to make adjustments
Instantaneous	:	Without waiting time or immediate
Virtues	:	Good points on good aspects
Shrinking	:	Reducing in size/girth
Oriental	:	Old systems of Asia

29.8 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

J. John and Anuradha Chenoy (Eds.) *Labour, Environment and Globalisation*, Centre for Education and Communication, New Delhi, 1996.

Jain Currie and Janice Newson (Eds.), *Universities and Globalisation : Critical Perspectives*, Sage : Thousand Oaks, 1998.

C.P. Bhambhri, "Globalisation and Social Science", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Bombay, June 6, 1998.

Biplab Dasgupta, "SAP Issues and Conditionalities : A Global Review, *EPW*, Bombay, May 17, 1997.

Sumit Ray, "Globalisation, Structural Change and Poverty : Some Conceptual and Policy Issues" *EPW*, August 16, 1997.

29.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) See Section 29.2
- 2) See Section 29.2

Check Your Progress 2

- 1) See Section 29.3, and Sub-Section 29.3.1
- 2) See Sub-Section 29.3.2
- 3) See Sub-Section 29.3.2

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) See Sub-Section 29.4.1
- 2) See Sub-Section 29.4.1
- 3) See Sub-Section 29.4.2

Check Your Progress 4

- 1) See Sub-Section 29.5.2

UNIT 30 GLOBALISATION AND THE RESPONSE OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Structure

- 30.0 Objectives
- 30.1 Introduction
- 30.2 Policy Concerns of Less Developed Countries
- 30.3 Domestic Policy Responses
- 30.4 Initiatives at the International Level
 - 30.4.1 Service Sector
 - 30.4.2 Intellectual Property Rights
 - 30.4.3 Investment Measures
 - 30.4.4 Dispute Settlement Mechanism
 - 30.4.5 Creation of WTO
- 30.5 WTO and the Less Developed Countries
 - 30.5.1 Agriculture
 - 30.5.2 Textiles and Apparels
 - 30.5.3 Tariffs on Industrial Goods
 - 30.5.4 Services
 - 30.5.5 Intellectual Property Rights
 - 30.5.6 Trade Related Investments
- 30.6 Needed Policy Framework
- 30.7 Let Us Sum Up
- 30.8 Some Useful Books
- 30.9 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

30.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain the meaning of the process of globalization as it is unfolding itself presently;
- Understand the varied impact that globalization has made on the developing countries; and
- Assess the general and the specific responses of the developing countries across the world.

30.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit an attempt is made to focus on the meaning and significance of the globalization process, and the impact it is making on the current international system. The emphasis here is to study specifically the impact of the globalization process on the developing countries in order to understand the different responses with which the developing countries are evolving policy packages to meet the challenges posed by globalization.

It is claimed by some writers that the current phase of globalization is part of an ongoing historical process. Yet, the current process of globalization in terms of its accent is more towards integration of national economies across the world specially integrating their systems of production and finance. This process is driven by a package of policies unleashed by the industrially advanced countries seeking liberalization of trade and investment of capital across the world. Further, it is embodied in an ensemble of international relations and institutions at the apex

of which are the multinational corporations (MNCs), multilateral trading and financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organization (WTO). Also, the pace of the current globalization process is reflected largely in respect of the incredible growth in the size of cross-border flows of goods, services and capital.

30.2 POLICY CONCERNS OF LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

The impact of the current process of globalization is extremely uneven, both within and between nations. Consequently, it has resulted in rising income inequalities within countries as well as between countries. The less developed countries experience a more skewed income distribution, which is attributed largely to the shift in labour demand. It has also led to greater polarization across countries because technology—the prime factor responsible for the current wave of economic globalization—still remains concentrated in a small body of already industrially advanced countries. Also, sudden spurts and shift in the direction of speculative capital often have triggered financial crisis more in the capital-starved less developed countries than elsewhere.

Placed in such a situation, the policy concerns of the less developed countries are largely a response to the evolving structural divide between them and the industrially advanced countries. So much so, globalization is perceived by the less developed countries to be a system typified by the apex economic institutions such as the IMF and WTO in which the more developed countries advance their national interests to the detriment of the less developed countries especially in areas such as trade and capital investment. Some among the less developed countries feel that the current globalization process has led to the worsening of the structural poverty in many countries. At the same time, under the pressure of economic globalization many of them have to resort to external debt, which have further contributed to the deceleration of the growth in real terms.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with that given at the end of the unit.

