

SELF LEARNING MATERIAL

POLITICAL SCIENCE

COURSE : Pol. Sc. – 103

First Semester

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEM

BLOCK : 1, 2, 3, 4, 5

**Directorate of Open and Distance Learning
DIBRUGARH UNIVERSITY
DIBRUGARH – 786 004**

POLITICAL SCIENCE
COURSE : Pol. Sc. – 103
COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEM

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Published on behalf of the Directorate of Open Distance Learning, Dibrugarh University by the Directorate, DODL, D.U. and printed at Insui Printer, D.U. Market Complex, Dibrugarh – 786004

POLITICAL SCIENCE
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COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEM

BLOCK – 1	Pages
Unit - 1 : Comparative Politics-Nature, Evolution and Importance	1 – 15
Unit - 2 : Comparative Approaches and Methods : Traditional and New Approaches	16 – 25
Unit - 3 : Comparative Government, Comparative Politics and Comparative Political System	26 – 30
Unit - 4 : Problem and Perspective of Comparative Political System	31 – 38
BLOCK – 2	
Unit - 1 : Models of Political System's Analysis David Easton's Input-Output Analysis	39 – 46
Unit - 2 : Gabriel Almond's Structural Functionalism	47 – 55
Unit - 3 : Political Communication Approach	56 – 63
BLOCK – 3	
Unit -1 : The Classification of Political System : The Classical Division	64 – 75
Unit -2 : Classification of Government : Liberal Classification – British and American Models, Unitary and Federal Political Systems, Parliamentary and Presidential Political Systems, Authoritarian and Totalitarian Regimes	76 – 92

BLOCK-1

Unit-1

COMPARATIVE POLITICS-NATURE, EVOLUTION AND IMPORTANCE

STRUCTURE

- 1.0 OBJECTIVES
- 1.1 INTRODUCTION
- 1.2 UNDERSTANDING OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS
 - 1.2.1 MEANING OF COMPARATIVE
 - 1.2.2 MEANING OF POLITICS
 - 1.2.3 MEANING OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS
 - 1.2.3.1 POLITICAL ACTIVITY
 - 1.2.3.3 POLITICAL PROCESS
 - 1.2.3.3 POLITICAL POWER
- 1.3 NATURE OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS
 - 1.3.1 ANALYTICAL AND EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION
 - 1.3.2 STUDY OF INFRA-STRUCTURE
 - 1.3.3 STRESS ON THE STUDY OF DEVELOPING SOCIETIES
 - 1.3.4 STRESS ON INTER DISCIPLINARY APPROACH
 - 1.3.5 CROSS CULTURAL STUDY
- 1.4 EVOLUTION OF THE STUDY OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS
- 1.5 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS
- 1.6 LET US SUM UP
- 1.7 KEY WORDS
- 1.8 TERMINAL QUESTIONS
- 1.9 MODEL ANSWERS TO CYP

1.0 OBJECTIVES

After a careful study of this unit you will be able to

1. Define the term “Comparative politics”.
2. Identify the nature of Comparative politics.
3. Examine the growth and development of the study of comparative politics.
4. Assess the importance of the study of comparative politics.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This is the first unit of the course Political Science 103 (Comparative political system). This course is entirely dealing with Comparative politics. Therefore, the course begins with the fundamental aspects of comparative politics. In order to understand the whole course, you are to first clearly understand the first unit which is the core unit of the course.

Comparative politics is a subject of recent origin and has become an integral part of the study of politics. Today, comparative politics has emerged as the most comprehensive and theoretical branch of political science. Comparative analysis is indeed a powerful and versatile tool. The meaning, nature and scope of comparative politics has been changing day by day with the changing time and environment.

It is very much important to know the meaning, nature, scope, importance and evolution of comparative politics. This unit is an attempt in this direction.

1.2 UNDERSTANDING COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Comparative politics is a concept consisting of two words “comparative” and “politics”. Before you attempt to define comparative politics, you must first be clear about the meaning of both the terms ‘comparative’ and ‘politics’.

1.2.1 Meaning of Comparative

By comparison you can see patterns of activities, taken by different regimes, analyse different ideologies, processes, decision making and examine propositions about both importance of certain features under study and the relationship between classes of data. It also allows systematic empirical testing of generalization used to order diverse data. By making comparison you may observe patterns similarities and differences. It helps in understanding a particular system of activity.

1.2.2 Meaning of Politics

Generally speaking, politics is a continuous, timeless, everchanging and universal activity having its key manifestation in the making of a decision to face and solve a predicament. In other words, it refers to the making or taking of a decision in which some political action is involved. David Easton defines politics as “an authoritative allocation of values”. Harold Lasswell and Robert Dahl describe politics as a special case in the exercise of power Karl Marx and his followers explain politics “as nothing more than a reflection of prevailing economic conditions especially of economic technology and the distribution of the ownership of Capital”.

To speak in other words, politics is an organized dispute about powers and its use, involving choice among competing values, ideas of persons, interests and demands. Politics also means striving to share power or striving to influence the distribution of power, either among states or among groups within a state. As such we may conclude that politics deals with power, rule or authority.

1.2.3 Meaning of Comparative politics

Comparative politics is concerned with behaviour, institutions, processes ideas and values present in more than one country. It searches for those regularities and patterns, those

similarities and differences between more than one state that help to clarify the basic nature, functioning and beliefs of the political system. It also studies a wider range of political activity including governments and their institutions as well as other non-political institutions related to the national governments.

Comparative politics is also related to norms, basic values and beliefs underlying political activity. The field of Comparative politics involves the systematic and comparative study of nations and their political systems.

To sum up, in the field of comparative politics, the term 'politics' has three connotations :

- (i) **Political Activity**
- (ii) **Political Process**
- (iii) **Political Power**

1.2.3.1 Political Activity

If politics means the authoritative allocation of values some kind of remedial measures of conflict needs to be aroused between "values" as desired by the people and 'values' as held by the men in power. The arising conflicts demand their solution and the leading efforts in this context constitute political activity. In other words, it can be said that political activity consists of the efforts by which conditions of conflicts are created and resolved in a way pertaining to the interests of the people, as far as possible who play their part in the 'struggle for power'. As such, it is a very important function of political activity to reduce tensions.

1.2.3.2 Political Process

Political process comes after political activity. It is an extension of political activity. It is wider in the sense that it includes all those agencies, figures who have their role in the decision making process. In the decision making process not only the formal governmental agencies but also informal agencies are included. Each informal agency has certain interests to be protected. In this way a conflict starts between governmental and non-governmental agencies. The problems which draw attentions in political activities are how agencies formulate their values, how these get articulated, to which extent are these accepted. How is

the reaction of the community and informal agencies communicated to the society. Thus the study of politics is broadened so as to include even non-state agencies as they influence the government of a country for the sake of protecting or promoting their specific interest.

1.2.3.3 Political Power

The study of political power is another scope of the study of comparative politics. It is the key concept in the study of comparative politics. Political power is the capacity to affect the behavior of another persons by the threat of some form of action. Political power is exercised by those who control the state. Such a power is usually accompanied by authority. Those who enjoy and exercise political power and authority try to justify that in one way or the other and thus try to get them legitimised. According to T.H. Tawney, “power is a capacity of an individual or a group of individuals to modify the conduct of other individuals or groups in a manner which he or they desire. Further Michel Curtiz says, politics is an organized dispute about the power and its huge use involving among competing values, ideas, persons, interests and demands. It is not merely a study of state and government. It is a study of exercise of power. In the field of comparative politics the term politics has empirical orientation. It deals with description and analysis of the manner in which power is obtained but also exercised and the manner in which that is used.

If politics deals with political activity, political process and political power in their totality, comparative politics is the study of the forms of political organizations, their properties, correlations, variations and modes of change. The students of comparative politics are, therefore, primarily concerned with the study of political organizations, political systems as a whole in order to identify similarities and dissimilarities that characterize them. The scope of comparative politics thus may be thought of as a table with a list of countries in the first column and an aspect of political activity of the head of the remaining columns. The table may be extended downwards until it includes all the states or independent politics and to the right until the list of topics of interest is exhausted. The study of an individual country is an exercise along a line while comparative studies deals with a column.

Thus the study of comparative politics involves political activity, political process and political power.

There is no unanimity regarding the definition of comparative politics. We shall mention here some of the important

definitions of comparative politics given by a host of political scientists.

“Comparative Government is the study of states and their governmental institutions and processes on a comparative basis”- G.K. Roberts.

“Comparative politics is the study of the forms of political organizations, their properties, correlation, variations and mode of change” – M.G. Smith.

Comparative politics is concerned with significant regularities, similarities and differences in the working of political institutions and political behavior. - M. Curtis.

Comparative politics is the study of patterns of national governments in the contemporary world. The term ‘pattern of government’ refers to the three parts of the study (i) government structure (ii) behavior i.e. the study of how a particular political structure or institution works, and (iii) the laws”- Jean Blondel

So from the above definitions also it may be observed that some of the definitions are very narrow in nature while some are broader as we discussed earlier.

1.3 NATURE OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

The nature of comparative politics can be understood under the following heads.

1.3.1 Analytical and Empirical investigation

The study of comparative politics has been shifted from traditional to analytical and empirical one. In the study of comparative politics, there is more and more stress on analytical research. According to it, the study of political phenomena must be verifiable and if possible predictable. For this investigation in social sciences including political science needs to be objective rather than subjective. For instance, a pure ideal type of democracy is a tool employed in normative political theory which has no utility and relevance for a man of comparative politics. Definition of “democracy” is however loosened in such a way that it depends on actual government forms and operations as well as socio-political environment. As such, normative and descriptive method of understanding comparative politics have been replaced by analytical and empirical ones especially in the post Second World war era.

1.3.2 Study on infrastructure

The study of comparative politics does not remain confined to formal structures of government but it be concerned with the crystallized pattern of behaviour of a society at large. Since these are parts of the living structure of government. Instead of government in comparative politics the term “political system” is used as an inextricable part of the entire social system that and input-output process included all those forces of environment have their role in decision making process. Thus the role of political parties, pressure groups, interest groups and other nongovernmental organizations are as important as the legislature executive, judiciary and bureaucracy in the study of comparative politics.

1.3.3 Stress on the study of developing societies

what is supplemented to the increasing significance to the study of comparative politics is the study of ‘politics of developing areas’ because study of comparative politics is no longer a study of selected European and American governments rather the study of developing political system of poor and backward countries of Afro-Asian and Latin America. It is done so far for making comparative politics a subject of universal study for the purpose of building up theories and models so that the ‘system of democracy’ prevailed in those countries could be protected from being demolished by the forces opposed to it.

1.3.4 Focus on inter-disciplinary approach

What has really enriched the field of comparative politics is the focus on inter-disciplinary approach. Due to the discovery of more and more sophisticated tools for understanding and explaining political realities and inter disciplinary focus on the matters of political significance, by and large, responsible for changing the nature of study of comparative politics. As a result, traditional approaches to the study of politics based primarily on the foundations of history, ethics and law are being replaced by new approaches drawn from disciplines of Sociology, Economics,

Psychology, Biology etc. For example, structural functional, input-output processes owe their genesis to the discipline of biology and these have been applied in political science by leading American political scientist, David Easton and sociologists like Talcot Parson and Robert Merton. Similarly the concepts like political sociology, political culture are borrowed to political science from sociology.

1.3.5 Cross- cultural study

In the past, the nature of study of comparative politics was culture bound. It was confined to the study of western democracies only, thus dealing with a single culture configuration. After the World War II, culture bound study was transformed to cross-cultural study. The traditional approach had addressed itself primarily to western political system and it proved to be untenable when applied to these newly emerged states after World War II. The most momentous single factor for the transformation of the nature of study of comparative politics is the emphasis on the study of the developing countries of Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America.

Thus, it appears that modern comparative politics is markedly differently from the traditional nature of study. It has redefined its tool of study and analysis and shows sensitivities to a large number of variables. As a result of this, the contents of comparative politics have become enlarged, its methodology has undergone a change and its nature of study has become more comprehensive. It is as such, increasingly characterized by a search for realism. On the whole, the study of Comparative politics has obviously become a new science of politics' based on actuality.

1.4 EVOLUTION OF THE STUDY OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Comparative politics as a sister stream of political science began evolving only after 1950's. In the past even Plato and Aristotle realized the importance of comparative study of governments, their working and political institutions. But in the past, the study was historical and today it is sophisticated. Any way, the growth and development of the study of comparative politics can broadly be studied in three phases.

1.4.1 First Phase

First phase of the growth of comparative politics can be traced back to the days of Aristotle. He made an attempt to study political institutions prevailed in those days and classified into two i.e. good and perverted forms of government. He further classified them on the basis of number of rulers-one, a few and many; Aristotle's classification of constitutions is as follows :

No. of Rulers	Good form	Perverted Form
One	Monarchy	Tyranny
A few	Aristocracy	Oligarchy
Many	Polity	Democracy

Aristotle deeply studied their working and in his famous treatise 'Politics' he tried to distinguish political systems on the basis of number of persons involved in decision-making process, the ethos of the ruling class and extent of existence of legal restraints. It was in those days that constitutions of the Greek city-states were studied and comparative analysis was made.

Both Polybius and Cicero made partly comparative studies of both the Greek and Roman institutions. Then comes Machiavelli whose book 'Prince' is a good treatise for the students of comparative politics. Among others mention may be made about Montesquieu. J.S. Mill, E.A. Freeman and James Bryce. Bryce has been called as the last representative of classical thinkers. He made an attempt to study variations being brought about by historical, economic and social conditions. In his modern democracies he had discussed working of various democratic institutions and systems. While discussing problems of democracies he paid adequate attention to party politics and extra-legal practices.

Political philosophers of this phase of development of comparative politics had however, one primary aim namely that of better understanding the working of political institutions and systems as these were operating in their times or operated in the past. They wanted to collect sufficient basic data and material which could enable them to discover the ideal type institutions. This they wanted to do with the method of comparison. Credit of these political philosophers is that they laid down the foundations of the study of comparative politics on which others could build sound super structure.

1.4.2 Second Phase

In the second phase of evolution of comparative politics an attempt was made to deeply study political institutions. The comparisons made were more rigorous and approaches in the study of governmental institutions more realistic. They dealt with methodological problems and studied not only the problems relating to collection of data but also made several cross-cultural studies and analysis of problems connected with them. During this period Friedrich H. Finer wrote 'The Theory and Practice of Modern Governments' and 'Constitutional Government and Politics.' E. M. Sait wrote 'Political Institution-A Practice.' Their works proved to be important and made useful contribution in the field of comparative analysis of structures and functioning in the government. Other noted thinkers and writers of this period were Samuel H. Beer, Haas, Bernard Uttam and others. Beer and Uttam wrote in 1962 'The Patterns of Government'. During this period a celebrated name in the evolution of comparative politics is that of Montesquieu whose work 'Spirit of laws' deeply influenced the constitution making process in the USA, France and other western countries. De Tocqueville's 'Democracy in America' is also a landmark in the evolution of Comparative politics. August Comte, the founder of sociology played a pioneering role in the advancement of comparative methods. Comparison was an integral part of the school of historical jurisprudence founded in Germany. Coming to the 19th century Karl Marx has been an outstanding scholar whose contribution to comparative politics is original and profound.

During the second phase the political philosophers adopted the comparative method to gain a better understanding of the working of government in ancient Greece, American Federation, Liberal democracies etc. Their writings lacked the rigor and the vigour of true comparative analysis which could lead to universal generalizations and conceptualization of politics. It was, in short the adolescent stage of comparative politics.

The basic features of the study of comparative politics during the second phase were:

- (i) There is an emphasis on the study of formal institutions to the neglect of political processes.
- (ii) It is focused on the Western European political system, and thus the non-Western political systems are neglected. It was culture bound.

- (iii) The study made a country by country approach with no serious attempt to identify similarities and dissimilarities between the countries.
- (iv) There is lack of concern for the development of theories through collection and analysis of data in order to test specific hypotheses.

1.4.3 Third Phase

In the 20th century, especially after World War II (1939-45) that comparative politics witnessed development on a scale never reached so far.

During the third phase the contribution made by the committee on Comparative Politics constituted by the Social Science Research Council of the USA was very significant. It encouraged new theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of comparative politics the study of the non-western world and the problems of political development of the new states that emerged with the end of colonialism. The committee set the stage for development of a more universal concept of comparative politics. America provided the kind of environment which was ideal for affecting a breakthrough in comparative politics. The study of comparative politics became empirical and its study began to be pursued to promote theory building.

The American political scientists were in search for a laboratory to carry out their ideas. The laboratory was provided by the newly emerged states in Asia and Africa after the World War II. These countries were the catalysts. The most momentous single factor for the current transformation of the study of comparative politics was the rising importance of the politics of the developing areas. The study and research on these countries has a revolutionary impact on the study of comparative politics.

The World War II (1939-45) was the watershed dividing the traditional and the modern comparative politics. The study on comparative politics transformed from culture-bound to cross cultural study as a result of the shift of attention from west European countries to the third world countries. There has also been a shift of emphasis on description to theory building. This constitutes a second feature characterizing modern comparative politics. The development of theory is among the foremost concern of modern comparative politics. The adoption of empirical method is an outstanding feature of modern comparative politics.

The need of modern comparative politics is to develop concepts which go beyond institutional structures and legal process. Comparative politics has evolved a language which can be used to evaluate similar patterns of action and behavior in different countries. Instead of 'state' they used 'political system' instead of 'power' they preferred to use 'functions' instead of 'offices' the term 'role' is used and instead of 'institutions' the term 'structures' is used.

Modern comparative politics is characterized by a high degree of methodological sensitivity. Modern comparative politics has broadened its scope of study and redefined its tool of analysis. It has assimilated a lot from other social sciences and is indeed interdisciplinary in nature.

After World War II the study of comparative politics has been conducted in a new frame called 'Area studies'. Area studies involve intensive study of political and economic systems, culture, and language, history of a particular region or area. Really speaking, the third phase of development of comparative politics began with the coming of G A Almond and J S Coleman who edited the book entitled 'Politics and Developing Areas'. Furthermore, during this period E R V Mahaden wrote 'Politics and Developing Nations' and H. Eckstein and D E Apter edited 'Comparative politics: Notes and Readings.' The writers of this phase developed a score of strategies of comparisons and laid stress on area studies. Their approach was based on comparisons of both constitutional and functional. For the sake of presenting their contributions they have made use of inter-related sets of concepts. In their own way they provided a special vocabulary i.e. David Easton talked of inputs, outputs, demands, feedback etc. Similarly Karl Deutsch developed such terms such as autonomy, load, lag, lead and gain.

From the above it is seen that there is a long history of the development of the study of comparative politics since the days of Aristotle to till date.

1.5 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Who defined politics as an authoritative allocation of values.

2. Define politics.

1.5 LET US SUM UP

From the above discourse , you have seen that the study of comparative politics in its latest form includes important contribution of those recent prominent thinkers who have adhered to the subject by considering their fields of study more and more countries of the globe and particularly African and Latin American regions popularly known as the ‘developing world’. As a result the, contents and scope of comparative politics have become enlarged, its methodology has undergone a sea change and its nature of study has become more comprehensive. On the whole, the study of comparative politics has been a tool for exploring the realism of a political phenomenon.

1.6 KEY WORDS

Formal : The official norm the theory what ought to be done, as expressed in constitution, laws, rules and regularities.

1.7 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the changing meaning nature and scope of comparative politics?
2. Briefly trace the development of comparative politics.
3. What is comparative politics? Briefly analyses its evolution as a sub-discipline.

1.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

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1.9 MODEL ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. David Easton
2. Politics is a continuous timeless ever-changing and universal activity having its key manifestation in the making of a decision to face and solve a predicament.

Unit-2

COMPARATIVE APPROACHES AND METHODS : TRADITIONAL AND NEW APPROACHES

STRUCTURE

- 2.0 OBJECTIVES
- 2.1 INTRODUCTION
- 2.2 APPROACHES AND METHODS TO THE STUDY OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS
- 2.2 MEANING OF APPROACH
- 2.3 CLASSIFICATION OF APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS
 - 2.3.1 TRADITIONAL APPROACH
 - 2.3.1.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF TRADITIONAL APPROACH
 - 2.3.1.2 SHORTCOMINGS OF TRADITIONAL APPROACH
 - 2.3.1.3 CONTRIBUTION OF TRADITIONAL APPROACH
 - CHECK YOUR PROGRESS
 - 2.3.2 MODERN APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS
 - 2.3.2.1 CHARACTERISTICS
 - 2.3.2.2 SHORTCOMINGS OF MODERN APPROACH
 - CHECK YOUR PROGRESS
- 2.4 COMPARISON BETWEEN TRADITIONAL AND MODERN APPROACH
- 2.5 LET US SUM UP
- 2.6 KEY WORDS
- 2.7 TERMINAL QUESTIONS
- 2.8 SUGGESTED READINGS
- 2.9 MODEL ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

2.0 OBJECTIVES

After a careful studying this unit you will be able to

- 1) Define the term “Approach”.
- 2) Identify the basic features of traditional approach to the study of comparative politics.
- 3) Examine the salient features of Modern approach to the study of Comparative politics.
- 4) Differentiate between traditional and modern approach to the study of comparative politics.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This is the second unit of the first block. In the first unit, you have already come to know about the meaning, nature and evolution of the study of comparative politics. A host of leading writers on this subject adopted divergent view points and also adopt different ways with the result that different terms like approaches, methods, models, techniques, paradigms, strategies and they seem to be either synonymous or inter-related. As such, in the study of politics, existence and utilization of several approaches may be discovered. In view of this, the present unit is an attempt to discuss different approaches to the study of politics in view of the fact that the difference between them ‘has been significant and the heat generated by the partisans of each way battling to prove the supreme virtues of their approach has been great.

2.2 APPROACHES AND METHODS TO THE STUDY OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

There are divergence of approaches and methods towards understanding comparative politics. But in order to have a better understanding the divergences of approaches and methods you must have an idea about the meaning of Approach. So let us explain the meaning of Approach and method.

2.2.1 Meaning Of “Approach” and “Method”

An Approach in simple terms can be understood as a way of looking at and then explaining a particular phenomenon. It provides certain norms and paradigms which may be utilized to find out the political reality. In fact, approach covers within its fold everything related to the collection of data and selection of evidence for investigation and analysis of a particular hypothesis formulated for an academic purpose.

2.3 CLASSIFICATION OF APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Approaches to the study of comparative politics can broadly be divided into two parts.

- (i) Traditional (Normative/Classical/Idealist) approach.
- (ii) Modern (Scientific/empirical) Approach.

2.3.1 TRADITIONAL APPROACH

The approach applied to the study of comparative politics prior to the Second World War is commonly known as the traditional approach and it was largely dominated by the subjects like history, ethics, philosophy and law. A host of political philosophers namely Plato, Aristotle, Burke, Kant and many others happened to be the proponents of the traditional approach who idealized the state and wanted to present the picture of an ideal community. On the whole, the traditional approach is characterized by the following features like descriptive, parochialism non-comparative and static one.

2.3.1.1 Characteristics of Traditional Approach

The traditional approach to the study of Comparative politics bears the following Characteristics.

1. There is an emphasis on the study of formal political institutions of the state and government and the neglect of political processes.
2. It is primarily confined to the study of the western European political systems and thus the non-West European political systems are neglected. Therefore, it is called culture-bound study.
3. Traditional approach adopts country by country approach without having any attempt to find out the similarities and dissimilarities between the countries.
4. There is lack of concern for the development of theories through collection and analysis of data for the cause of testing specific hypothesis.
5. It is concerned with the study of political institutions of various states separately and merely tried to draw a comparison with the political institutions of other states.
6. There is an emphasis on description of existing institutions with little attention given to the analysis and development of systematic generalizations about the political phenomena.
7. The study of comparative politics during traditional period was normative in nature.

2.3.1.2 Shortcomings of Traditional Approach

The followings are the shortcomings of the traditional approach to the study of Comparative politics.

1. The traditional approach is concerned with the study of political institutions and completely neglected the non-political factors which influence the working of the political institutions.
2. It concentrated on mere description of the prevailing political institutions and did not make any bid to offer solutions for the existing political problems.
3. It laid emphasis on the study of formal institutions of government. It did not discuss the non formal institution such as political parties pressure groups etc.
4. It was confined to the study of western political systems and tried to draw a conclusion which could not be applied universally.
5. It was defective as it made no any bid to examine the actual working of various political institutions.

2.3.1.3 Contribution of Traditional approach

The contribution of Traditional approach to the study of Comparative politics can be better understood from the following points.

1. The scholars of political science by pursuing the traditional approach have produced excellent monographs and text books on individual political systems.
2. Another contribution of traditional approach is that a correct understanding a political system is possible only when it is undertaken for study in the context of history society and culture.
3. As is well known, knowledge of foreign political systems is everywhere considered to be a part of liberal education and this alone could be a sufficient justification for the study. As such, the study of comparative politics is enriched by the traditional approach even though it has suffered from shortcomings.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1. Name two proponents of Traditional approach.

.....

Q 2. Point out two features of traditional approach to the study of Comparative politics ?

.....

2.3.2 Modern Approach

The genesis of modern approach to the study of comparative politics can be traced back to the publication of books entitled 'The Human Nature in Politics' (1925) by Graham Wallas and 'the Process of Government' by Aurther Bentley. They started

of talking more and more in terms of informal processes of politics and less and less on the study of states and its political institutions in isolation. It is particularly after the World War II that led the writers of social sciences to start following interdisciplinary approach and thereby presenting their contribution which brought about a basic transformation in the study of political science too.

David Easton, an American political scientist happened to be the leading figure in this direction who was subsequently followed by a host of other writers that includes Gabriel Almond, Karl Deutsch, David Apter, Myron Weiner and many others.

According to the modern approach, in fact, more and more attention is directed to the study of non-governmental institutions, social groups, political processes and the politically oriented behavior of individuals and groups. By and large, the scope of the study of comparative politics has now been shifted from the institution themselves to the accumulation and exercise of powers wherever it is found.

In this context, W. A. Robson has rightly said “The focus of interest of the political scientists is clear and unambiguous. It centre’s on the struggle to gain or to retain power, to exercise power or influence over others or to resist the exercise of power.”

Modern Approach includes a variety of other approaches such as the Behavioral, Post Behavioral, Marxist approach etc. Failure of the traditional approach has led to the emergence of behavioral approach and as such the political scientists began to borrow from other allied disciplines such as sociology Anthropology. Psychology, Biology, Mathematics to make the study of political science capable of understanding political realities.

2.3.2.1 Features of Modern Approach

The modern Approach is characterized by the following features

- (i) Modern Approach is based on the empirical investigation of the relevant facts of the political system.
- (ii) It makes Comparative study of all processes, structural-functions and political behavior of all political systems throughout the world.
- (iii) The political system in modern approach is studied in the scientific way by conducting researches.

- (iv) Theory building and explanation of politics is the main objective of the modern Approach.
- (v) In modern approach, emphasis is given on the study of socio-economic, cultural and psychological environments.
- (vi) In modern approach, focus is made on the study of non western political systems too.

2.3.2.2 Shortcomings of Modern Approach

The modern approach to the study of comparative politics like traditional approach is also defective. It suffers from a number of defects.

1. The various new concepts used by the scholars of new approaches in their studies like political development, political culture, political socialization are not definite and clear. Scholars have different opinion regarding these concepts. In a sense, there is no universality regarding meaning of a particular concept.
2. In modern approach, the scholars have given more stress on behavioral study. While in behaviouralism data and verifiable facts are given prime importance, other factors become secondary.
3. In modern approach, scholars have given more importance on studying the political system of developing countries compared to the developed countries simply because the former have begun playing role in international political scenario especially in the post decolonization period.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Name two proponents of modern approach to the study of comparative politics

.....

2. Mention two shortcomings of modern approach.

.....

2.4 COMPARISON BETWEEN TRADITIONAL AND MODERN APPROACHES

Modern approaches are quite different from that of traditional approaches. The following are the differences in between them

Traditional Approach	Modern Approach
1. Characterized by methodological Insensitivity	1. Characterized by high degree of methodological sensitivity
2. Focuses on the study of state	2. Focuses on political system.
3. Confined to the western European Countries.	3. Covers the non western states also.
4. Culture bound in its approach and Orientation	4. Seeks to be trans-cultural
5. Traditional Approach is non Theoretical	5. Concerned with the formulation of theories and explanation of politics.
6. Has paid very little attention to General social framework of the State.	6. Takes into account the general social framework of the state.

Thus the features of modern approach are quite different from traditional approach.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Point out one difference between traditional and modern approach.

.....

.....

2.5 LET US SUM UP

From the above analysis you have come to know that there are both traditional and modern approaches to the study of comparative politics. Though both of them have their merits and demerits yet they have their application in the realm of comparative politics.

2.6 KEY WORDS

2.7 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. Critically examine the traditional approach to the study of comparative politics.
2. Write a note about the contribution of traditional approach to the study of comparative politics.
3. Compare and contrast the traditional approach with the modern approach to the study of comparative politics.

2.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

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2.9 MODEL ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

C.Y.P. – 1

1. Plato, Barker.
2. Descriptive, static.

C.Y.P. – 2

1. David Easton, Graham Wallas.
2. (i) More stress on behavioral study.
(ii) More emphasis on developing countries.

C.Y.P. – 3

1. While Modern approach is Theory-oriented, the Traditional is not.

Unit - 3

COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT, COMPARATIVE POLITICS AND COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEM

STRUCTURE

- 3.0 OBJECTIVES
- 3.1 INTRODUCTION
- 3.2 COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT AND COMPARATIVE POLITICS
- 3.3 COMPARATIVE POLITICS AND COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEM
- 3.4 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS
- 3.5 LET US SUM UP
- 3.6 KEY WORDS
- 3.7 TERMINAL QUESTIONS
- 3.8 SUGGESTED READINGS
- 3.9 MODEL ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

3.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to

- (i) Understand the meaning of the term “government.”
- (ii) Differentiate between comparative government and comparative politics.
- (iii) Examine the relationship between comparative politics and comparative political system.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This is the third unit of the first block. As you know that the study of comparative government and that of comparative politics is closely related with each other. According to Finer government has four meanings. It denotes the activity or process of governing and the extent to which that activity or process is to be found. It denotes the manner, method or system by which a

particular society is governed. Lastly, it tells about the people who are charged with the duty of governing. Thus government is an arrangement for taking decisions which affect the whole group. Freeman says that comparative politics is nothing else but comparative analysis of various forms of government and diverse political institutions. Comparative Government is the study of patterns of national governments in the contemporary world.

In the light of this, the present unit is an attempt to examine the relationship between comparative government and comparative politics and comparative political system.

3.2 COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT AND COMPARATIVE POLITICS

Although the two terms ‘Comparative government’ and ‘Comparative politics’ are used loosely and interchangeably, there is a point of distinction between the two. There are political thinkers who make a distinction between comparative government and comparative politics. To them the scope of study of comparative politics is much wider than that of comparative government. In comparative government the study of different political system with their institutions and function is covered. On the other hand, in comparative politics all that is covered in comparative government and in addition, the study of non-state politics is studied. They also believe that like study of Comparative government in Comparative politics the processes of rule making, rule implementing and rule adjudicating are studied but beyond that extra-constitutional agencies like political parties and pressure groups which are so far considered to be legitimate fields of activity.

While making a distinction between the two we can say that Comparative politics concerned with significant regularities similarities and differences in the working of political institutions and in political behavior. Meaningful analysis requires explanatory hypotheses, the testing to sentiments, observation, experimentation etc.

Freeman has also made a distinction between the two. According to him in comparative government we study political institutions and forms of government in a comparative way. In comparative politics we study, as noted above the actual functioning of various institutions and structures, not the mere description of governments.

Blondel has distinguished clearly between the two. According to him comparative government can become comparative politics when both are vertical and horizontal aspects of comparison are taken into account.

3.3 COMPARATIVE GOVERNMENT AND COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEM

Comparative politics is the study of the forms of political organization, their properties, correlations, variations, and modes of change. The students of comparative politics is, therefore, primarily concerned with the study of political organizations, or the political system as a whole, in order to identify similarities and differences that characterize them. The study of comparative politics involves political activity, political process and political power.

Comparative politics was earlier known as comparative constitution and comparative government. It was the task of the political scientists to transform comparative government into comparative politics or comparative political system in the post World War II period. This in turn involved two fundamental changes. First, the study was to be undertaken comparatively. Second, the study was to be of the political system, not merely of government. In other words, comparative political system studies everything that falls under the purview of a given political system related to politics.

Comparative politics is concerned with politics i.e., power relationship wherever they occur. It extends to non-governmental institutions and covers political party, pressure groups etc. On the other hand, the term comparative political system refers to technique, an approach, a method of studying political activities. Therefore, a group of writers prefer to call it comparative political system to comparative politics.

Though there is no difference between the two nomenclatures, yet, it would be justifiable to call it comparative politics since our primary concern is to study the political activity, political process and political power. The system approach is applied to help us to study the political activity, political process and political power systematically and scientifically. Our concern is not to study the system but politics. Therefore, in the study of comparative politics we should not put much emphasis on the system. It is accepted to help us in conducting scientific study of comparative politics.

3.4 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- (i) What is the prime distinction between comparative government and comparative politics made by Blondel ?

- (ii) What are the four meanings of government as explained by Freeman ?

3.5 LET US SUM UP

From the above discourse you have seen that the differences between comparative government and comparative politics as well as between comparative politics and comparative political system are only in limited extent. Now a days, comparative government, comparative politics and comparative political system are interchangeably used more or less to mean the same.

3.6 KEY WORDS

3.7 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

- 1) Define comparative politics. Distinguish between comparative government and comparative politics.
- 2) What do you mean by comparative political system. Differentiate between comparative politics from that of comparative political system ?

3.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

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3.9 MODEL ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- (i) Comparative government can become comparative politics when both are vertical and horizontal aspects of comparison are taken into account.
- (ii)
 - (a) It denotes the activity or process of governing and the extent to which that activity or process is to be found.
 - (b) It denotes the manner method or system by which a particular society is governed.
 - (c) Lastly, it tells about the people who are charged with the duty of governance.
 - (d) Thus government is an arrangement for taking decisions which affect the whole group.

Unit - 4

PROBLEM AND PERSPECTIVE OF COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEM

STRUCTURE

4.0 OBJECTIVE

4.1 INTRODUCTION

4.2 PROBLEMS IN THE STUDY OF COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEM

4.2.1 COLLECTION OF INFORMATION

4.2.2 PROBLEM FACED DUE TO THE BACKGROUND VARIABLE

4.2.3 PROBLEMS AS A RESULT OF THE RULE OF NORMS, INSTITUTION AND AFFAIR AND GOVERNMENTAL BEHAVIOR

4.3 STATE OF DISCIPLINE AND PROSPECT FOR FUTURE

4.3.1 GABRIEL ALMOND'S OBSERVATION ON FUTURE PROSPECT OF THE DISCIPLINE OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

4.4 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

4.5 LET US SUM UP

4.6 KEY WORDS

4.7 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

4.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

4.9 MODEL ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

4.0 OBJECTIVE

After going through this unit you will be able to

- 1) Highlight the problems in the study of comparative politics.
- 2) Examine the state of the discipline of comparative politics.
- 3) Identify the prospect for future study of comparative politics.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This is the fourth unit of the first block. In the foregoing chapters you have already come to know about the changing meaning, nature, scope of comparative politics and also about the divergence of approaches towards understanding the same. Now a days the study of comparative politics is beset with a number of problems that defy the requirement of scientific analysis. In the light of this, the present unit is an attempt to highlight the various problems in the study of comparative politics and also state of the discipline and prospect for future.

4.2 PROBLEMS IN THE STUDY OF COMPARATIVE POLITICS

The study of comparative politics involves various problems. Solution of the problems confronting in the study can be explained under the following heads :

4.2.1 Collection of data and information

In case of collection of information and accumulation of data about various governments the major difficulty is that sometimes the facts and figures are simply forbidden by countries under the study. Particularly information about the totalitarian countries is very meagre. But it does not denote that these countries are completely closed to investigation. Many facts come out and some others are published by the government to show the achievements that they make during a particular period. Moreover

a careful study of the government and its working composition at the government etc reveals much meaningful information is not so problematic. Information in such countries can be collected readily both from the newspaper, reports etc and from those who are running the government. But even in a democratic country full information may not be available. Many facts especially those dealing with the security of the country or the defense or the foreign affairs are not leaked out or made public. Similarly, the decisions of the cabinet are also not leaked out or made public. The decisions taken at the closed door meeting of the party are also kept undisclosed. So, as such even a democratic country is not absolutely open for investigation.

Moreover, problem faced in the field is that data are difficult to collect because they are sometimes very difficult to measure. In fact, many political decisions defy accurate measurement and hence can hardly be put to comparative use.

In the similar vein, another problem that a student of comparative politics confronts in gathering information is that many events seem to be unique and as such a comparative analysis appears inappropriate. One may study the chief executive of the different countries such as the British prime minister, the Indian prime minister, the American president. The study of these executives without other influences would prove futile. These studies in true perspective is therefore essential in the sense that the forces of decision making must be taken into account and these forces consist of voters, legislators and many other factors in each country under study. Finally, the unwillingness of the governments to provide complete data and information in detail is another important obstacle in the event of collecting information.

4.2.2 Problem arising due to the background variables

In addition, the background variables create some problems for the student of the comparative governments. Here, the term variables refer to various factors upon which the pattern of thinking and acting of the masses as well as power holders depend. These variable ranges from economic conditions to the climate of a country or its geographical conditions or certain historical happenings. These variables have a complex influence on the politics of an individual country. Earlier attempts were made to explain the influence of these variables on every small scale. For instance, explanation on the basis of economic factor divides the countries on the variables of those who possess capital.

A similar attempt was made to simplify the influence of variable on the basis of sea facing countries vs. land locked states i.e. the influence of climate or geography. However, it is futile to look for a factors accounting for all the variation between governments. Students of comparative governments have turned their look to a better approach.

4.2.3. Problems emerged as a result of the role of norms, institution and governmental behavior

Nearly all the countries have the government of their own choice. They decide in advance what type of government they should have. This decision to have a particular type of government introduces the element of value or norm in the governmental system. It is also decided as to what the government should do and about how it should do. In other words, we have to see whether the norm correspondence to the behavior. The question of the relationship between norms and behaviour is complex. These norms are usually to be found in constitution on the various practices which become the conventions. Different kinds of norms can be found in different societies and political system could be compared in terms of the relationship between norms and behavior. Thus for the study of comparative government it is essential to look into the relationship of norms with institution and behavior.

4.3 STATE OF THE DISCIPLINE AND PROSPECT FOR FUTURE

The recent emphasis on comparative analysis in comparative politics has primarily involved expanding the domain of social inquiry beyond earlier narrow cultural bounds. The comparative revolution is further serving the purpose of reconstructing theoretical construct in a more scientific way. More fundamentally, the comparative perspective is providing a basic intellectual outlook that helps one overcome natural inclination to view the world through ego-centric and ethno-centric lenses and in this way, is also simulating the process of expanding the universe of comparative politics.