1) What do you understand by the term 'economic globalisation'?

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2) What are the major policy concerns of the less developed countries towards the current globalisation process?

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30.3 DOMESTIC POLICY RESPONSES

Given the adverse impact of the current economic globalization and given also the constraints in which the less developed countries are placed, most of these less developed countries are engaged in devising policy measures the prime objective of which is not so much as to engage themselves in the process of globalization than as to how to engage effectively with it. Therefore, most policy measures aim at either reshaping the impact or redirecting the globalization process to their advantage. Policy rationale also underlines the means that would facilitate the less developed countries have access to the positive benefits of globalization and at the same time help mitigate the adverse consequences.

To that extent the less developed countries with very few exceptions have by and large evolved their policy framework that underscores irreversibility of the policy measures-be it in terms of structural adjustment or trade liberalization. At the same time they also underline that the policy mix will be such that it would ensure some modicum of social safety net to overcome the problems of marginalisation and impoverishment.

In respect of the adverse effects of the current economic globalization, many of the developing countries are engaging their attention on reforming, to the extent possible, the international trading and financial institutions to cater to their critical economic needs. Leading among these are countries such as India which have taken initiatives to reexamine the evolving rules of the WTO in respect of issues such as intellectual property rights, anti-dumping restrictions, subsidies to agriculture and other countervailing measures. Another concern relates to enlarging the developing countries' market access in the industrially advanced countries of the world. Cumulatively their demands are in respect of expanding their access to international trade through seeking lowering of tariff, and exemptions on a number of non-tariff barriers. In this connection, mention may be made of the less developed countries seeking support in the WTO to seek revision in the standards of sanitary and phyto-sanitary requirements regarding their exports especially towards the European Union.

While the afore-mentioned concerns largely relate to trade matters, the less developed countries are also making demands in respect of issues relating to foreign direct investment. In this context the highly indebted poor countries are seeking initiatives that would minimize their debt burdens. Specifically in this connection they are demanding debt relief measures that would help reduce the levels of poverty and attendant economic hardships in their domestic economy. Secondly, they are also making efforts that would bring about increasing rate of flow of private foreign direct investment in order to meet their current economic bind. In their effort to attract foreign direct investment efforts are afoot to reduce if not eliminate, the risk perceptions of potential portfolio and direct investors and also by improving the credibility of their public financial institutions.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with that given at the end of the unit.

- 1) What are the general perceptions of the less developed countries towards globalisation?

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- 2) What are the demands of the less developed countries in respect of trade and investment in the current phase of globalisation?

30.4 INITIATIVES AT THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

Aware of the immediate adverse impact of economic globalisation, the less developed countries had joined the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) with two objectives—first, to deal with the backlog issues relating to textile exports and agricultural subsidies and second, to remove GATT rules regarding anti-dumping and countervailing duties. They were less inclined to negotiate on the newer areas which meant opening their infant service sector, removing all restrictions on foreign direct investment and rewriting their patent laws. These requirements, they felt were unwarranted intrusion into their economic space.

So, they put up a united front against the intrusion of new areas such as service sector, investments and international property rights. Yet, their efforts were met with stiff opposition from the advanced countries. In the final analysis, all that the less developed countries could achieve in respect of service sector, investment and intellectual property rights were as follows:

30.4.1 Service Sector

In the Uruguay Round, what was finally agreed upon was that the service sector will have to be liberalized but based on multilaterally agreed and legally enforceable rules to govern trade and services such as most favoured nation (MFN) treatment, transparency of laws and regulations, recognition of operating licences and arrangement for dispute settlement. However, thanks to the concerted effort of the less developed countries, several exceptions have been made in the service sector. Yet, the less developed countries had to concede liberalization in such service sectors as advertising, construction and engineering.

30.4.2 Intellectual Property Rights

So far in respect of intellectual property rights, the Uruguay Round provided for an international system for the protection of such rights to be embodied in a legal institutional set up called World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO). Perceiving the WIPO protection as inadequate, the developed countries launched a strong initiative to create an extended and tighter international system for the protection of intellectual property rights. In the final outcome, the scope of the Uruguay Round has been expanded to increase the life of privileges granted or rights conferred, to enlarge the geographical spread and to create an enforcement mechanism.