Comparative politics as an aspect of government activity has existed ever since the emergence of the political system. However, as a field of scientific study, its development has come only recently i.e. during post world war II. The traditional literature on government focused on foreign relations, political parties, election machinery, pressure groups, constitution or institution in their formal aspects. In the studies on foreign governments institutional aspects were covered with special reference to major European countries.

Post World War II studies abound with criticisms of the traditional comparative literatures. The turn of events during and after World War II changed the states of the comparative government's literature drastically and also transformed the states of the discipline from the traditional, normative to modern scientific. Today comparative politics has gained a respectable academic and professional status as evidenced by the continually growing number of bibliographies, books journal, conference teaching courses, professional programmers etc.

The underlying motivating sources for the systematic study of comparative politics in the USA can broadly be divided into the policy-oriented catalysts and intellectually-oriented catalysts. Both categories are drawn arbitrarily to aid the present analysis and should not be thought of as absolutely discrete. In fact, they are complementary in character since the theoretical and his instrumental perspectives are interdependent in the field of comparative politics.

After World War II, the change in academically-perceived social reality resulting from the emergence of a large number of new nations on the world scene, has created new motives and opportunities for scholars of comparative politics.

The emergent notions range quite widely in historical background, geographical conditions, population distribution, social stratification, cultural structure, economic growth, ideological orientation, political stability and governmental institutions. This diversity poses important problems of cross-cultural comparison in the analysis of a political system. The scholars of comparative politics, therefore, created conceptual constructs which are highly ecological and capable of explaining the dynamics of socio-political development, such a development in the field of study of comparative politics was stimulated by the intellectual climate of the post World War II period.

The behavioral approach in comparative politics has motivated greater scientific research are systematic theory construction. Testing of hypothesis in cross-cultural contexts has

made the state of the discipline universal. In order to study the differing ideologies of a variety of political systems, comparative politics has borrowed concepts, tools and findings from various social sciences and thus has developed an inter disciplinary orientation.

The Social Science Research Council constituted a committee on comparative politics in 1953 which has played a significant role in changing the status of the discipline of comparative politics. Gabriel Almond, Binder, Coleman Lucian Pye, Sydney Verba and Myron Weiner and other all members of the Committee on Comparative Politics provided a considerable impetus to the status of the discipline of comparative politics.

4.3.1. Almond's observation on future prospect at the discipline of comparative politics

Gabriel Almond while presenting an overview of the future prospect of the discipline comparative politics made the following observations.

- (i) As a result of the studies carried on by various scholars there is a growing accumulation of research material which needs proper codifications.
- (ii) The parochialism of theories of various special institutions is a thing of the past. There is a shift from culture-bound to cross-cultural study.
- (iii) There is a shift from purely configurative approach to one illuminated by comparison. Political systems are now being studied comparatively.
- (iv) The gap between empirical and normative political theories is being increasingly bridged though Almond puts it empirically permanence will never be same as ethical evaluation.
- (v) There is greater pre-occupation with the problems of political development and consequently the political change.

Almond does not foresee any long run future for comparative politics as a sub-discipline of political science. He feels that its promise lies in enriching the discipline of political science as a whole.

4.4. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- (i) Mention any two problems in the study at the comparative politics.

.....
.....

- (ii) Name any one who presented an overview on the future prospect of the comparative politics.

.....
.....

4.5 LET US SUM UP

From the above discussion you have seen that there are a lot of problems in the study of comparative politics on the basis of the above noted problems. Despite so certain efforts have been made for the cause of prospect for future study in the field of comparative politics.

4.6 KEY WORDS

4.7 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

- (i) Examine the problems which confront the study of comparative politics.
- (ii) Examine the state of discipline of comparative politics and prospect for its future.
- (iii) Examine the problems in the study of comparative politics and also its prospect for future.

4.8 SUGGESTED READING

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4.9 MODEL ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- (i) (a) Collection of information
- (b) Problem faced due to the background variables
- (ii) Gabriel Almond.

BLOCK – 2

Unit – 1

MODELS OF POLITICAL SYSTEM'S ANALYSIS DAVID EASTON'S INPUT-OUTPUT ANALYSIS

STRUCTURE :

- 1.0 OBJECTIVE
- 1.1 INTRODUCTION
- 1.2 MEANING OF SYSTEM
- 1.3 DAVID EASTON'S DEFINITION OF POLITICAL SYSTEM
- 1.4 COMPONENTS OF SYSTEM ANALYSIS
- 1.5 OFFSHOOTS OF SYSTEM APPROACH
 - 1.5.1 DAVID EASTON'S INPUT-OUTPUT ANALYSIS
 - 1.5.2 FEED BACK
- 1.6 GABRIEL ALMMD'S VIEWS ON SYSTEM ANALYSIS
- 1.7 SHORTCOMINGS
- 1.8 DIAGRAM OF DAVID EASTON'S SYSTEM APPROACH
- 1.9 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS
- 1.10 LET US SUM UP
- 1.11 KEY WORDS
- 1.12 TERMINAL QUESTIONS
- 1.13 SUGGESTED READINGS
- 1.14 MODEL ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you should be able to

- ❖ Define System Analysis.
 - ❖ Understand the components of System Analysis
 - ❖ Explain David Easton's Input Output analysis
 - ❖ Explain Gabriel Almond's views on System Analysis
 - ❖ Assess the System Approach
-

1.1. INTRODUCTION

System is an abstraction of the real society. Any social phenomena can be viewed as a system. These phenomena are closely related. However, boundaries are employed to discuss different systems such as political, economic, social and cultural-psychological conceptually measurable amounts are called variables, constant elements are termed as political system. It may be noted that the variables of a political system may consist of structures, functions, rules, actors values, norms, goals, inputs outputs feedback etc. In this chapter an attempt has been made to analyse all these concepts in the light of system approach to the study of comparative politics.

1.2 Meaning of General System Theory

The general system theory is borrowed from natural science like biology. Von Bertalanffy, a German biologist, defined 'system' as a set of 'elements standing in interaction'. This concept is based on the idea that objects or elements within a group are in some way related to one another and in turn, interact with one another on the basis of certain identifiable processes. Looking from this perspective, the term 'system' is useful to understand a political system in such a way that each part of the system does not stand alone but is related to one another part. In other words, the operation of one part of a political system cannot be properly understood without understanding the operation of other parts of that system.

David Easton, an American political philosopher, is one of the political scientists to suggest the utility of system analysis for a

meaningful study of politics. He had developed a systematic framework for the study of politics on the basis of system analysis approach. He introduced the concept of system to politics together with a number of variables such as 'inputs and outputs', 'demands and supports', and 'feed back'. He discussed it in his book 'a System Analysis of Political Life' published in 1965.

1.3 DAVID EASTON'S DEFINITION OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

David Easton defined political system as that behaviour or set of interactions through which authoritative allocations (or binding decisions) are made and implemented for the society. In other words, a system is marked by differentiation and integration. In fact, the function of a political system is to make authoritative decisions by overcoming all differentiation among various contending elements within a society. As such decision making is the essence of the political system.

1.4 COMPONENTS OF SYSTEM ANALYSIS

The proponents of system analysis identify three components of every political system. These are namely such as:

- (a) Political Community (b) Political Regime
- (c) Political Authorities

A political community comprises all those persons bound together by a political division of labour.

A political regime constitutes the constitutional legal structures, political processes, institutional norms as well as basic values.

A political authority consists of those individuals who are exercising power as periodical agents of the state.

For example, we may refer Indian people as one such political community. The political regime consists of the Indian constitutional foundations basic values of the politico-economic system, political parties, the periodic elections and other institutions associated with the Indian system of government. The ruling elite in New Delhi are the major political authorities.

1.5 OFFSHOOTS OF THE SYSTEM APPROACH

The System approach has 2 derivatives : one is input output model of Analysis and another is structural functional Approach.

1.5.1 David Easton's Input – Output analysis

David Easton's system analysis also came to be known as input – output analysis or conversion process. The dominant feature of input output analysis is the conversion of inputs into outputs by the system. According to David Easton, a political system absorbs inputs in the form of demands on authorities and support form of demands on authorities and support from institutions and the political community which in turn generate outputs in the form of policies and decisions.

Input-output analysis emphasises the fact that a political system works in processing and converting a variety of inputs into outputs. Demands are the statement that an authoritative allocations should also be made by these responsible and authorised for doing so. Supports are actions, statement or attitude favourable to a person, group, institutions, objections and idea. Demands may be generated by the environment or may be originated within a political system itself they had to pass through the conversion procedure to reach the output stage.

Input-output analysis considers all political system as both open and adoptive system. The central focus of input-output analysis is only in the nature of exchange and transaction that takes place between a political system and its environment. Input-output analysis, therefore systematises the study of relationship between a system and its total environment.

Environment – Intra societal and Extra societal.

The environment may be divided into two parts i.e. the intra societal and extra societal. The intra societal environment consists of economy, culture social structure, demography and personality within a political system. These are the segments of the society of which the political system is itself a part. On the other hand, the extra societal environment includes all these systems which lie outside a given society such as the international political system, international economic system, international ecological system and international social system which also have their impact on a given political system. By and large, a political system is interconnected with its environment through the process of inputs and outputs.

1.5.1.2 Feed Back

Feed back is a dynamic process through which informations regarding the performance of a system is communicated back to the system in such a way as to affect the subsequent behaviour of the system.

David Easton's system analysis is free from many of the shortcomings. It goes beyond the equilibrium analysis, and takes note of change in the political system. He talks of system persistence not of system maintenance and hence makes a clear distinction between the two.

The second advantage of Eastonian model of analysis lies in the field of comparative political analysis. His conceptual framework consists of standardized set of concepts and categories which make it easier to have broad overviews of political system.

David Easton's system analysis can be used for studying all kinds of political systems, democratic and otherwise. As Oran young rightly says – Easton's system analysis is undoubtedly the most inclusive systemic 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 system analysis in political science and so provide a general functional theory of politics.

1.6 GABRIEL ALMAND'S VIEWS ON SYSTEM ANALYSIS

Gabriel Almond, another political scientist, has interpreted the system analysis in his own way different from that of David Easton. According to him, a system is characterized by three factors –

- (i) Comprehensiveness.
 - (ii) Interdependence.
 - (iii) Existence of boundaries.
- Comprehensiveness is understood in the sense that it includes interaction of all sorts that is inputs and outputs, formal and informal, undifferentiated and anomic structures.
 - Interdependence means various subjects of a system which are connected closely with each other that a change in one sub-sect produces a change in other sub sects.

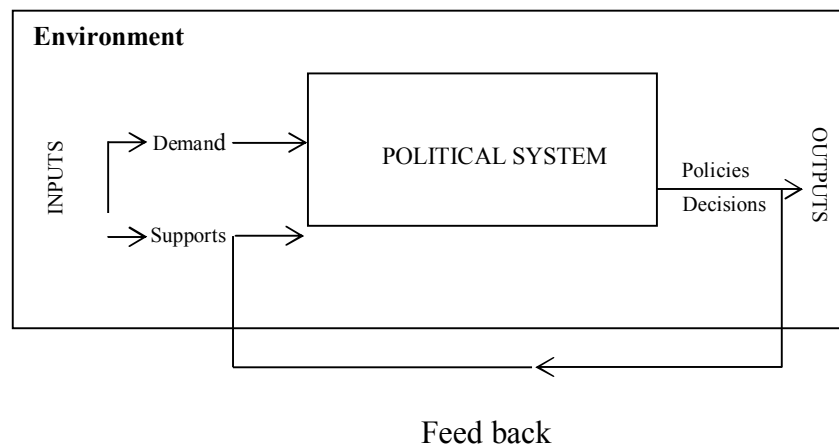
- Existence of boundaries means the point where a system comes to an end and where another political system begins. Every system has a particular boundary.

1.7 SHORTCOMINGS OF SYSTEM ANALYSIS

David Easton's input output analysis is suffering from various weakness.

- (i) Input-output analysis is basically concerned with system persistence and system adaptation which may not always be tenable and defensible.
- (ii) David Easton's input-output model focuses on politically active and relevant members of society tends to give it an elitist orientation. As such, it is primarily heritage-oriented.
- (iii) David Easton's input output model is concerned with the present and hence it does not have any perspective of the past and the future. So it is called anti historical approach.
- (iv) System analysis is designed for macro-level studies and not for micro level studies. Even of macro level it is not applicable to the study of third world countries whose nature of historical background level of socio-economic development are different from state to state.
- (v) All political phenomena cannot be discussed within the framework of a system. As such every set of variables selected for description and explanation may not be considered as a system of behaviour.

1.8. DAVID EASTON'S SYSTEM ANALYSIS MAY BE DESCRIBED IN THE FOLLOWING DIAGRAM.



1.9. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- (i) Mention two offshoots of System Analysis.

- (ii) Who propounded the input output analysis

- (iii) Who wrote the book 'A System Analysis of Political Life'?

1.10. LET US SUM UP

So what we have learnt in this unit ?

This unit is basically about system analysis to the study of comparative politics. First we come to know the basic concept of system. Then it is found that this system approach is viewed by two behaviouralists namely Gabriel Almond and David Easton differently. Then we have found that this approach is criticized by critique for the cause of having its certain drawbacks. At last, it is said that though it has certain drawbacks yet it has still relevance in the study of comparative politics.

1.11. KEY WORDS

Regime – A system of government on administration.

1.12. TERMINAL QUESTIONS

- (i) Explain the system approach of David Easton. What are its short comings ?
- (ii) Critically examine to what extent this theory of David Easton's system analysis is relevant to the study of developing countries.

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1.14 MODEL ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Input-out and structural functional analysis.
2. David Easton.

Unit – 2

GABRIEL ALMOND’S STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONALISM

STRUCTURE :

- 2.0 OBJECTIVES
- 2.1 INTRODUCTION
- 2.2 BASIC THRUST OF STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONAL APPROACH
- 2.3 CHARACTERISTICS OF STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONAL THEORY
- 2.4 GABRIEL ALMOND’S VIEWS ON STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONALISM
 - 2.4.1 INPUT FUNCTIONS – (POLITICAL)
 - 2.4.1.1 POLITICAL SOCIALISATION AND RECRUITMENT
 - 2.4.1.2 INTEREST ARTICULATION
 - 2.4.1.3 INTEREST AGGREGATION
 - 2.4.1.4 POLITICAL COMMUNICATION
 - 2.4.2 OUTPUT FUNCTIONS (GOVERNMENTAL)
 - 2.4.2.1 RULE FORMULATION
 - 2.4.2.2 RULE APPLICATION
 - 2.4.2.3 RULE ADJUDICATION
- 2.5 SHORTCOMINGS OF ALMOND’S STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONALISM
- 2.6 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS
- 2.7 LET US SUM UP
- 2.8 KEY WORDS
- 2.9 TERMINAL QUESTIONS.
- 2.10 SUGGESTED READINGS.
- 2.11 MODEL ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS.

2.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you should be able to

- (i) Define structural functionalism.
- (ii) Identify the basic features of structural functional approach.
- (iii) Summarise the basic theme of the structural functional approach to the study of comparative politics as propounded by Gabriel Almond.
- (iv) Evaluate the structural functional model of Gabriel Almond.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The structural functional analysis is one of the foremost system offshoots in political science and a major framework for conducting political research. This approach is concerned with the definition of particular functions as well as with the roles played by political structures and processes in the maintenance and adaptability of political systems. It is originally borrowed from anthropology as advocated by Anthropologists like Radcliffe – Brown and Malinowski in early 20th century and later on from the discipline of sociology as advocated by Robert Merton. It was first applied by Gabriel Almond and James S. Coleman in 1960 to the study of non Western politics.

2.2 BASIC THRUST OF STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONAL THEORY

The basic thrust of structural functional analysis is what political structure performs what basic functions and under what condition in any given political system. According to Gabriel Almond, this model of analysis is fundamentally concerned with the phenomena of system maintenance and regulations. No society can indeed survive or prosper unless it has certain structure to perform certain functions.

According to the structural functional theory 'structure' refers to those arrangements involving objectives as well as process of pattern of actions. For instance, a political party is a structure within a political system that performs a variety of functions including the communication of the wishes of electorate, role to the government informing electorates about the important political issues and allowing them for wider participation in any given political system. Other structures like pressure groups and formal institutions are also supposed to discharge their respective functions assigned to them by the constitution.

A function is a regularly recurring pattern of action and behaviour carried on for the preservation and advancement of given system. The opposite of a function is a dysfunction which means an action that determines the existence and growth of the system.

2.3 THE CHARACTERISTICS OF STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONAL APPROACH

There are some characteristics of Structural Functional Approach which can be discussed as follows :

- (i) It emphasises on the whole political system as the unit of analysis.
- (ii) Postulation of particular functions as requisite to the maintenance of the whole system.
- (iii) Recognition of structural substitutability.
- (iv) Functional inter-dependence of diverse structures within the whole system,
- (v) Recognition of functional and dysfunctional structures.

2.4 Gabriel Almond's view on structural functionalism

While applying this analysis to the study of political science, Almond in his book 'Politics of Developing Areas' (1960) developed a list of four input functions and three output functions. The four input functions are :

- (i) Political Socialisation and recruitment

- (ii) Interest Articulation.
- (iii) Interest Aggregation
- (iv) Political communication.

The output functions are –

- (i) Rule formulation
- (ii) Rule application
- (iii) Rule adjudication.

The input functions are carried out by the non-governmental sub-systems of society and general environment are regarded as highly significant while output functions are carried out by the traditional governmental agencies such as the legislature, the executive, the judiciary and the bureaucracy.

2.4.1 INPUT FUNCTIONS

2.4.1.1 Political socialisation and recruitment

Political socialisation is the process of induction into the political culture and it promotes a set of attitude amongst the members of a system. It may be carried out by various elements in society and with different styles and political recruitment refers to initiation of members in politics.

2.4.1.2 Interest Articulation

In the words of Almond, interest articulation is the process by which individual makes demands upon the political decision-makers. It is the first functional step in the political conversion process. The demands made on a system are generally articulated both by elite as well as the common man.

2.4.1.3 Interest Aggregation

Interest aggregation means the managing of political demands initiated by bodies such as political parties and interest groups. The interests articulated by various interest groups have to be examined and aggregated and this function is mainly performed by political parties. They are classified by Gabriel Almond on the

basis of organisations. They could be authoritative, dominant, non authoritative, competitive two party and competitive multiparty systems.

2.4.1.4 Political Communication

Political communication is the last input function. It means the sending of messages within the political system and between the system and the out side. Almond has compared political communication with the circulation of the blood which he describes as the medium through which other functions in the political system are performed.

2.4.2 Output Functions

Along with the input functions, there are three output functions. The output functions of the political system refer to the governmental functions and include.

2.4.2.1 Rule formulation

Interests, after being articulated and aggregated, have to be given formal recognition and legitimate expression with the rise of democracy and expansion of state activities, specific structures like legislature, legislative committees, executive higher bureaucracy and judiciary begin to enact rules and thus perform rule making functions.

2.4.2.2 Rule application

Rule application means the implementation of rules which have been made available to the society in one form or other. In modern society rule application means high degree of administrative capability. It also means search for goals and policies on the one hand and their inter-action on the other. An effective rule application system is a pre requisite for meeting new goals.

2.4.2.3 Rule adjudication

Rule adjudication means that rules should not be violated and those who violate should be penalized. Rule adjudication is

closely associated with judicial structures and seeks to resolve conflicting situation. All these output functions are generally carried out by the traditional governmental agencies like legislature executive, judiciary as well as bureaucracy. Their functions are determined and limited by the constitution of their political system by the constitution of their political system.

2.5 SHORTCOMING OF ALMOND'S STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONALISM.

The followings are the main shortcomings of Almond's structural functionalism.

One great limitation of the structural functional analysis is that it is essentially a defensive strategy of a system. Because its emphasis is incapable of dealing with a challenge of radical change particularly at a swift and violent in character. In other words, it is biased towards status-quo and research tends to support the existing order of thing.

Consensus, not conflict, is the characteristic of structural functional analysis has been therefore came to be regarded as on effective counter to the socialist political science.

Almond's definition on political system is not very clear and sound.

2.6 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Mention two output functions of political system.

2. One drawback of structural functional approach.

3. Mention two input functions of political system.

2.7 LET US SUM UP

So what we have learnt in this unit ?

This unit is all about structural functionalism. Firstly, we come to know the basic concept of structural functionalism. Then it is found that some thinkers primarily Talcott Parson, Gabriel Almond applied this theory in the field of social sciences. So it becomes quite interesting for us to know that though it has certain drawbacks yet it has relevance in the realm of modern comparative politics.

2.8 KEY WORDS

Aggregation : It refers to the conversion of political demands into alternative course of action by political parties.

2.9 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. Analyse the structural functional theory as formulated by Gabriel Almond.
2. Evaluate the characteristics of structural functional theory with its relevance for the third world countries.
3. Assess the significance and importance of structural functional theory in the process of theory building in modern comparative politics ?
4. Discuss the structural functional theory to the study of comparative politics. What are its limitation ?

2.10 SUGGESTED READINGS

- | | | |
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2.11 MODEL ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Rule formulation
Rule application
2. Structural functionalism is essentially a defensive strategy of system.
3. Political socialisation and recruitment
Interest articulation

Unit – 3**POLITICAL COMMUNICATION APPROACH****STRUCTURE**

- 3.0 OBJECTIVES
- 3.1 INTRODUCTION
- 3.2 KARL DEUTSCH'S COMMUNICATION MODEL
- 3.3 NECESSITY OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION
- 3.4 THE CONCEPTS OF COMMUNICATION THEORY
 - 3.4.1 THE CONCEPTS RELATING TO OPERATING STRUCTURES
 - 3.4.2 CONCEPTS FOCUSING ON VARIOUS FLOWS AND PROCESSES.
 - 3.4.2.1 LOAD
 - 3.4.2.2 LAG
 - 3.4.2.3 GAIN
 - 3.4.2.4 LEAD
- 3.5. FEATURES OF DEUTSCH'S NEURO POLITICS
- 3.6. MEANS OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION
- 3.7. DIAGRAM OF DEUTSCH'S COMMUNICATION MODEL.
- 3.8. CRITICAL ESTIMATE.
- 3.9. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS.
- 3.10. LET US SUM UP.
- 3.11. KEY WORDS.
- 3.12. TERMINAL QUESTIONS.
- 3.13. SUGGESTED READINGS.
- 3.14. MODEL ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

3.0 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit you will be able to

1. Understand the meaning of the concept of political communication
2. Identify the various concepts of communication theory.
3. Determine the various means of political communication.
4. Critically assess the communication model as developed by Karl Deutsch

3.1. INTRODUCTION

One of the most important variations of the system model as well as the decision making approach is the analysis based on the communication theory and cybernetics. It is relatively a recent development in the field of scientific analysis according to which, the essential function of government is to receive and transmit the message and information on the basis of which decisions are being taken. The main emphasis of this approach is on the mechanism of how decisions are made rather than on the cause or effect of such decisions.

The term political communication is derived from a Greek word cybernetics which means “the theory of information. As such the flow of information constitutes one of the basic components of analysis of communication theory.

There are various means by which the communication of information is generally done such as Television, Radio, Press, Internet, and so on. Similarly the term ‘political communication’ implies the transmission and receiving of informations and message from one to another by means of certain agencies.

3.2. KARL DEUTSCH’S COMMUNICATION MODEL

The credit of developing communication model for the study of political problems in a systematic way goes to Karl Deutsch. He discussed it in his book. ‘The nerves of Government’ published in 1968. According to him the theory of political communication looks at the tasks of the government and politics.

Devis and Lewis were of the opinion that Deutsch's aim is to use the concepts and methods of the science of cybernetics to provide explanations for survival and growth of political system and to predict the consequences of changes that affect structure of system. As such the theory of political communication is also known as the 'Neuro Politics' of Karl Deutsch.

3.3. NECESSITY OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION THE NECESSITY OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION CAN BE EXPLAINED AS FOLLOWS

1. To nurse and sustain of a political system.
2. To unite and integrate varieties of socio-political organs.
3. To ensure the growth of a healthy political system by means of feed back process.

3.4 THE CONCEPTS OF THE COMMUNICATION THEORY

Political communication is indeed related to the world of political functioning / engineering. It has therefore certain important concepts which are mainly of two types :

3.4.1 Concepts relating to operating structure

Such as Reception systems, Memory values complexes and decision making centres.

Every political system has some 'receptors' or 'reception system relating to the information both from internal and external environment. It also encompasses some other functions such as the scanning operation, selection of information and data processing.

3.4.2. Concepts focusing on various flows and process

The second category of concepts concerned with flows and processes. It includes several sub concepts such as load, Lag, Gain and Lead.

- #### **3.4.2.1 Load**
- It refers to the total amount of information which a system may possess at a particular time. It also indicates the extensiveness of the activities of a system

relative to available feedback facilities and to the quantities of information involved in feed back processes relative to channel capacities.

- 3.4.2.2** Lag – Lag refers to the slowness of response of a system to the information about the consequences of decisions and actions.
- 3.4.2.3** Gain – Generally gain means result. It refers to the extensiveness and effectiveness of a system's responses to the information received by the system.
- 3.4.2.4** Lead – Lead is the capacity made to out in response to forecast of future consequences as it is the case when one aims ahead of a making object in order to hit it. In other words, it explains the extent to which a system has the capacity to react to predictions about the future consequences of decisions and actions.

3.5 FEATURES OF KARL DEUTSCH'S NEURO POLITICS

The followings are the main features of Deutsch's neuro politics –

1. New Definition of Politics :

According to Karl Deutsch, the term politics not merely implies the struggle for power but also the coordination of human efforts to achieve certain socio-political objectives.

2. Society as a Machine :

To Karl Deutsch, Society is a machine through which the process of socialisation and the politicization has been going on. As such the society is an instrument for social learning.

3. New Notion of Government :

Communication theory gives a new notion of government. According to Karl Deutsch, the main task of government is to 'steer information rather than to exercise 'power' over individuals. In other words, in a political system, the government is like the steering of a ship. It is a form of administration of communication channels.

4. Miniature Communication System :

According to Karl Deutsch, the communication theory accepts the existence of some sub systems such as political parties and interest groups which constitute the infrastructure of political system. They are inter-connected and capable of receiving and transmitting information from one to another.

5. Homeostatic :

According to Karl Deutsch, politics is a changing phenomenon. It stands for a dynamic situation.

6. Feed Back :

Feed back means the communication network that produces action in response to an input of information. All organisations including the state have feed back mechanisms which may allow the organisation to change in response to information.

3.6 MEANS OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

The various functions of a political system can be done by a variety of means These are as follows :

1. The communication can be done through the head of formal as well as informal institutions like family, religious leaders, educational institutions and other non governmental organisations in the form of inculcating values in the minds of growing citizen.
2. Through the leader of the interest groups and political parties communication can be done by way of communicating grievances to be addressed in the political forum and in turn the policies adopted to the people at large.
3. Through the legislators and the members of Government who makes law on the basis of information communicated to them by their fellow parliamentarians.
4. Administrations by way of implementing the laws formulated by legislators also act as a means of communication.
5. Judges by the way of adjudicating the laws framed by the legislature and implement by executive on the basis of informations communicated to them can also act as a means of political communication.

3.7 CRITICAL ESTIMATE

The political communication approach may be criticised on the following grounds :

1. It is essentially an engineering and mechanistic approach modelled on the performance of machines rather than of human beings. It is too far mechanistic in nature.
2. The political communication approach is focused primarily on the process of decision-making and not on the causes and consequences of such decisions.
3. Communication analysis has attached for greater importance to the arch of pattern maintenance i.e. stability and equilibrium. But in case of revolutionary change this approach does not talk of.
4. Karl Deutsch model appears to be too deterministic that sometimes it fails to influence political change in term development.
5. Karl Deutsch's model raises a number of interested questions about the performances of government but offers very little help in answering them.

3.8 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. From which Greek word the term political communication is derived ?

2. Who wrote the book 'The Nerves of Government' ?

3. What are the two types of concepts of the communication theory ?

3.9 LET US SUM UP

This unit basically deals with political communication approach.

The political communication approach is a post second world war development in the realm of comparative politics. Karl Deutsch has been regarded as the chief exponent of political communication approach. The basic aim of Karl Deutsch is to use the concepts and methods of the science of cybernetics to provide explanations for survival and growth of political system and to predict the consequences of changes that effect the structure of system. There are a variety of concepts used in the political communication approach.

Although the approach is criticised by the critiques due to certain grounds, yet it has still relevance in the study of comparative politics.

3.10 KEY WORDS

Cybernetics : Greek word meaning theory of information.

3.11 TERMINAL QUESTIONS

1. Critically examine the characteristic features of the communication theory formulated by Karl Deutsch along with the line of cybernetics ?
2. 'As a tool of analysis of comparative politics, the communication theory of Karl Deutsch is too mechanistic'. In the light of the above statement critically examine the communication theory of Karl Deutsch.
3. Who advocated the communication theory ? Critically examine the political communication theory to the study of comparative politics ?

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3.13 MODEL ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Cybernatics.
2. Karl Deutsch
3. * Concepts relating to operating structures
* Concepts focusing on various flows and process.

BLOCK - 3

Unit - 1

THE CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL SYSTEM : THE CLASSICAL DIVISION

STRUCTURE :

- 1.1. OBJECTIVE
- 1.2. INTRODUCTION
- 1.3. GREEK CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL SYSTEM
 - 1.3.1. PLATO CLASSIFICATION
 - 1.3.2. ARISTOTLE CLASSIFICATION

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS – I
- 1.4. ROMAN CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL SYSTEM
 - 1.4.1. POLYBIUS CLASSIFICATION
 - 1.4.2. CICERO'S CLASSIFICATION
 - 1.4.3. MACHIAVELLI'S CLASSIFICATION

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS – II
- 1.5. FRENCH CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
 - 1.5.1. JEAN BODINS CLASSIFICATION
 - 1.5.2. MONTESQUIEU CLASSIFICATION

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS – III
- 1.6. CRITICAL EVALUATION
- 1.7. KEY WORDS
- 1.8. SUGGESTED READINGS
- 1.9. MODEL ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS
- 1.10. MODEL QUESTIONS

1.1 OBJECTIVE

After studying this unit, you shall be able to

- Understand the classification of political system.
- Discuss about the Greek classification made by Plato and Aristotle.
- Describe the Roman Classification of government
- Analyse the French classification of Government.

1.2 INTRODUCTION

The attempt to classify the government or what is called political system in modern terminology, is not new. It can be traced back to the beginning of the study of political science especially to the ancient Greek, Roman and French political traditions. However, there was no distinction between the state and government in those days. These classical philosophers called such an exercise as, “classification of state”. The distinction between the state and the government has been recognised in modern times. Classifying the political system or government helps to enlighten our attitudes. We can get information about the activities of system and its role in the political process through classification of government or political system. It helps us to make a comparative study between different types of political systems or the activities of similar systems in different socio-economic and political environment.

There is no end to the classification of government or political systems. A large number of writers have made an attempt to deal with the classification of governments. But the problem of classification is that different writers have attempted to classify governments from their respective standpoints which complicate the classification of the government and sometimes create confusions. Moreover, classification made by those writers seem to be arbitrary. There is the problem of defining the concepts used in the classification. Moreover, since every government is unique and changeable, therefore, all classifications are partial and temporary. As governments exist in continuum, somewhere between total reliance on either persuasion or coercion differing in the amount of power exercised. In spite of all these problems, attempts are made to classify different political system or governments as discussed by classical political thinkers of ancient Greece, Rome and France.

1.3 GREEK CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

1.3.1 PLATO'S CLASSIFICATION

Plato, an ancient Greek philosopher, had presented a classification of his own in his book, "the Statesman". Plato classified the political system or state into two types- (i) Arbitrary state and (ii) law state. He distinguished law abiding state from lawless state and under each type; he mentioned three forms of government; i.e., rule of one, rule of few and the rule of many. The rule of one, when the state was law abiding, he called it as Monarchy. When it was lawless, he called it as Tyranny. The rule of a few was termed by him as Aristocracy, when it was law abiding and oligarchy when lawless. The rule of many was mentioned as moderate democracy and it was law abiding and extreme democracy if it was lawless. He pointed out that a law abiding state is always better than a lawless one. So far as lawless forms of government are concerned, extreme democracy were ranked superior to oligarchy.

1.3.2 ARISTOTLE CLASSIFICATION

Aristotle who was regarded not only the father of comparative political analysis but also the classification of political systems followed the Platonic classification of political systems. Aristotle's classification was based on two principles :

- i. The number of persons who exercise the state power;
- ii. The ends they seek to serve.

Applying the first principles, Aristotle opined, if sovereignty resided in one person, it was Monarchy; if it resided in a small group of the population it was Aristocracy; and if it resided in a large proportion of the population, it was Polity. Moreover, Aristotle distinguished between the "normal" and "perverted" forms of the state based on his conclusions and the ends which rulers sought to serve. By normal state, Aristotle meant ruler or rulers guided and ruled by law for good of the community as a whole in the normal state. In perverted form of the

state, Aristotle said, one guided and ruled by the selfish and capricious, without restraint by law. In perverted state, the ruler or rulers were selfish and exercised the state power for rulers own benefit rather than for the benefits of the community as a whole.

According to Aristotle, monarchy, aristocracy and polity were normal forms of state. In their perverted form, monarchy became tyranny, aristocracy became oligarchy and polity became democracy. Tyranny placed in the hands of the monarchy or king, arbitrary control over the lives of the citizens and the state affairs were directed to his own good. In oligarchy, the wealthy few ruled for their selfish interests and they used the state powers and their privileges for oppression of the common people. By the democracy, Aristotle meant the rule of the mob. In democracy, the interest of none were safe as there would be confusion all round.

Though Aristotle supported Monarchy the best form of state, but he recognised certain difficulties in attaining the best. Therefore, he supported Polity, a democratic form of government with constitutional guarantee. In polity, there is the rule of many persons representing medium virtues, power resting with the middle class people that represent the principle of equality without any discrimination with power vested in the hands of the numerous classes.

Aristotle's six fold classifications of states can be presented in a tabular form as follows :

Number of persons having ruling power	End of the state	
	Normal	Perverted
One	Monarchy	Tyranny
Few	Aristocracy	Polity
Many	Oligarchy	Democracy

Aristotle not only classified the state according to the number of the ruling persons and the end of the state but attempted to integrate his study of different states with a cycle of revolutions also. He seemed to emphasise that no form of state would remain forever. Rather there was a change. One form of state would degenerate and other would take place. Aristotle marked out how in the course of time one form of the state had given place to another. His cycle of political changes start from monarchy. The first state was monarchy and the ruler governed the state with justice and dedication to the welfare of the people. In course of time, with the degeneration of the character and aims of the king, it became tyranny and the government was no longer directed

towards the public good. But the tyranny could not continue for long. The people revolted and succeeded in overthrowing the tyranny and replaced it by a government of few persons who were guided by the idea of common good. Aristocracy, a government of few took the place of the tyranny for the welfare of the people. With due course of time the rule of few also degenerated. Public spirit of the few would disappear. Aristocracy turned into oligarchy. Again the people made a successful revolt against oligarchy and established polity, the state power being vested in the hands of a large proportion of the population of the state and it was used for the common good. But when the polity got perverted, it was substituted by democracy.

The cycle of political change given by Aristotle is corroborated by the ancient Greek city state. But in spite of his pragmatic classification, it has suffered a severe criticism. Indeed, Aristotle's classification emphasised on quantitative aspects rather than the qualitative. He ignored the various stages in the development of the political consciousness of the people, but he emphasised on the ethical and spiritual aspects of the government.

Check Your Progress – I

1. Mention two types of political system as classified by Plato.

2. What were the principles adopted by Aristotle for classification of government.

1.4. ROMAN CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

1.4.1 POLYBIUS CLASSIFICATION

Polybius, a historian and an advisor to Roman generals and a confident of Roman statesman made another classification of political system. He took their idea of six fold classification of regimes made by Plato and Aristotle. He also looked over the theory that governments pass through a cycle of change. Polybius had applied the laws of growth and decay to the classification of regime given by Plato and Aristotle. Polybius was interested in determining reasons for the success of the republic. By success Polybius meant about the ability to conquer most of the works within a short period of time and stability achieved in Roman constitutions. He found the key to that success in the balance of constitution. He opined that the stability of the Roman government to its mixed character of the government. Roman polity did not rest on one form of government. It was a blend of monarchies, aristocratic and democratic elements. He viewed that the Roman polity had monarchies and despotic aspect in the consuls, an aristocratic element in the Senate and popular element in the committees-the Assembly of the people. However, he sought to combine the elements of the different forms of government in his mixed constitution. Polybius divided the powers of government into its different organs. Military power belonged to the consuls who represented the monarchical element of the state. The judicial and financial powers were vested upon the Senate which constituted the aristocratic element. Some deliberative functions were assigned to the popular assemblies which formed the democratic element. Senate was responsible for the appointment and approval of consuls and censors. From that point, it can be said that Polybius advocated the principle of separation of powers.

Further, Polybius supported the principle of check and balance. He pointed out that the stability of the Roman Government was possible because of three powers- the Consuls, the Senate and the Committees - which were used to check each other from becoming too powerful. If consuls tried to impose its authority too much, which was supreme in its authority upon the army, it could be checked by the Senate which had the power for voting of the supplies. The Senate had prerogatives which could

limit than condition the consuls. They could also, remove any consuls. The Senate and the committees (popular assembly) were also mutually interdependent. The Senate might get the consent of the popular assembly for decrease which punished offences with death. Moreover, the people could finally pass or reject new laws.

Thus, popular assemblies exercised control over other organs by dint of their power of passing and repealing laws. Polybius praised the Roman system because in Roman System, each organ was set off against the others. Thus, Roman system was based on the principle of check and balance.

1.4.2 CICERO'S CLASSIFICATION

Cicero was a Roman lawyer and statesman who was born when the republican constitution was declining due to the civil war between two powerful sections in Rome. Cicero's political treatises were the index of political thought during the last days of the Roman Republic.

Cicero viewed that the constitution of the perfect state was the product of a long course of evolution to which so many minds of the individuals working under different circumstances. It could be achieved through the mind of one individual but required many ages to come up. According to Cicero, the Roman constitution should must be stable and perfect form of government that political experience had evolved. By analysing its development and relationship among the parts, it could be possible to arrive at a theory of the state in which speculation was reduced to minimum.

Cicero distinguished three primary forms of regime- Monarchy, Aristocracy and democracy. From this, it can be said that there was nothing new in his classification of political system. Each regime would tend to degenerate into its corresponding corrupt form. According to him, when the elements of these three regimes were combined in a mixed form, then the tendency of corrupt form could be kept in check. Cicero accepted Polybius view on the Roman constitution as a balance of social, economic and political power. He regarded the Roman constitution as a balance of social, economic and political power. He regarded the Roman constitution as the best example of mixed constitution. He believed in the excellence of the mixed constitution and praised the advantages of it.