30.4.3 Investment Measures

The investment measures embodied in the agreement on Trade Related Investment Measures (TRIMS) listed a comprehensive set of measures such as not permitting practices like local content requirements, export obligations, restrictions on imports of certain raw materials or components. At the same time, existing measures will have to be notified to the designated international authority and will have to be phased out over two years in the case of developed countries and five years in the case of less developed countries. Exception to this rule was permitted only if the country in question is faced with a serious balance of payments problem.

30.4.4 Dispute Settlement Mechanism

The creation of an integrated dispute settlement body is yet another major achievement of the Uruguay Round meeting the demands of the less developed countries. Now thanks to the creation of the dispute settlement body, there are firm time limits which apply to the various stages of dispute settlement process. What, however, disadvantages the less developed countries is the requirement that calls for a consensus in respect of rejecting a panel report. However, what advantages the less developed countries is that no requirement of a consensus is called for in accepting the report of the dispute settlement body. In this way these new procedures are seen to be in the interests of smaller countries bringing their complaints against larger countries.

30.4.5 Creation of World Trade Organisation

The creation of World Trade Organisation (WTO) is part and parcel of the multilateral agreement arrived at the Uruguay Round. Its main purpose is to facilitate implementation, administration and operation of GATT 1994. In effect, it gives permanence to GATT. Two main distinctive features of WTO are:
1) nations seeking admission to WTO must accept all decisions from around as a package which includes agreements on trade in services, intellectual property rights and trade related investment measures; and 2) nations acceding to WTO are required to be bound by the new integrated dispute settlement mechanism encompassing the three areas of goods, services and technology.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with that given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Highlight the major decisions arrived at in the Uruguay Round and explain how these decisions were responsive to the demands of the less developed countries.

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2) Explain the main purpose and objectives of the WTO.

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30.5 WTO AND THE LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

Most developing countries have accepted the WTO regime though reluctantly. The debate is still raging in many countries over the consequences of their signing the WTO treaty. The critical question that is debated is what are the risks and gains from the WTO regime for the developing countries. Some general issues have been highlighted. They are as follows:

30.5.1 Agriculture

One area where the predominantly agricultural countries of the less developed world are jubilant is gaining major benefits in the agricultural sector. Successes in reining agricultural support programmes in the industrially advanced countries and regions such as United States, Japan and the European Union are expected to render net gains to less developed countries' agricultural exports for the comparative and competitive advantage these agricultural countries enjoy. However, at the same time, certain apprehensions have surfaced regarding the WTO's ruling in favour of reduction in subsidies for agriculture, phasing out of public distribution system and compulsory market access to agricultural imports.

30.5.2 Textiles and Apparels

Less developed countries with an edge in the manufacture of textiles and apparels have benefited from the multi-fibre agreement (MFA) for progress in unraveling the MFA is expected to bring major benefits to these countries. Yet there is a cause for concern because the phasing of MFA is accompanied by a system of what is known as "transitional selective safeguards" whose operational details have not yet been defined. This in turn could restrict the growth in exports of textiles by the less developed countries. Also, there are already anti-dumping laws in hands of the industrially advanced countries which they may use to restrict the textile export from less developed countries.

30.5.3 Tariffs on Industrial Goods

The prospects of reduction in industrial tariffs have greatly improved. Yet, the benefits are not likely to be substantial because already the tariffs on imported industrial goods are low, besides the proposed tariff cuts are likely to be concentrated in areas of less importance to developing countries.

30.5.4 Services

In the area of services, the less developed countries notwithstanding their demands have still to work out a viable way out for the export of skilled and unskilled labour, negotiations for which are still in the very initial stages. The only compensation is that several of the areas for liberalization in the service sector are yet to be negotiated.

30.5.5 Intellectual Property Rights

Intellectual property is the area where new and tougher rules would put the less developed countries to greater hardship. Despite the efforts made by several of the developing countries including India, not much success has yet been achieved. For, after all, in some of the identified sectors like chemical and pharmaceutical products, biotechnology and propagation of improved varieties of seeds and microbiological processes for developing new fertilizers and pesticides the developing countries may have to make royalty payments to the industrially advanced countries. Some of the expressed fears of the less developed countries such as non-availability of needed technology at affordable costs, the pre-empting of domestic technological capacities by the more advanced countries and the incidence of restrictive business practices by the TNCs are admittedly justified. It is in these areas the less developed countries may have to evolve a concerted policy posturing within the forum of the WTO.