Cicero advocated for a society held together by ancient tradition which assigned to each part of the polity its due bound.

But he did not talk how the regime or constitution came to be accepted whether by reason or by trial and error. He accepted it as the norm by which all Romans should live and rejected all drastic proposals for change. He further pointed out that the Polybian cycle theory – the orderly alternation of good and bad constitution, did not fit the idea of Roman history. He interpreted that the three organs of government as representing the three principles necessary for stability. Thus, to Cicero, monarchy represents the principle of the prestige and influence and the popular assemblies represent the principles of liberty.

1.4.3 MACHIAVELLI'S CLASSIFICATION

Niccolò Machiavelli, the first modern political thinker, did not think of political society as natural in the classical Greek sense. He was of the view that individuals were scattered at first, but as they became more numerous, they began to submit themselves to the stronger individuals unconsciously for protection of their lives and possessions. Thus, the government had its origin in physical force. Machiavelli believed that in the beginning of the state, the ruler selected himself through his sheer ability to dominate. But when individuals became more aware of the reasons for leadership or rulership, they began to elect their sovereign rulers for their wisdom and justice. Non-elected sovereign emerged since individuals concluded that the children of those who had proved wise and just ruler must inherit their father's virtues. When it proved otherwise the degenerated rulers found themselves objects of jealousy and hatred by their subjects. Then the ruler reacted to this hatred by becoming himself fearful, by developing tyrannical habits to check possible consciousness. Thus the ruler used force to sustain.

Meanwhile, those sections of people who possess virtues led against the tyrant ruler and eventually succeeded to overthrow that ruler and capture power. Thus aristocracy was established. Machiavelli's point was that in the long run aristocracy would also become lawless and transmitted into the oligarchy. In the course of time, the oligarchy would also provoke rebellion and as a result masses of people pushed forward to control the state affairs. Thus the democracy or the popular government would be established.

Machiavelli observed that all forms of government were defective. The good governments were defective, because they usually flourished for relatively short period of time and bad because by their very unnatural they subverted the preservation of

the state. Machiavelli like Aristotle also believed that mixed government would provide relatively best scheme. Though it had less good than pure monarchy, aristocracy and popular government, yet it had the tendency to persist longer. It had neither the inherent virtues of the bad forms nor the short life of the good ones.

Check Your Progress – II

1. What were the primary forms of regime classified by Cicero?

2. Why Machiavelli opined that all good governments were defective?

1.5 FRENCH CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

1.5.1 JEAN BODIN'S CLASSIFICATIONS

Jean Bodin, one of the most notable French Philosophers of the 16th century, classified political system on the basis of location of sovereignty. His classifications of government depended upon the manner and system in which sovereignty was exercised. According to Bodin if the sovereign authority resided in one individual, the state is said to be a monarchy, if it is possessed by small number of individuals, it is known as aristocratic, and if it is possessed by the mass of citizens as a whole, the state is

called democratic. In aristocracy, honours of small and narrow class and the masses excluded from the benefits thereof. But on the other hand, in a democratic state, honours and officers were to be conferred upon all on the basis of merit irrespective of class distinction. Out of these three forms of the state, Bodin regarded the monarchy of French type was the best. Because it enlisted the cooperation of all sections of the people worked for larger social happiness and provided political stability to the society. Bodin believed that vesting of the supreme power of the state in a minority of citizens or in the whole body of citizens would lead to anarchy and the ruin of the subjects. He divided monarchy into three sub-division- Despotism, royal monarchy and tyranny. Bodin did not plead for the division of sovereignty among various elements.

1.5.2 MONTESQUIEU'S CLASSIFICATIONS

Montesquieu, an eighteenth century French philosopher had classified political system into republican, monarchy and despotic. His classification was different from Aristotle because his republican form of regime covered aristocracy and democracy too. On the other hand, it is reminiscence of the Aristotelian division because the type of government depends upon the number of persons holding power. Montesquieu pointed out that when political power was shared between a few or the many, the regime would be republican one. Therefore, republican can be either aristocratic or democratic which are more endowed with charity and patriotism than monarchy. It is monarchy where power rests in the hands of a single person motivated by wide social interest. The despotic regimes are those in which the sovereignty was unrestrained. It is the worst form of government where power rests on one individual. The ruler acts arbitrarily and exercise power for his own interests.

Montesquieu, in his classification of regime recognised the relation between the form of government and the type of society. He further pointed out that other social factors like education, morale, patriotism, level of economic equality etc. affected the existing form of the government in the society. He talked about the relationship between the size of the country and its form of governments. He emphasised that large empire breded despotic authority, the monarchy was suitable for a moderate territory and small territory landed itself to a republic.

Montesquieu's classification of political system was criticised by Curtis on the ground that his classifications was more

appropriate for eighteenth century than for contemporary condition.

Check your Progress – III

1. On what principle, Bodin classified the government.

2. How did Montesquieu relate the form of government to type of society?

1.6 CRITICAL EVALUATION

The classical writers of political science classified the forms of government as the form of state. But there can be no form of the state. All states are alike in their nature and combine the same elements. But states do differ in their organisation. The organisation of the state are its government and its is through the instrument of the government that the state formulates, expresses and realises its purpose. The purpose of every state is the same, the well being of its people. The form of government is the expression of the way in which the purposes of the state is to be realised. It includes the problem of determining in whose hands the legal authority of the state is vested, this difference is wide from state to state.

It can be concluded that the classical division of political system had influenced not only the thinking of subsequent political scholars but also the theories of the classical divisions of political system. However with the steady proliferation of independent states and increasing diversity in the pattern of governance, the earlier classifications of political system have become outdated. Therefore, the classical division of political system is limited in its usefulness as all political systems and organisations are allergic in nature.

1.7 KEY WORDS

Aristocracy	:	The highest social class consisting of people with hereditary titles.
Oligarchy	:	A small group of people having control over the state.
Tyranny	:	Oppressive governance or rule.
Monarchy	:	rule of a state by king or Queen.
Consul	:	One of two electoral magistrates who ruled for a year.
Senate	:	the state council of ancient Roman republic or empire.

1.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

David E Apter	:	Introduction to Political Analysis, PHI New Delhi- 1978
Alan R Ball	:	Modern Politics and Government, Mac Millan 1971
M.G. Gandhi	:	Modern Political Analysis- Rohtak
S Maheswari	:	Comparative Government and Politics.

1.9 MODEL ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- I.
 1. Arbitrary States and Law state.
 2. (i) Number of persons
(ii) End of Ruler.
 - II.
 1. Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy.
 2. Because it flourished for a short period of time.
 - III.
 1. Location of sovereignty in the state.
 2. Social factors affected the functions existing form of government.
-

1.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Critically discuss Aristotle's classification of government. Why did he recognise democracy as perverted form ?
2. Illustrate Roman classifications of government. How Polybius described the principle of Check and Balance in the functioning of government ?
3. Critically discuss French classification of Government.

BLOCK - 3**Unit - 2**

**CLASSIFICATION OF GOVERNMENT : LIBERAL
CLASSIFICATION – BRITISH AND AMERICAN MODELS,
UNITARY AND FEDERAL POLITICAL SYSTEMS,
PARLIAMENTARY AND PRESIDENTIAL POLITICAL
SYSTEMS, AUTHORITARIAN AND TOTALITARIAN
REGIMES**

STRUCTURE :

- 2.1 OBJECTIVE
- 2.2 LIBERAL CLASSIFICATION : BRITISH AND AMERICAN MODEL
- 2.3 UNITARY AND FEDERAL POLITICAL SYSTEMS
 - 2.3.1 UNITARY POLITICAL SYSTEM
 - 2.3.2 UNITARY POLITICAL SYSTEM
 - CHECK YOUR PROGRESS – I
- 2.4 PARLIAMENTARY AND PRESIDENTIAL POLITICAL SYSTEMS
 - 2.4.1 PARLIAMENTARY POLITICAL SYSTEM
 - 2.4.2 PRESIDENTIAL POLITICAL SYSTEM
 - CHECK YOUR PROGRESS – II
- 2.5 AUTHORITARIAN AND TOTALITARIAN REGIMES
 - 2.5.1 AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES
 - 2.5.2 TOTALITARIAN REGIMES
 - CHECK YOUR PROGRESS – III
- 2.6 LET US SUM UP
- 2.7 KEY TERMS/WORDS
- 2.8 SUGGESTED READINGS
- 2.9 MODEL ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS
- 2.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

2.1 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit you shall be able to

- understand different forms of liberal governments.
- discuss the liberal classification of governments of British and American model
- analyse the concept of unitary and federal governments.
- describe the concept of Parliamentary and presidential system of government.
- Identify the elements of authoritarian government.
- understand the concept of totalitarianism.

2.2 LIBERAL CLASSIFICATION : BRITISH AND AMERICAN MODELS

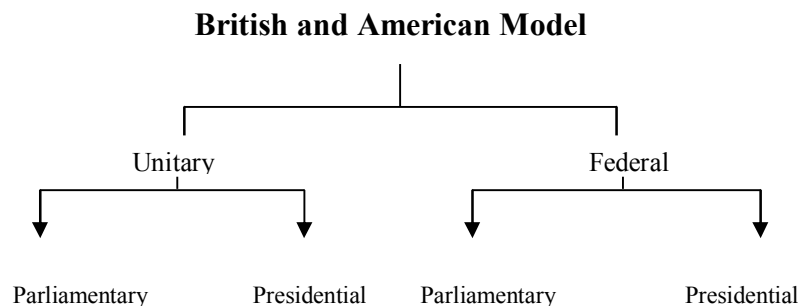
Liberal democracy was originated in England. Liberal democratic political system believes in democracy and has faith in the democratic way of living and behaving. There is rule of people and each action taken by the government is supposed to have the support and approval of the people. In liberal democracy the ultimate source of authority remains with the people. The government is run by the elected representatives of the people and is responsible to the people for their policies and programmes. Periodical elections are held in liberal democracy where the electorates are entitled to exercise their right to vote in the way they like. The elected representatives have to work in the collective spirit in order to protect the interests of the people at large of course. The sovereign powers of the state is vested in the hands of the people.

There is no religious ideology in the liberal government. The liberal government has to keep communal forces in check so that they do not pose a challenge to the secular fabric of the state. The executive in a liberal government is of two kinds viz. political and permanent executives. While the civil servants constitute the permanent executive who are politically non committed, the civil servants implement the programmes of the political party in power and try to co-operate with the political head of the government and ensure the success of government. Thus, the political party in power constitutes the political executive who may also be called the non-permanent executive.

Liberal democratic political system is also based on the principle of limited government governmental powers are not allowed to be concentrated rather fragmented into the hands of more than one organ i.e., executive, legislature and judiciary. Likewise maximum participation of people in the political process and activities are allowed in liberal form of government. Political parties are also allowed to be organised and contest in the periodical elections for capturing political powers and thereby to ensure their rule.

Perhaps because of the features stated above, most of seem to have adopted the liberal form of government. Some of these countries include United Kingdom, USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Belgium, Switzerland, Holland and Scandinavian countries. Other countries like France, Italy and Japan adopted it later. Liberal democratic form of government in some of the countries specially in the developing countries such as India, Sri Lanka is at experimental stage. However, majority of the world's states are governed by liberal democratic system.

The classification of the liberal governments of British and American Models can be presented as follows :



2.3 UNITARY AND FEDERAL POLITICAL SYSTEMS

Generally the political systems are classified into unitary and federal in terms of the method by which the government powers are distributed between the government of the whole country and any local governments which exercise power over parts of the country. A unitary government is one in which all administrative powers are vested in the centre. On the other, a federal form of government is one in which powers are constitutionally divided between the centre and the federating units.

2.3.1 UNITARY POLITICAL SYSTEM

A unitary political system is one in which there is one integrated system of government and the supreme power belongs to the central government. For administrative convenience and other considerations, the country may be divided into political divisions in different categories. But the entire authority flows from the central government. No governmental action is assigned by the constitution to smaller unit of government such as states or provinces. These sub-divisions have no original existence; they are the creation of the central government and may be altered at its will. The power exercised by the province or state is only a delegated and subordinate authority which can be increased, diminished or withdrawn at the discretion of the central government. Therefore, these sub divisions are the agents of the central government and whatever autonomy or governmental competence may have been conceded to them, exists by reciprocal understanding rather than constitutional guarantee. Thus, a unitary political system exhibits two essential characteristics – 1. The supremacy of the central parliament, and 2. The absence of subsidiary sovereign bodies.

While discussing the supremacy of British parliament, Prof. Dicey points out :

- (i) Parliament has the right to make or unmake any law.
- (ii) No person or body is empowered by the law of England to legislate against the legislation of parliament.
- (iii) The power of parliament extends to every part of the King's dominions.

Thus, the local organs are merely agents of the central government. But the supremacy of legislature in unitary form of government does not overlook the supremacy of the constitution. Unitary form of government does not recognize the existence of subsidiary sovereign bodies. There may be local bodies created by a statute of the central legislature to function as subsidiary law-making bodies.

However, unitary political system ensures uniformity in law and administration throughout the country. It does not divide the allegiance of the citizens. The organisation of government is enormously simplified and the system possesses the merit of flexibility. All powers of government are concentrated in the hands of a single set of authorities and all organs of government constitute integral parts of one administrative mechanism. There

can be no conflict of authority and no confusion regarding responsibility for work to be performed. Unitary system exhibits promptness of decision and firmness of action. It injects a sense of loyalty and allegiance for the unity and integrity of the state. Unitary system of government is highly economical and saves much of the wasteful and extravagant expenditure because of absence of multiplicity of legislative and administrative authorities and processes like that of a federal counterpart.

But the critics of a unitary political system point out that it tends to repress local initiative, discourages rather than stimulates interest in public affairs, impairs vitality local governments and facilitates the development of centralised bureaucracy. The present day central government have to tackle so many complex problems that it has neither the initiative nor the time to devote to local affairs. It discourages popular interest and participation in public affairs.

Nevertheless, Great Britain, France, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and many other unitary governments have avoided these pitfalls. A unitary government can be as democratic as a federal political system. Moreover, popular interest and participation depend upon many factors apart from the form of government. For example, about 80% of the British voters regularly exercise their right to vote, while the percentage of American voters usually less.

2.3.2 THE FEDERAL POLITICAL SYSTEM

A federal political system is one in which a number of co-ordinate states get united for certain common purpose. The instrument by which A federation is brought about by an agreement between independent states and new units of government which they agree to create. Thus, a new state is created to which the hitherto sovereign states surrender their sovereignty and agree to become its component part. Federal political system may also come into existence when a unitary state with a large area is divided into two sets of government and grants constitutional autonomy to its units. A federal polity is a dual government in which powers are divided and distributed by the constitution between central government and regional governments. Unlike unitary system, powers of the units of a federation are original. Powers are granted by the constitution to the federating units. Both the central and regional governments are co-ordinate, independent authorities within their allotted spheres of jurisdiction. Therefore, a federal political

system signifies division of powers between national government and constituent units. Under such a system constitutional amendment procedure is more difficult than the enactment of ordinary law.

The basic features of a federal political system can be summarised :

- (i) A federation is born out of the desire for union. Federation allows the federating units to preserve their identity by retaining their independent jurisdiction.
- (ii) States willing to lose their sovereignty as soon as a federation is formed.
- (iii) Since the union establishes a system of dual government in which powers are divided and distributed, a written constitution is the logical necessity of such government.
- (iv) It involves rigidity of the constitution so that neither the central government nor the regional governments may be in a position to deprive the other of its powers.
- (v) The process of constitutional amendment is prescribed in the constitution by which the supremacy of the constitution is ensured. If the government is to be federal, supremacy of the constitution needs to be established.
- (vi) Creation of an independent supreme court with the power to decide dispute which may arise between the federal government and the state governments is essential for a federation.

Though federal systems existed in ancient Greece, but the United States of America was the first federal state in modern times. Modern federations are created to preserve strong diversities by way of maintaining sufficient unity to ensure that limits are put on the powers of the centre.

Critics have pointed out that federalism is obsolescent. It is not suitable for positive action and negative in its effect. Federal government is financially expensive, since there is much duplication of administrative machinery and procedure. Multiplicity of mechanism of federalism is wasteful of time and energy. Because it depends on negotiation to ensure uniformity of laws and proper administrative compliance. In the way of conducting foreign affairs, the federal government exhibits inherent weakness and inconsistency. Similarly in times of war,

the federal government may sometimes be found lacking in promptness of decision to be taken up and firmness of action due to the multiplicity of powers. It is difficult to determine responsibility of the different units and the conflict of loyalties and it may confuse individual rights and obligations.

But all the above mentioned points of criticism are not true. In all countries of the world, power of central authorities has been increasing. The centre now has been empowered to act in many areas where the federating units may not. Because the latter lacks of adequate resources to take up appropriate action. Moreover, by adopting the principle of 'cooperative federalism', certain federal regimes have sought to create conditions in which the states would have greater flexibility and local government would play larger role within a framework established by the centre.

Check Your Progress – I

1. Write two merits of unitary government.

2. Write two features of federal state.

3. Mention two conditions which are necessary for the formation of federation.

2.4 PARLIAMENTARY AND PRESIDENTIAL POLITICAL SYSTEMS :

A liberal political system may be classified into parliamentary and presidential type. A comparison of the two clarifies certain distinctions between them. While the parliamentary system is traditionally associated with government of Great Britain, the presidential system is associated with the United States of America.

2.4.1 PARLIAMENTARY FORM OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

A political system adopts a particular pattern of government depending upon its historical and immediate factors. For example, in Great Britain parliamentary system was the result of historical struggle between the monarch and the people on the issue of political sovereignty which eventually converted the parliament – peoples representative body into the sovereign authority in Great Britain. But in France, the parliamentary system was adopted as a result of modification of the existing system where executive was very much empowered to check political instability created by multi party system.

Although the parliamentary form by itself is not an index of the democracy but all parliamentary systems have a close institutional relationship between the executive and legislature organs of the government. The executive emerges from the legislature and the former is responsible to the latter. The members of the legislature are popularly elected and elections are free and competitive. There exists an opposition in the legislature, whose task is to criticise and oversee the proceedings and is to form the government in future.

A clear distinction is made between the heads of the state and government in the parliamentary system. While head of the state possesses nominal or titular authority, the real authority rests with the government of which Prime Minister is the head. The council of Ministers is headed by the Prime Minister which plays the key game of politics in accordance with the mandate given to him by the majority party in the legislature. Each minister is responsible for administering his allotted department. Moreover, the ministers are responsible to the popular chamber of the

legislature and hold their office only so long as they enjoy the confidence of the popular chamber. Once fail to do so, they have no option but resign. It follows that the policy must be acceptable to the chamber. The responsibility of the ministers to the popular chamber is collective. In the event of deadlock between the executive and legislature, the executive enjoys the power by being able to dissolve the legislature there by calling for fresh elections. There is a constitutional requirement that limits the tenure of the legislature. But in parliamentary system, constitution provides for the dissolution of the popular chamber before the expiry of its constitutional term and elections may be held at any time during this period.

However, in parliamentary form of government, the legislature may consist of one or two chambers. There are variations in the methods of selecting the second chamber and executive has the power to dissolve the second chamber. There may be a supreme court to interpret the supremacy of constitution on the whole, parliamentary system is a party government.

The supporters of the Parliamentary system opine that the Parliament secures an essential cooperation, co-ordination and harmony between the legislature and executive which ultimately lead to administrative efficiency. The parliamentary system makes executive responsible to legislature which ultimately means its responsibility to the people of the state and ensures flexibility of the government.

But critics have pointed out that there are certain drawbacks in parliamentary system. They are as follows :

- (i) It violates the principle of separation of powers by establishing close contact between the executive and legislature.
- (ii) The control of affairs by a single political party in parliamentary system leads to partisan complicity to administration.
- (iii) Parliamentary system aids to breed nasty party-conflicts. It intensifies the spirit of party. If there is no important issue before the nation, there is always a conflict to hold the offices among the political parties. One party holds the power, the other criticise them and the conflict remains unending.
- (iv) As the parliamentary executive has no fixed term and as such their longevity depends on the mercy of the legislature, it cannot adopt and implement any long term policy for development.

- (v) Parliamentary form of government leads to cabinet dictatorship. Cabinet members with the support of absolute majority of the legislature do not care for the will of legislature and the wishes of the electorates. The control of the cabinet over the legislature enables it to pass law of its own choice. And that kind of unrestrained cabinet is tantamount to a despotic.

Though the parliamentary system of government has its elements of strength and weakness, it can be said that it works well in a country having stable bi-party system in which while one party remains in power, other party acts as the loyal opposition.

2.4.2 PRESIDENTIAL POLITICAL SYSTEM

The Presidential government first prevalent in the United States of America. Walter Bagehot used this term in 1867, while referring to the British constitution to distinguish presidential system from the British Parliamentary system. Under the Presidential system of government, the legislature and the executive are two distinct organs of government. There is more or less a separation between the two. The executive is not responsible to the legislature for its public acts or dependent on it for remaining in office.

The chief characteristics of the presidential system are as given below :

- (i) The president is both nominal and political head of the state.
- (ii) The president is not elected by the legislature, but directly elected by the total electorates.
- (iii) The executive, i.e., the President is not part of the legislature and as such he cannot be removed from office by the legislature except through the legal process of impeachment.
- (iv) The executive cannot dissolve the legislature and cannot call general elections. Usually the President and the legislature are elected for fixed terms.

The most outstanding example of the presidential system of government is that of United States of America. Other examples of presidential government are simply imitations of the American system. In presidential system, the chief executive is chosen by the people for a fixed term. The executive selects his cabinet officers

with the routine approval of the legislature. They are accountable to the president and not to the legislature. In presidential form of government, the principle of separation of powers seems to be adopted with some rigidity. However, such separation does not rule out executive messages and recommendations to the legislature, the veto and the summoning of special sessions. On the other, the legislature has a share in the conduct of the executive business, such as the making of appointments and treaties and the supervision of administration.

The advocates of presidential form of government plead that it better safeguards the liberty of people. It ensures stability of government. Under this system, both the executive and the legislature can function with confidence for their full terms. The executive does not depend upon the wishes of the legislature. Presidential system gives administrative efficiency, speedy execution of policies, high effectiveness in the time of emergency. Its legislature is less dominated by party spirit. Since the system is based on the principle of separation of powers, it is not possible for the executive to assume legislative powers. Since all government organs act as a check on each other, power checks the abuse of power. It is a better way to preserve democratic system.

But the critics of presidential system are of the view that it divides responsibility between the executive and legislature. The executive lives in awarded independence whereas the legislature pursues its own line of policy. All these may result into frequent deadlocks, executive irresponsibility and autocracy. Security of tenure provides enough encouragement to the executive to override legislative and popular wills. The separation also leads to inefficiency and wastefulness. The limitation of tenure and the stability of the executive make the presidential system more rigid. Extravagance in appropriations and the use of long ruling techniques for passing measures of sectional interest more likely occur in the presidential form of government. Lack of direct initiative in respect of legislation and lack of direct responsibility of the executive to the legislature are other defects of the system.

Check Your Progress – II

1. Write two features of parliamentary government.

2. Mention two features of presidential government.

3. Write two merits of presidential system.

2.5 AUTHORITARIAN AND TOTALITARIAN REGIMES

2.5.1 AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES

Although outright tyrannies do not become extinct in the contemporary world, yet authoritarian political systems are almost every where. Most of the regimes around the world deserve to be classified as, 'Authoritarian'. Monarchy, Aristocracy, Oligarchy are all authoritarian because the majority of citizens do not have any direct or institutionalized role in government affairs.

The political systems with limited not responsible, political pluralism without any elaborate and guiding ideology, but with distinctive mentalities, without political mobilization, except at some points in their development, in which a leader or a small

group exercises power within ill-defined limits, but actually quite predictable ones are termed as authoritarian regimes. Therefore, there is no responsible authority and no legally recognized opposition. Parliamentary institutions are absent and liberty is restricted in authoritarian regimes. But the system is not tyrannical. The society is traditionally oriented and power is exercised by small group such as military leaders, bureaucrats or religious leaders. Economic activities can be pursued with considerable independence.

An authoritarian regime permits only one political party in the political system. There is no alternative set of political leaders who can take the place of existing elites for the purpose of implementing new programmes. Political communication is strictly according to what the government and its ruling party allows. The alteration of government official and policies must take place within single party. Thus, authoritarian regimes indicate low specificity of political institutions, penetration of life of the society, preventing the political expression of certain group of interests or shaping them by interventionist policies.

Many authoritarian regimes have been founded by military coups and are headed by military men. A distinction can be made between military and non-military authoritarian regimes. Military regimes undergo a process of civilization if they are stable. Military men can carry out a cultural change like Atatürk, important social and economic changes like Nasser, displaced traditional regimes or prevent a continuing process of change towards democracy and social revolution after a break with tradition with a counterrevolutionary intent. The dilemma for authoritarian regime is that rebellion or revolution may become the only way to register dissatisfaction with the regime.

2.5.2 TOTALITARIAN REGIMES

Since 1950's a host of scholars have opined that the most extreme type of authoritarianism is described as 'Totalitarianism'. Totalitarianism implies an official ideology according to which members of a given society must adhere to and covers all aspects of life in the society. It is a system of terroristic police control which supervises and supports on behalf of the leader, which is directed against the enemy of the state. In totalitarianism there is an official ideology, a single mass party usually led by one leader. Terror is used by government to enforce obedience. The government has the monopoly over communication and weapons

and there are central directions of economy. It has a totalist ideology. Subordination of arts and science to the interest of the political elite and to the specifications of the ideology and the organisation of labour unions, cultural associations, the educational system and other intermediary social structures for the purposes of broadening the political and social control supporting its ideological objectives. Thus, totalitarian governments attempt to control not only the citizens behaviour but his thoughts as well. It attempts to absorb all of society, to control lives and minds and to mobilise the people in all areas of life.

The three regimes regarded as prime examples of totalitarian model were Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and Soviet Union under the leadership of Stalin. Though they did not embody all the characteristics of the totalitarian model to the same degree but these three regimes were similar in their ruthlessness and extreme dictatorial behaviour. But none of them was overthrown by the people living under them in peace time. In Nazi Germany, power was concentrated in the hands of an individual or group and membership in one or another of the youth organisations was compulsory. It eliminated opposition parties, controlled communication and mass media, exercised control over the economy and over highly centralized planning and made deliberate use of terror as a controlling factor through the secret police, concentration or labour camps. Nazism did not tolerate democracy or dissension even within the one party and refused to allow any standard of morality other than that of the party.

In Soviet Union, under the rule of Stalin, opposition parties were forbidden, the dissident groups even within the communist party were dissolved. Cruelty and inhumanity were displayed by murdering of 20 million people including top political leadership.

Italian Fascism gave importance on the glorious past of the country, need for unity, assertion of state authority and the resurgence of Italy as a world power again. Fascism controlled all political activities had tried to change human nature and made advancement contingent upon ideological conformity. However, totalitarian leaders had an important impact upon the operation of their respective political systems.

Check Your Progress – III

1. Mention two features of authoritarianism.

2. Write two features of Nazism.

3. Write two features of Fascism.

2.6 LET US SUM UP

After reading this unit, we have come to know that all these liberal forms of governments have their positive and negative points. Between the unitary and federal governments, and between the parliamentary and presidential governments, sometimes a controversy arises as to which is the better form of government. Opinions in this direction differ. In this regard, it stands out as a dominant fact that both unitary and federal or both parliamentary and presidential forms of government have advantages which deserve continuance and each can be improved by taking advantage of the practices which have proved successful in the other.

On the other, authoritarian political system presents a fascinating balance sheet of achievements – improvement in the condition of the masses by providing order and security, economic amelioration, restoration of nationalistic self-respect and national unity. But it is achieved by stifling the liberty of thoughts, expression and association and dwarfing the stature of the people. Thus the unit helped us in understanding the liberal classification of government and to analyse the nature and characteristics of different forms of governments,

2.7 KEY WORDS / TERMS

1. Separation of powers
2. Cabinet
3. Supremacy of Legislature
4. Supremacy
5. Military government

2.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Comparative Government :
and Politics | Sriram Maheswari. |
| 2. Political Theory : | Amal Roy and Mohit
Bhattacharya |
| 3. Modern Constitutions : | K.C. Wheare |
| 4. D. Deol : | Comparative Government
and Politics |
| 5. J.C. Johari : | Comparative Politics |
| 6. S.P. Verma : | Modern Political Theory |

2.9 MODEL ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

CYP – I

- | | |
|----------|---------------------------------------|
| Q.No. 1. | (i) Most effective form of government |
| | (ii) Promotes national unity. |
| 2. | (i) Division of power |
| | (ii) Supremacy of the constitution |
| 3. | (i) Desire for union |
| | (ii) Desire for local independence. |

CYP – II

- | | |
|----------|--|
| Q.No. 1. | (i) Titular head of the government |
| | (ii) Cabinet Secrecy |
| 4. | (i) Fixed tenure |
| | (ii) Head of the state is real executive |
| 5. | (i) Stability of government |
| | (ii) Promptness |

CYP – III

- Q. No. 1. (i) It opposed to individual liberty.
 (ii) It believes in centralization of power.
6. (i) Believes in violence.
 (ii) Believes in inequality of human beings.
7. (i) Opposed parliamentary institutions
 (ii) Glorification of the pest.

2.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Define unitary government and discuss its merits.
2. Discuss the essentials, the merits and demerits of federation.
3. Examine merits and demerits of parliamentary and presidential forms of government.
4. Highlight the basic characteristics of Authoritarianism.
5. Critically examine the doctrine of Totalitarianism.

BLOCK - 3

Unit - 1

THE CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL SYSTEM : THE CLASSICAL DIVISION

STRUCTURE :

- 1.1. OBJECTIVE
- 1.2. INTRODUCTION
- 1.3. GREEK CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL SYSTEM
 - 1.3.1. PLATO CLASSIFICATION
 - 1.3.2. ARISTOTLE CLASSIFICATION

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS – I
- 1.4. ROMAN CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL SYSTEM
 - 1.4.1. POLYBIUS CLASSIFICATION
 - 1.4.2. CICERO'S CLASSIFICATION
 - 1.4.3. MACHIAVELLI'S CLASSIFICATION

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS – II
- 1.5. FRENCH CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
 - 1.5.1. JEAN BODINS CLASSIFICATION
 - 1.5.2. MONTESQUIEU CLASSIFICATION

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS – III
- 1.6. CRITICAL EVALUATION
- 1.7. KEY WORDS
- 1.8. SUGGESTED READINGS
- 1.9. MODEL ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS
- 1.10. MODEL QUESTIONS

1.1 OBJECTIVE

After studying this unit, you shall be able to

- Understand the classification of political system.
- Discuss about the Greek classification made by Plato and Aristotle.
- Describe the Roman Classification of government
- Analyse the French classification of Government.

1.2 INTRODUCTION

The attempt to classify the government or what is called political system in modern terminology, is not new. It can be traced back to the beginning of the study of political science especially to the ancient Greek, Roman and French political traditions. However, there was no distinction between the state and government in those days. These classical philosophers called such an exercise as, “classification of state”. The distinction between the state and the government has been recognised in modern times. Classifying the political system or government helps to enlighten our attitudes. We can get information about the activities of system and its role in the political process through classification of government or political system. It helps us to make a comparative study between different types of political systems or the activities of similar systems in different socio-economic and political environment.

There is no end to the classification of government or political systems. A large number of writers have made an attempt to deal with the classification of governments. But the problem of classification is that different writers have

attempted to classify governments from their respective standpoints which complicate the classification of the government and sometimes create confusions. Moreover, classification made by those writers seem to be arbitrary. There is the problem of defining the concepts used in the classification. Moreover, since every government is unique and changeable, therefore, all classifications are partial and temporary. As governments exist in continuum, somewhere between total reliance on either persuasion or coercion differing in the amount of power exercised. In spite of all these problems, attempts are made to classify different political system or governments as discussed by classical political thinkers of ancient Greece, Rome and France.

1.3 GREEK CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

1.3.1 PLATO'S CLASSIFICATION

Plato, an ancient Greek philosopher, had presented a classification of his own in his book, "the Statesman". Plato classified the political system or state into two types- (i) Arbitrary state and (ii) law state. He distinguished law abiding state from lawless state and under each type; he mentioned three forms of government; i.e., rule of one, rule of few and the rule of many. The rule of one, when the state was law abiding, he called it as Monarchy. When it was lawless, he called it as Tyranny. The rule of a few was termed by him as Aristocracy, when it was law abiding and oligarchy when lawless. The rule of many was mentioned as moderate democracy and it was law abiding and extreme democracy if it was lawless. He pointed out that a law abiding state is always better than a lawless one.

So far as lawless forms of government are concerned, extreme democracy were ranked superior to oligarchy.

1.3.2 ARISTOTLE CLASSIFICATION

Aristotle who was regarded not only the father of comparative political analysis but also the classification of political systems followed the Platonic classification of political systems. Aristotle's classification was based on two principles :

- i. The number of persons who exercise the state power;
- ii. The ends they seek to serve.

Applying the first principles, Aristotle opined, if sovereignty resided in one person, it was Monarchy; if it resided in a small group of the population it was Aristocracy; and if it resided in a large proportion of the population, it was Polity. Moreover, Aristotle distinguished between the “normal” and “perverted” forms of the state based on his conclusions and the ends which rulers sought to serve. By normal state, Aristotle meant ruler or rulers guided and ruled by law for good of the community as a whole in the normal state. In perverted form of the state, Aristotle said, one guided and ruled by the selfish and capricious, without restraint by law. In perverted state, the ruler or rulers were selfish and exercised the state power for rulers own benefit rather than for the benefits of the community as a whole.

According to Aristotle, monarchy, aristocracy and polity were normal forms of state. In their perverted form, monarchy became tyranny, aristocracy became oligarchy and polity became democracy. Tyranny placed in the hands of the monarchy or king, arbitrary control over the lives of the citizens and the state affairs were directed to his own good. In

oligarchy, the wealthy few ruled for their selfish interests and they used the state powers and their privileges for oppression of the common people. By the democracy, Aristotle meant the rule of the mob. In democracy, the interest of none were safe as there would be confusion all round.

Though Aristotle supported Monarchy the best form of state, but he recognised certain difficulties in attaining the best. Therefore, he supported Polity, a democratic form of government with constitutional guarantee. In polity, there is the rule of many persons representing medium virtues, power resting with the middle class people that represent the principle of equality without any discrimination with power vested in the hands of the numerous classes.

Aristotle's six fold classifications of states can be presented in a tabular form as follows :

Number of persons having ruling power	End of the state	
	Normal	Perverted
One	Monarchy	Tyranny
Few	Aristocracy	Polity
Many	Oligarchy	Democracy

Aristotle not only classified the state according to the number of the ruling persons and the end of the state but attempted to integrate his study of different states with a cycle of revolutions also. He seemed to emphasise that no form of state would remain forever. Rather there was a change. One form of state would degenerate and other would take place. Aristotle marked out how in the course of time one form of the state had given place to another. His cycle of political changes start from monarchy. The first state was monarchy and the ruler governed the state with justice and dedication to the welfare of the people. In course of time, with the degeneration of the

character and aims of the king, it became tyranny and the government was no longer directed towards the public good. But the tyranny could not continue for long. The people revolted and succeeded in overthrowing the tyranny and replaced it by a government of few persons who were guided by the idea of common good. Aristocracy, a government of few took the place of the tyranny for the welfare of the people. With due course of time the rule of few also degenerated. Public spirit of the few would disappear. Aristocracy turned into oligarchy. Again the people made a successful revolt against oligarchy and established polity, the state power being vested in the hands of a large proportion of the population of the state and it was used for the common good. But when the polity got perverted, it was substituted by democracy.

The cycle of political change given by Aristotle is corroborated by the ancient Greek city state. But in spite of his pragmatic classification, it has suffered a severe criticism. Indeed, Aristotle's classification emphasised on quantitative aspects rather than the qualitative. He ignored the various stages in the development of the political consciousness of the people, but he emphasised on the ethical and spiritual aspects of the government.

Check Your Progress – I

1. Mention two types of political system as classified by Plato.

2. What were the principles adopted by Aristotle for classification of government.

1.4. ROMAN CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

1.4.1 POLYBIUS CLASSIFICATION

Polybius, a historian and an advisor to Roman generals and a confident of Roman statesman made another classification of political system. He took their idea of six fold classification of regimes made by Plato and Aristotle. He also looked over the theory that governments pass through a cycle of change. Polybius had applied the laws of growth and decay to the classification of regime given by Plato and Aristotle. Polybius was interested in determining reasons for the success of the republic. By success Polybius meant about the ability to conquer most of the works within a short period of time and stability achieved in Roman constitutions. He found the key to that success in the balance of constitution. He opined that the stability of the Roman government to its mixed character of the government. Roman polity did not rest on one form of government. It was a blend of monarchies, aristocratic and democratic elements. He viewed that the Roman polity had monarchies and despotic aspect in the consuls, an aristocratic element in the Senate and popular element in the committees-the Assembly of the people. However, he sought to combine the elements of the different forms of government in his mixed constitution. Polybius divided the powers of government into its different organs. Military power belonged to the consuls who represented the monarchical element of the state. The judicial and financial powers were vested upon the Senate which constituted the aristocratic element. Some deliberative functions were assigned to the popular assemblies which formed the democratic element. Senate was responsible for the appointment and approval of consuls and censors. From that

point, it can be said that Polybius advocated the principle of separation of powers.

Further, Polybius supported the principle of check and balance. He pointed out that the stability of the Roman Government was possible because of three powers- the Consuls, the Senate and the Committees - which were used to check each other from becoming too powerful. If consuls tried to impose its authority too much, which was supreme in its authority upon the army, it could be checked by the Senate which had the power for voting of the supplies. The Senate had prerogatives which could limit than condition the consuls. They could also, remove any consuls. The Senate and the committees (popular assembly) were also mutually interdependent. The Senate might get the consent of the popular assembly for decrease which punished offences with death. Moreover, the people could finally pass or reject new laws.

Thus, popular assemblies exercised control over other organs by dint of their power of passing and repealing laws. Polybius praised the Roman system because in Roman System, each organ was set off against the others. Thus, Roman system was based on the principle of check and balance.

1.4.2 CICERO'S CLASSIFICATION

Cicero was a Roman lawyer and statesman who was born when the republican constitution was declining due to the civil war between two powerful sections in Rome. Cicero's political treatises were the index of political thought during the last days of the Roman Republic.

Cicero viewed that the constitution of the perfect state was the product of a long course of evolution to which so many minds of the individuals working under different circumstances. It could be achieved through the mind of one

individual but required many ages to come up. According to Cicero, the Roman constitution should must be stable and perfect form of government that political experience had evolved. By analysing its development and relationship among the parts, it could be possible to arrive at a theory of the state in which speculation was reduced to minimum.