30.5.6 Trade Related Investments

Yet another area in which the less developed countries need to evolve a concerted policy response is trade related investments. Otherwise, the current regime on trade related investments will severely jeopardise the ability of the less developed countries to regulate the foreign capital inflows in accordance with their objectives and priorities. Besides, it will also weaken the domestic capital goods sector and arrest the growth of indigenous technological capacity.

Check Your Progress 4

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answers.

ii) Check your answers with that given at the end of the unit.

- 1) Attempt a balance sheet of the advantages and disadvantages for the less developed countries that function under the WTO regime.

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30.6 NEEDED POLICY FRAMEWORK

The overall response of the less developed countries towards the current phase of globalization is based on their justified fears and apprehensions. As has been stated earlier, the less developed countries as a whole have made the right choice not as much to disengage themselves but to engage in an effective manner in the current globalization process. At the domestic level, the policy responses are based on the rationale that at all odds they will have to insert themselves into the global economy with a view to benefit by it and at the same time make an effort to minimize the adverse and deleterious consequences. Towards this effort, while the less developed countries are, to the extent possible making efforts to come up with a policy package-be it in terms of structural adjustments or trade liberalization-their concern justifiably is to work in concert at the multilateral level and under the WTO regime to reshape the globalization process. In doing so, the less developed countries have evolved common strategies to realize their goals. As has been mentioned on specific issues such as TRIPS, TRIMS, trade in

services, tariffs on industrial goods etc. the less developed countries have collectively placed their views in the successive WTO meetings. Though the outcome of these negotiations have not been as yet encouraging, these meetings at least have brought the less developed countries to come together and present what would be described as the shared responses. Admittedly, the task ahead for the less developed countries is daunting. Yet, given the 'rule-based' trade regime that has come into being under the auspices of the WTO, the less developed countries will have to put their efforts in evolving new rules of the game.

30.7 LET US SUM UP

The objective of the lesson is to understand the varied impact that globalization has made on the developing countries and assess the general and the specific responses of the developing countries across the world. The emphasis here is to study specifically the impact of the globalization process on the developing countries in order to understand the different responses with which the developing countries are evolving policy packages to meet the challenges posed by globalization.

It is widely acknowledged that the current globalization has resulted in rising income inequalities within countries as well as between countries. It has also led to greater polarization across countries because technology-the prime factor responsible for the current wave of economic globalization, still remains concentrated in a small body of already industrially advanced countries. Placed in such a bind, the policy concerns of the less developed countries is largely a response to the evolving structural divide between them and the industrially advanced countries. So much so, globalization is perceived by the less developed countries to be a system typified by the apex economic institutions such as the IMF and WTO in which the more developed countries advance their national interests to the detriment of the less developed countries especially in areas such as trade and capital investment. Some among the less developed countries feel that the current globalization process has led to the worsening of the structural poverty in many countries.

While the afore-mentioned concerns largely relate to trade matters, the less developed countries are also making demands in respect of issues relating to foreign direct investment.

In the final analysis, what the less developed countries have achieved is far from adequate. Now, most developing countries have accepted the WTO regime though with considerable reluctance and reservation. Yet, concerted efforts are made by the developing countries to use the WTO forum for evolving a 'rule based' multilateral mechanism that would enable them to enhance their gains and at the same time help minimize the rigours and the adverse effects of the current economic globalization. In this effort, the less developed countries have evolved common strategies to realize their goals. Yet, the task ahead for the less developed countries is by all means challenging.

30.8 SOME USEFUL BOOKS

B. Ramesh Babu ed., *Changing Global Political/ Ideological Context and Afro-Asia: Strategies for Development* (New Delhi: South Asian Publishers, 1996).

Harry Magdoff, *Globalization: To What End?* (New York: Monthly Review, 1992).

Hartmut Elsenhans, "Myth of Globalization and Necessity of Development Politics", International Studies (New Delhi), 1996, vol.33, no.3, pp.255-71.

Globalisation and the
Response of the Developing
Countries

Robin Broad and John Cavanagh, "Don't Neglect the Impoverish South", Foreign Policy (New York), Winter 1995-96, no.101, pp.20-43.



30.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) See Section 30.2
- 2) See Section 30.2

Check Your Progress

- 1) See Section 30.3
- 2) See Section 30.3

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) See Section 30.4
- 2) See Sub-Section 30.4.5

Check Your Progress 4

- 1) See Section 30.5 to Sub-Section 30.5.8

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