Cicero distinguished three primary forms of regime- Monarchy, Aristocracy and democracy. From this, it can be said that there was nothing new in his classification of political system. Each regime would tend to degenerate into its corresponding corrupt form. According to him, when the elements of these three regimes were combined in a mixed form, then the tendency of corrupt form could be kept in check. Cicero accepted Polybius view on the Roman constitution as a balance of social, economic and political power. He regarded the Roman constitution as a balance of social, economic and political power. He regarded the Roman constitution as the best example of mixed constitution. He believed in the excellence of the mixed constitution and praised the advantages of it.

Cicero advocated for a society held together by ancient tradition which assigned to each part of the polity its due bound. But he did not talk how the regime or constitution came to be accepted whether by reason or by trial and error. He accepted it as the norm by which all Romans should live and rejected all drastic proposals for change. He further pointed out that the Polybian cycle theory – the orderly alternation of good and bad constitution, did not fit the idea of Roman history. He interpreted that the three organs of government as representing the three principles necessary for stability. Thus, to Cicero, monarchy represents the principle of the prestige and influence and the popular assemblies represent the principles of liberty.

1.4.3 MACHIAVELLI'S CLASSIFICATION

Niccole Machiavelli, the first modern political thinker, did not think of political society as natural in the classical Greek sense. He was of the view that individuals were scattered at first, but as they became more numerous, they began to submit themselves to the stronger individuals unconsciously for protection of their lives and possessions. Thus, the government had its origin in physical force. Machiavelli believed that in the beginning of the state, the ruler selected himself through his sheer ability to dominate. But when individuals became more aware of the reasons for leadership or rulership, they began to elect their sovereign rulers for their wisdom and justice. Non-elected sovereign emerged since individuals concluded that the children of those who had proved wise and just ruler must inherited their father's virtues. When it proved otherwise the degenerated rulers found themselves objects of jealousy and hatred by their subjects. Then the ruler reacted to this hatred by becoming himself fearful, by developing tyrannical habits to check possible consciousness. Thus the ruler used force to sustain.

Meanwhile, those sections of people who possess virtues led against the tyrant ruler and eventually succeeded to overthrow that ruler and capture power. Thus aristocracy was established. Machiavelli's point was that in the long run aristocracy would also become lawless and transmitted into the oligarchy. In the course of time, the oligarchy would also provoke rebellion and as a result masses of people pushed forward to control the state affairs. Thus the democracy or the popular government would be established.

Machiavelli observed that all forms of government were defective. The good governments were defective, because they usually flourished for relatively short period of time and bad

because by their very unnatural they subverted the preservation of the state. Machiavelli like Aristotle also believed that mixed government would provide relatively best scheme. Though it had less good than pure monarchy, aristocracy and popular government, yet it had the tendency to persist longer. It had neither the inherent virtues of the bad forms nor the short life of the good ones.

Check Your Progress – II

1. What were the primary forms of regime classified by Cicero?

2. Why Machiavelli opined that all good governments were defective?

1.5 FRENCH CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

1.5.1 JEAN BODIN'S CLASSIFICATIONS

Jean Bodin, one of the most notable French Philosophers of the 16th century, classified political system on the basis of location of sovereignty. His classifications of government depended upon the manner and system in which sovereignty was exercised. According to Bodin if the sovereign authority resided in one individual, the state is said to be a

monarchy, if it is possessed by small number of individuals, it is known as aristocratic, and if it is possessed by the mass of citizens as a whole, the state is called democratic. In aristocracy, honours of small and narrow class and the masses excluded from the benefits thereof. But on the other hand, in a democratic state, honours and officers were to be conferred upon all on the basis of merit irrespective of class distinction. Out of these three forms of the state, Bodin regarded the monarchy of French type was the best. Because it enlisted the cooperation of all sections of the people worked for larger social happiness and provided political stability to the society. Bodin believed that vesting of the supreme power of the state in a minority of citizens or in the whole body of citizens would lead to anarchy and the ruin of the subjects. He divided monarchy into three sub-division- Despotism, royal monarchy and tyranny. Bodin did not plead for the division of sovereignty among various elements.

1.5.2 MONTESQUIEU'S CLASSIFICATIONS

Montesquieu, an eighteenth century French philosopher had classified political system into republican, monarchy and despotic. His classification was different from Aristotle because his republican form of regime covered aristocracy and democracy too. On the other hand, it is reminiscence of the Aristotelian division because the type of government depends upon the number of persons holding power. Montesquieu pointed out that when political power was shared between a few or the many, the regime would be republican one. Therefore, republican can be either aristocratic or democratic which are more endowed with charity and patriotism than monarchy. It is monarchy where power rests in the hands of a single person motivated by wide social interest. The despotic

regimes are those in which the sovereignty was unrestrained. It is the worst form of government where power rests on one individual. The ruler acts arbitrarily and exercise power for his own interests.

Montesquieu, in his classification of regime recognised the relation between the form of government and the type of society. He further pointed out that other social factors like education, morale, patriotism, level of economic equality etc. affected the existing form of the government in the society. He talked about the relationship between the size of the country and its form of governments. He emphasised that large empire breeded despotic authority, the monarchy was suitable for a moderate territory and small territory landed itself to a republic.

Montesquieu's classification of political system was criticised by Curtis on the ground that his classifications was more appropriate for eighteenth century than for contemporary condition.

Check your Progress – III

1. On what principle, Bodin classified the government.

2. How did Montesquieu relate the form of government to type of society?

1.6 CRITICAL EVALUATION

The classical writers of political science classified the forms of government as the form of state. But there can be no form of the state. All states are alike in their nature and combine the same elements. But states do differ in their organisation. The organisation of the state are its government and its is through the instrument of the government that the state formulates, expresses and realises its purpose. The purpose of every state is the same, the well being of its people. The form of government is the expression of the way in which the purposes of the state is to be realised. It includes the problem of determining in whose hands the legal authority of the state is vested, this difference is wide from state to state.

It can be concluded that the classical division of political system had influenced not only the thinking of subsequent political scholars but also the theories of the classical divisions of political system. However with the steady proliferation of independent states and increasing diversity in the pattern of governance, the earlier classifications of political system have become outdated. Therefore, the classical division of political system is limited in its usefulness as all political systems and organisations are allergic in nature.

1.7 KEY WORDS

Aristocracy	:	The highest social class consisting of people with hereditary titles.
Oligarchy	:	A small group of people having control over the state.
Tyranny	:	Oppressive governance or rule.
Monarchy	:	rule of a state by king or Queen.

- Consul : One of two electoral magistrates who ruled for a year.
- Senate : the state council of ancient Roman republic or empire.

1.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

- David E Apter : Introduction to Political Analysis, PHI New Delhi- 1978
- Alan R Ball : Modern Politics and Government, Mac Millan 1971
- M.G. Gandhi : Modern Political Analysis- Rohtak
- S Maheswari : Comparative Government and Politics.

1.9 MODEL ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- I.
 1. Arbitrary States and Law state.
 2. (i) Number of persons
(ii) End of Ruler.
- II.
 1. Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy.
 2. Because it flourished for a short period of time.
- III.
 1. Location of sovereignty in the state.
 2. Social factors affected the functions existing form of government.

1.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Critically discuss Aristotle's classification of government. Why did he recognise democracy as perverted form ?
2. Illustrate Roman classifications of government. How Polybius described the principle of Check and Balance in the functioning of government ?
3. Critically discuss French classification of Government.

BLOCK - 3

Unit - 2

CLASSIFICATION OF GOVERNMENT : LIBERAL CLASSIFICATION – BRITISH AND AMERICAN MODELS, UNITARY AND FEDERAL POLITICAL SYSTEMS, PARLIAMENTARY AND PRESIDENTIAL POLITICAL SYSTEMS, AUTHORITARIAN AND TOTALITARIAN REGIMES

STRUCTURE :

- 2.1 OBJECTIVE
- 2.2 LIBERAL CLASSIFICATION : BRITISH AND AMERICAN MODEL
- 2.3 UNITARY AND FEDERAL POLITICAL SYSTEMS
 - 2.3.1 UNITARY POLITICAL SYSTEM
 - 2.3.2 UNITARY POLITICAL SYSTEM
- CHECK YOUR PROGRESS – I
- 2.4 PARLIAMENTARY AND PRESIDENTIAL POLITICAL SYSTEMS
 - 2.4.1 PARLIAMENTARY POLITICAL SYSTEM
 - 2.4.2 PRESIDENTIAL POLITICAL SYSTEM
- CHECK YOUR PROGRESS – II
- 2.5 AUTHORITARIAN AND TOTALITARIAN REGIMES
 - 2.5.1 AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES
 - 2.5.2 TOTALITARIAN REGIMES
- CHECK YOUR PROGRESS – III
- 2.6 LET US SUM UP
- 2.7 KEY TERMS/WORDS
- 2.8 SUGGESTED READINGS
- 2.9 MODEL ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS
- 2.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

2.1 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit you shall be able to

- understand different forms of liberal governments.
- discuss the liberal classification of governments of British and American model
- analyse the concept of unitary and federal governments.
- describe the concept of Parliamentary and presidential system of government.
- Identify the elements of authoritarian government.
- understand the concept of totalitarianism.

2.2 LIBERAL CLASSIFICATION : BRITISH AND AMERICAN MODELS

Liberal democracy was originated in England. Liberal democratic political system believes in democracy and has faith in the democratic way of living and behaving. There is rule of people and each action taken by the government is supposed to have the support and approval of the people. In liberal democracy the ultimate source of authority remains with the people. The government is run by the elected representatives of the people and is responsible to the people for their policies and programmes. Periodical elections are held in liberal democracy where the electorates are entitled to exercise their right to vote in the way they like. The elected representatives have to work in the collective spirit in order to protect the interests of the people at large of course. The sovereign powers of the state is vested in the hands of the people.

There is no religious ideology in the liberal government. The liberal government has to keep communal forces in check so that they do not pose a challenge to the secular fabric of the state. The executive in a liberal government is of two kinds viz.

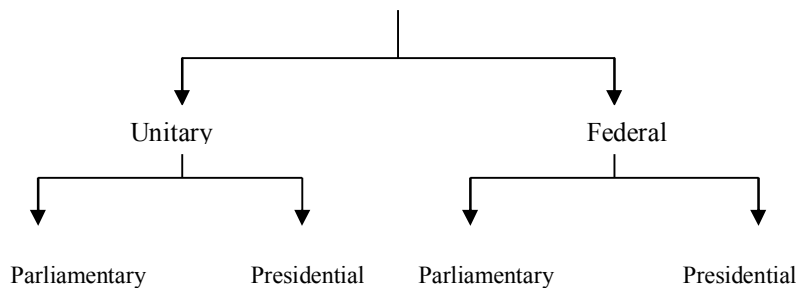
political and permanent executives. While the civil servants constitute the permanent executive who are politically non committed, the civil servants implement the programmes of the political party in power and try to co-operate with the political head of the government and ensure the success of government. Thus, the political party in power constitutes the political executive who may also be called the non-permanent executive.

Liberal democratic political system is also based on the principle of limited government governmental powers are not allowed to be concentrated rather fragmented into the hands of more than one organ i.e., executive, legislature and judiciary. Likewise maximum participation of people in the political process and activities are allowed in liberal form of government. Political parties are also allowed to be organised and contest in the periodical elections for capturing political powers and thereby to ensure their rule.

Perhaps because of the features stated above, most of seem to have adopted the liberal form of government. Some of these countries include United Kingdom, USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Belgium, Switzerland, Holland and Scandinavian countries. Other countries like France, Italy and Japan adopted it later. Liberal democratic form of government in some of the countries specially in the developing countries such as India, Sri Lanka is at experimental stage. However, majority of the world's states are governed by liberal democratic system.

The classification of the liberal governments of British and American Models can be presented as follows :

British and American Model



2.3 UNITARY AND FEDERAL POLITICAL SYSTEMS

Generally the political systems are classified into unitary and federal in terms of the method by which the government powers are distributed between the government of the whole country and any local governments which exercise power over parts of the country. A unitary government is one in which all administrative powers are vested in the centre. On the other, a federal form of government is one in which powers are constitutionally divided between the centre and the federating units.

2.3.1 UNITARY POLITICAL SYSTEM

A unitary political system is one in which there is one integrated system of government and the supreme power belongs to the central government. For administrative convenience and other considerations, the country may be divided into political divisions in different categories. But the entire authority flows from the central government. No governmental action is assigned by the constitution to smaller unit of government such as states or provinces. These subdivisions have no original existence; they are the creation of the central government and may be altered at its will. The power exercised by the province or state is only a delegated and subordinate authority which can be increased, diminished or

withdrawn at the discretion of the central government. Therefore, these sub divisions are the agents of the central government and whatever autonomy or governmental competence may have been conceded to them, exists by reciprocal understanding rather than constitutional guarantee. Thus, a unitary political system exhibits two essential characteristics – 1. The supremacy of the central parliament, and 2. The absence of subsidiary sovereign bodies.

While discussing the supremacy of British parliament, Prof. Dicey points out :

- (i) Parliament has the right to make or unmake any law.
- (ii) No person or body is empowered by the law of England the legislation of parliament.
- (iii) The power of parliament extends to every part of the King's dominions.

Thus, the local organs are merely agents of the central government. But the supremacy of legislature in unitary form of government does not overlook the supremacy of the constitution. Unitary form of government does not recognize the existence of subsidiary sovereign bodies. There may be local bodies created by a statute of the central legislature to function as subsidiary law-making bodies.

However, unitary political system ensures uniformity in law and administration throughout the country. It does not divide the allegiance of the citizens. The organisation of government is enormously simplified and the system possesses the merit of flexibility. All powers of government are concentrated in the hands of a single set of authorities and all organs of government constitute integral parts of one administrative mechanism. There can be no conflict of authority and no confusion regarding responsibility for work to be performed. Unitary system exhibits promptness of decision

and firmness of action. It injects a sense of loyalty and allegiance for the unity and integrity of the state. Unitary system of government is highly economical and saves much of the wasteful and extravagant expenditure because of absence of multiplicity of legislative and administrative authorities and processes like that of a federal counterpart.

But the critics of a unitary political system point out that it tends to repress local initiative, discourages rather than stimulates interest in public affairs, impairs vitality local governments and facilitates the development of centralised bureaucracy. The present day central government have to tackle so many complex problems that it has neither the initiative nor the time to devote to local affairs. It discourages popular interest and participation in public affairs.

Nevertheless, Great Britain, France, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and many other unitary governments have avoided these pitfalls. A unitary government can be as democratic as a federal political system. Moreover, popular interest and participation depend upon many factors apart from the form of government. For example, about 80% of the British voters regularly exercise their right to vote, while the percentage of American voters usually less.

2.3.2 THE FEDERAL POLITICAL SYSTEM

A federal political system is one in which a number of co-ordinate states get united for certain common purpose. The instrument by which A federation is brought about by an agreement between independent states and new units of government which they agree to create. Thus, a new state is created to which the hitherto sovereign states surrender their sovereignty and agree to become its component part. Federal political system may also come into existence

when a unitary state with a large area is divided into two sets of government and grants constitutional autonomy to its units. A federal polity is a dual government in which powers are divided and distributed by the constitution between central government and regional governments. Unlike unitary system, powers of the units of a federation are original. Powers are granted by the constitution to the federating units. Both the central and regional governments are co-ordinate, independent authorities within their allotted spheres of jurisdiction. Therefore, a federal political system signifies division of powers between national government and constituent units. Under such a system constitutional amendment procedure is more difficult than the enactment of ordinary law.

The basic features of a federal political system can be summarised :

- (i) A federation is born out of the desire for union. Federation allows the federating units to preserve their identity by retaining their independent jurisdiction.
- (ii) States willing to lose their sovereignty as soon as a federation is formed.
- (iii) Since the union establishes a system of dual government in which powers are divided and distributed, a written constitution is the logical necessity of such government.
- (iv) It involves rigidity of the constitution so that neither the central government nor the regional governments may be in a position to deprive the other of its powers.
- (v) The process of constitutional amendment is prescribed in the constitution by which the supremacy of the constitution is ensured. If the

government is to be federal, supremacy of the constitution needs to be established.

- (vi) Creation of an independent supreme court with the power to decide dispute which may arise between the federal government and the state governments is essential for a federation.

Though federal systems existed in ancient Greece, but the United States of America was the first federal state in modern times. Modern federations are created to preserve strong diversities by way of maintaining sufficient unity to ensure that limits are put on the powers of the centre.

Critics have pointed out that federalism is obsolescent. It is not suitable for positive action and negative in its effect. Federal government is financially expensive, since there is much duplication of administrative machinery and procedure. Multiplicity of mechanism of federalism is wasteful of time and energy. Because it depends on negotiation to ensure uniformity of laws and proper administrative compliance. In the event of conducting foreign affairs, the federal government exhibits inherent weakness and inconsistency. Similarly in times of war, the federal government may sometimes be found lacking in promptness of decision to be taken up and firmness of action due to the multiplicity of powers. It is difficult to determine responsibility of the different units and the conflict of loyalties and it may confuse individual rights and obligations.

But all the above mentioned points of criticism are not true. In all countries of the world, power of central authorities has been increasing. The centre now has been empowered to act in many areas where the federating units may not. Because the latter lacks of adequate resources to take up appropriate action. Moreover, by adopting the principle of 'cooperative federalism', certain federal regimes have sought to create conditions in which the states would have greater flexibility

and local government would play larger role within a framework established by the centre.

Check Your Progress – I

1. Write two merits of unitary government.

2. Write two features of federal state.

3. Mention two conditions which are necessary for the formation of federation.

2.4 PARLIAMENTARY AND PRESIDENTIAL POLITICAL SYSTEMS :

A liberal political system may be classified into parliamentary and presidential type. A comparison of the two clarifies certain distinctions between them. While the parliamentary system is traditionally associated with government of Great Britain, the presidential system is associated with the United States of America.

2.4.1 PARLIAMENTARY FORM OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

A political system adopts a particular pattern of government depending upon its historical and immediate factors. For example, in Great Britain parliamentary system was the result of historical struggle between the monarch and the people on the issue of political sovereignty which eventually converted the parliament – peoples representative body into the sovereign authority in Great Britain. But in France, the parliamentary system was adopted as a result of modification of the existing system where executive was very much empowered to check political instability created by multi party system.

Although the parliamentary form by itself is not an index of the democracy but all parliamentary systems have a close institutional relationship between the executive and legislature organs of the government. The executive emerges from the legislature and the former is responsible to the latter. The members of the legislature are popularly elected and elections are free and competitive. There exists an opposition in the legislature, whose task is to criticise and oversee the proceedings and is to form the government in future.

A clear distinction is made between the heads of the state and government in the parliamentary system. While head of the state possesses nominal or titular authority, the real authority rests with the government of which Prime Minister is the head. The council of Ministers is headed by the Prime Minister which plays the key game of politics in accordance with the mandate given to him by the majority party in the legislature. Each minister is responsible for administering his allotted department. Moreover, the ministers are responsible to the popular chamber of the legislature and hold their office only

so long as they enjoy the confidence of the popular chamber. Once fail to do so, they have no option but resign. It follows that the policy must be acceptable to the chamber. The responsibility of the ministers to the popular chamber is collective. In the event of deadlock between the executive and legislature, the executive enjoys the power by being able to dissolve the legislature there by calling for fresh elections. There is a constitutional requirement that limits the tenure of the legislature. But in parliamentary system, constitution provides for the dissolution of the popular chamber before the expiry of its constitutional term and elections may be held at any time during this period.

However, in parliamentary form of government, the legislature may consist of one or two chambers. There are variations in the methods of selecting the second chamber and executive has the power to dissolve the second chamber. There may be a supreme court to interpret the supremacy of constitution on the whole, parliamentary system is a party government.

The supporters of the Parliamentary system opine that the Parliament secures an essential cooperation, co-ordination and harmony between the legislature and executive which ultimately lead to administrative efficiency. The parliamentary system makes executive responsible to legislature which ultimately means its responsibility to the people of the state and ensures flexibility of the government.

But critics have pointed out that there are certain drawbacks in parliamentary system. They are as follows :

- (i) It violates the principle of separation of powers by establishing close contact between the executive and legislature.

- (ii) The control of affairs by a single political party in parliamentary system leads to partisan complicity to administration.
- (iii) Parliamentary system aids to breed nasty party-conflicts. It intensifies the spirit of party. If there is no important issue before the nation, there is always a conflict to hold the offices among the political parties. One party holds the power, the other criticise them and the conflict remains unending.
- (iv) As the parliamentary executive has no fixed term and as such their longevity depends on the mercy of the legislature, it cannot adopt and implement any long term policy for development.
- (v) Parliamentary form of government leads to cabinet dictatorship. Cabinet members with the support of absolute majority of the legislature do not care for the will of legislature and the wishes of the electorates. The control of the cabinet over the legislature enables it to pass law of its own choice. And that kind of unrestrained cabinet is tantamount to a despotic.

Though the parliamentary system of government has its elements of strength and weakness, it can be said that it works well in a country having stable bi-party system in which while one party remains in power, other party acts as the loyal opposition.

2.4.2 PRESIDENTIAL POLITICAL SYSTEM

The Presidential government first prevalent in the United States of America. Walter Bagehot used this term in 1867, while referring to the British constitution to distinguish

presidential system from the British Parliamentary system. Under the Presidential system of government, the legislature and the executive are two distinct organs of government. There is more or less a separation between the two. The executive is not responsible to the legislature for its public acts or dependent on it for remaining in office.

The chief characteristics of the presidential system are as given below :

- (i) The president is both nominal and political head of the state.
- (ii) The president is not elected by the legislature, but directly elected by the total electorates.
- (iii) The executive, i.e., the President is not part of the legislature and as such he cannot be removed from office by the legislature except through the legal process of impeachment.
- (iv) The executive cannot dissolve the legislature and cannot call general elections. Usually the President and the legislature are elected for fixed terms.

The most outstanding example of the presidential system of government is that of United States of America. Other examples of presidential government are simply imitations of the American system. In presidential system, the chief executive is chosen by the people for a fixed term. The executive selects his cabinet officers with the routine approval of the legislature. They are accountable to the president and not to the legislature. In presidential form of government, the principle of separation of powers seems to be adopted with some rigidity. However, such separation does not rule out executive messages and recommendations to the legislature, the veto and the summoning of special sessions. On the other, the

legislature has a share in the conduct of the executive business, such as the making of appointments and treaties and the supervision of administration.

The advocates of presidential form of government plead that it better safeguards the liberty of people. It ensures stability of government. Under this system, both the executive and the legislature can function with confidence for their full terms. The executive does not depend upon the wishes of the legislature. Presidential system gives administrative efficiency, speedy execution of policies, high effectiveness in the time of emergency. Its legislature is less dominated by party spirit. Since the system is based on the principle of separation of powers, it is not possible for the executive to assume legislative powers. Since all government organs act as a check on each other, power checks the abuse of power. It is a better way to preserve democratic system.

But the critics of presidential system are of the view that it divides responsibility between the executive and legislature. The executive lives in awarded independence whereas the legislature pursues its own line of policy. All these may result into frequent deadlocks, executive irresponsibility and autocracy. Security of tenure provides enough encouragement to the executive to override legislative and popular wills. The separation also leads to inefficiency and wastefulness. The limitation of tenure and the stability of the executive make the presidential system more rigid. Extravagance in appropriations and the use of long ruling techniques for passing measures of sectional interest more likely occur in the presidential form of government. Lack of direct initiative in respect of legislation and lack of direct responsibility of the executive to the legislature are other defects of the system.

Check Your Progress – II

1. Write two features of parliamentary government.

2. Mention two features of presidential government.

3. Write two merits of presidential system.

2.5 AUTHORITARIAN AND TOTALITARIAN REGIMES

2.5.1 AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES

Although outright tyrannies do not become extinct in the contemporary world, yet authoritarian political systems are almost every where. Most of the regimes around the world deserve to be classified as, ‘Authoritarian’. Monarchy, Aristocracy, Oligarchy are all authoritarian because the majority of citizens do not have any direct or institutionalized role in government affairs.

The political systems with limited not responsible, political pluralism without any elaborate and guiding ideology, but with distinctive mentalities, without political mobilization, except at some points in their development, in which a leader or

a small group exercises power within ill-defined limits, but actually quite predictable ones are termed as authoritarian regimes. Therefore, there is no responsible authority and no legally recognized opposition. Parliamentary institutions are absent and liberty is restricted in authoritarian regimes. But the system is not tyrannical. The society is traditionally oriented and power is exercised by small group such as military leaders, bureaucrats or religious leaders. Economic activities can be pursued with considerable independence.

An authoritarian regime permits only one political party in the political system. There is no alternative set of political leaders who can take the place of existing elites for the purpose of implementing new programmes. Political communication is strictly according to what the government and its ruling party allows. The alteration of government official and policies must take place within single party. Thus, authoritarian regimes indicate low specificity of political institutions, penetration of life of the society, preventing the political expression of certain group of interests or shaping them by interventionist policies.

Many authoritarian regimes have been founded by military coups and are headed by military men. A distinction can be made between military and non-military authoritarian regimes. Military regimes undergo a process of civilization if they are stable. Military men can carry out a cultural change like Ataturk, important social and economic changes like Nasser, displaced traditional regimes or prevent a continuing process of change towards democracy and social revolution after a break with tradition with a counterrevolutionary intent. The dilemma for authoritarian regime is that rebellion or revolution may become the only way to register dissatisfaction with the regime.

2.5.2 TOTALITARIAN REGIMES

Since 1950's a host of scholars have opined that the most extreme type of authoritarianism is described as 'Totalitarianism'. Totalitarianism implies an official ideology according to which members of a given society must adhere to and covers all aspects of life in the society. It is a system of terroristic police control which supervises and supports on behalf of the leader, which is directed against the enemy of the state. In totalitarianism there is an official ideology, a single mass party usually led by one leader. Terror is used by government to enforce obedience. The government has the monopoly over communication and weapons and there are central directions of economy. It has a totalist ideology. Subordination of arts and science to the interest of the political elite and to the specifications of the ideology and the organisation of labour unions, cultural associations, the educational system and other intermediary social structures for the purposes of broadening the political and social control supporting its ideological objectives. Thus, totalitarian governments attempt to control not only the citizens behaviour but his thoughts as well. It attempts to absorb all of society, to control lives and minds and to mobilise the people in all areas of life.

The three regimes regarded as prime examples of totalitarian model were Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and Soviet Union under the leadership of Stalin. Though they did not embody all the characteristics of the totalitarian model to the same degree but these three regimes were similar in their ruthlessness and extreme dictatorial behaviour. But none of them was overthrown by the people living under them in peace time. In Nazi Germany, power was concentrated in the hands of an individual or group and membership in one or another of the

youth organisations was compulsory. It eliminated opposition parties, controlled communication and mass media, exercised control over the economy and over highly centralized planning and made deliberate use of terror as a controlling factor through the secret police, concentration or labour camps. Nazism did not tolerate democracy or dissension even within the one party and refused to allow any standard of morality other than that of the party.

In Soviet Union, under the rule of Stalin, opposition parties were forbidden, the dissident groups even within the communist party were dissolved. Cruelty and inhumanity were displayed by murdering of 20 million people including top political leadership.

Italian Fascism gave importance on the glorious past of the country, need for unity, assertion of state authority and the resurgence of Italy as a world power again. Fascism controlled all political activities had tried to change human nature and made advancement contingent upon ideological conformity. However, totalitarian leaders had an important impact upon the operation of their respective political systems.

Check Your Progress – III

1. Mention two features of authoritarianism.

2. Write two features of Nazism.

3. Write two features of Fascism.

2.6 LET US SUM UP

After reading this unit, we have come to know that all these liberal forms of governments have their positive and negative points. Between the unitary and federal governments, and between the parliamentary and presidential governments, sometimes a controversy arises as to which is the better form of government. Opinions in this direction differ. In this regard, it stands out as a dominant fact that both unitary and federal or both parliamentary and presidential forms of government have advantages which deserve continuance and each can be improved by taking advantage of the practices which have proved successful in the other.

On the other, authoritarian political system presents a fascinating balance sheet of achievements – improvement in the condition of the masses by providing order and security, economic amelioration, restoration of nationalistic self-respect and national unity. But it is achieved by stifling the liberty of thoughts, expression and association and dwarfing the stature of the people. Thus the unit helped us in understanding the liberal classification of government and to analyse the nature and characteristics of different forms of governments,

2.7 KEY WORDS / TERMS

1. Separation of powers
2. Cabinet
3. Supremacy of Legislature
4. Supremacy
5. Military government

2.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Comparative Government : Sriram Maheswari.
and Politics
2. Political Theory : Amal Roy and Mohit
Bhattacharya
3. Modern Constitutions : K.C. Wheare
4. D. Deol : Comparative Government
and Politics
5. J.C. Johari : Comparative Politics
6. S.P. Verma : Modern Political Theory

2.9 MODEL ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

CYP–I

- Q. No. 1. (i) Most effective form of government
(ii) Promotes national unity.
2. (i) Division of power
(ii) Supremacy of the constitution
3. (i) Desire for union
(ii) Desire for local independence.

CYP–II

- Q. No. 1. (i) Titular head of the government
(ii) Cabinet Secrecy
4. (i) Fixed tenure
(ii) Head of the state is real executive
5. (i) Stability of government
(ii) Promptness

CYP–III

- Q. No. 1. (i) It opposed to individual liberty.
(ii) It believes in centralization of power.
6. (i) Believes in violence.

- (ii) Believes in inequality of human beings.
- 7. (i) Opposed parliamentary institutions
- (ii) Glorification of the past.

2.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Define unitary government and discuss its merits.
2. Discuss the essentials, the merits and demerits of federation.
3. Examine merits and demerits of parliamentary and presidential forms of government.
4. Highlight the basic characteristics of Authoritarianism.
5. Critically examine the doctrine of Totalitarianism.

SELF LEARNING MATERIAL

POLITICAL SCIENCE

COURSE – Pol. Sc. : 103

First Semester

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEM

BLOCK : 3, 4 & 5

**Directorate of Open and Distance Learning
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POLITICAL SCIENCE

COURSE : POL. SC. - 103

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEM

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Published on behalf of the Directorate of Open and Distance Learning, Dibrugarh University by the Director, DODL, D.U. and printed at Central Graphics & Printing, A.T. Road, Naliapool, Dibrugarh.

POLITICAL SCIENCE

COURSE - POL. SC. : 103

COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SYSTEM

CONTENTS

	<i>Pages</i>
Block – 3 :	
Unit – 1 : The Classification of Political System : The Classical Division	1 - 15
Unit – 2 : Classification of Government : Liberal Classification – British and American Models, Unitary and Federal Political Systems, Parliamentary and Presidential Political Systems, Authoritarian and Totalitarian Regimes	16 - 36
Block – 4 :	
Unit – 1 : State Institutions : Legislature, Executive and Judiciary	37 - 62
Unit – 2 : Political Process : Political Parties and Participation	63 - 99
Unit – 3 : Interest Groups and Policy Making	100 - 123
Unit – 4 : Identity Politics	124 - 147
Unit – 5 : Civil Society- Social Movement - Non Governmental Organisation and Voluntary Organisation	148 - 165
Block – 5	
Unit - 1 : State and Globalisation	166 - 180
Unit - 2 : Regional Integration & State	181 - 194
Unit - 3 : International Organisations and State	195 - 215
Unit - 4 : Multinational – Transnational Organisations and The State	216 - 227

BLOCK - 3

Unit - 1

THE CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL SYSTEM : THE CLASSICAL DIVISION

STRUCTURE :

- 1.1. OBJECTIVE
- 1.2. INTRODUCTION
- 1.3. GREEK CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL SYSTEM
 - 1.3.1. PLATO CLASSIFICATION
 - 1.3.2. ARISTOTLE CLASSIFICATION

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS – I
- 1.4. ROMAN CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL SYSTEM
 - 1.4.1. POLYBIUS CLASSIFICATION
 - 1.4.2. CICERO'S CLASSIFICATION
 - 1.4.3. MACHIAVELLI'S CLASSIFICATION

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS – II
- 1.5. FRENCH CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
 - 1.5.1. JEAN BODINS CLASSIFICATION
 - 1.5.2. MONTESQUIEU CLASSIFICATION

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS – III
- 1.6. CRITICAL EVALUATION
- 1.7. KEY WORDS
- 1.8. SUGGESTED READINGS
- 1.9. MODEL ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS
- 1.10. MODEL QUESTIONS

1.1 OBJECTIVE

After studying this unit, you shall be able to

- Understand the classification of political system.
- Discuss about the Greek classification made by Plato and Aristotle.
- Describe the Roman Classification of government
- Analyse the French classification of Government.

1.2 INTRODUCTION

The attempt to classify the government or what is called political system in modern terminology, is not new. It can be traced back to the beginning of the study of political science especially to the ancient Greek, Roman and French political traditions. However, there was no distinction between the state and government in those days. These classical philosophers called such an exercise as, “classification of state”. The distinction between the state and the government has been recognised in modern times. Classifying the political system or government helps to enlighten our attitudes. We can get information about the activities of system and its role in the political process through classification of government or political system. It helps us to make a comparative study between different types of political systems or the activities of similar systems in different socio-economic and political environment.

There is no end to the classification of government or political systems. A large number of writers have made an attempt to deal with the classification of governments. But the problem of classification is that different writers have

attempted to classify governments from their respective standpoints which complicate the classification of the government and sometimes create confusions. Moreover, classification made by those writers seem to be arbitrary. There is the problem of defining the concepts used in the classification. Moreover, since every government is unique and changeable, therefore, all classifications are partial and temporary. As governments exist in continuum, somewhere between total reliance on either persuasion or coercion differing in the amount of power exercised. In spite of all these problems, attempts are made to classify different political system or governments as discussed by classical political thinkers of ancient Greece, Rome and France.

1.3 GREEK CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

1.3.1 PLATO'S CLASSIFICATION

Plato, an ancient Greek philosopher, had presented a classification of his own in his book, "the Statesman". Plato classified the political system or state into two types- (i) Arbitrary state and (ii) law state. He distinguished law abiding state from lawless state and under each type; he mentioned three forms of government; i.e., rule of one, rule of few and the rule of many. The rule of one, when the state was law abiding, he called it as Monarchy. When it was lawless, he called it as Tyranny. The rule of a few was termed by him as Aristocracy, when it was law abiding and oligarchy when lawless. The rule of many was mentioned as moderate democracy and it was law abiding and extreme democracy if it was lawless. He pointed out that a law abiding state is always better than a lawless one.

So far as lawless forms of government are concerned, extreme democracy were ranked superior to oligarchy.

1.3.2 ARISTOTLE CLASSIFICATION

Aristotle who was regarded not only the father of comparative political analysis but also the classification of political systems followed the Platonic classification of political systems. Aristotle's classification was based on two principles :

- i. The number of persons who exercise the state power;
- ii. The ends they seek to serve.

Applying the first principles, Aristotle opined, if sovereignty resided in one person, it was Monarchy; if it resided in a small group of the population it was Aristocracy; and if it resided in a large proportion of the population, it was Polity. Moreover, Aristotle distinguished between the “normal” and “perverted” forms of the state based on his conclusions and the ends which rulers sought to serve. By normal state, Aristotle meant ruler or rulers guided and ruled by law for good of the community as a whole in the normal state. In perverted form of the state, Aristotle said, one guided and ruled by the selfish and capricious, without restraint by law. In perverted state, the ruler or rulers were selfish and exercised the state power for rulers own benefit rather than for the benefits of the community as a whole.

According to Aristotle, monarchy, aristocracy and polity were normal forms of state. In their perverted form, monarchy became tyranny, aristocracy became oligarchy and polity became democracy. Tyranny placed in the hands of the monarchy or king, arbitrary control over the lives of the citizens and the state affairs were directed to his own good. In oligarchy, the wealthy few ruled for their selfish interests and

they used the state powers and their privileges for oppression of the common people. By the democracy, Aristotle meant the rule of the mob. In democracy, the interest of none were safe as there would be confusion all round.

Though Aristotle supported Monarchy the best form of state, but he recognised certain difficulties in attaining the best. Therefore, he supported Polity, a democratic form of government with constitutional guarantee. In polity, there is the rule of many persons representing medium virtues, power resting with the middle class people that represent the principle of equality without any discrimination with power vested in the hands of the numerous classes.

Aristotle's six fold classifications of states can be presented in a tabular form as follows :

Number of persons having ruling power	End of the state	
	Normal	Perverted
One	Monarchy	Tyranny
Few	Aristocracy	Polity
Many	Oligarchy	Democracy

Aristotle not only classified the state according to the number of the ruling persons and the end of the state but attempted to integrate his study of different states with a cycle of revolutions also. He seemed to emphasise that no form of state would remain forever. Rather there was a change. One form of state would degenerate and other would take place. Aristotle marked out how in the course of time one form of the state had given place to another. His cycle of political changes start from monarchy. The first state was monarchy and the ruler governed the state with justice and dedication to the welfare of the people. In course of time, with the degeneration of the character and aims of the king, it became tyranny and the

government was no longer directed towards the public good. But the tyranny could not continue for long. The people revolted and succeeded in overthrowing the tyranny and replaced it by a government of few persons who were guided by the idea of common good. Aristocracy, a government of few took the place of the tyranny for the welfare of the people. With due course of time the rule of few also degenerated. Public spirit of the few would disappear. Aristocracy turned into oligarchy. Again the people made a successful revolt against oligarchy and established polity, the state power being vested in the hands of a large proportion of the population of the state and it was used for the common good. But when the polity got perverted, it was substituted by democracy.

The cycle of political change given by Aristotle is corroborated by the ancient Greek city state. But in spite of his pragmatic classification, it has suffered a severe criticism. Indeed, Aristotle's classification emphasised on quantitative aspects rather than the qualitative. He ignored the various stages in the development of the political consciousness of the people, but he emphasised on the ethical and spiritual aspects of the government.

Check Your Progress – I

1. Mention two types of political system as classified by Plato.

2. What were the principles adopted by Aristotle for classification of government.

1.4. ROMAN CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

1.4.1 POLYBIUS CLASSIFICATION

Polybius, a historian and an advisor to Roman generals and a confident of Roman statesman made another classification of political system. He took their idea of six fold classification of regimes made by Plato and Aristotle. He also looked over the theory that governments pass through a cycle of change. Polybius had applied the laws of growth and decay to the classification of regime given by Plato and Aristotle. Polybius was interested in determining reasons for the success of the republic. By success Polybius meant about the ability to conquer most of the works within a short period of time and stability achieved in Roman constitutions. He found the key to that success in the balance of constitution. He opined that the stability of the Roman government to its mixed character of the government. Roman polity did not rest on one form of government. It was a blend of monarchies, aristocratic and democratic elements. He viewed that the Roman polity had monarchies and despotic aspect in the consuls, an aristocratic element in the Senate and popular element in the committees-the Assembly of the people. However, he sought to combine the elements of the different forms of government in his mixed constitution. Polybius divided the powers of government into its different organs. Military power belonged to the consuls who represented the monarchical element of the state. The judicial and financial powers were vested upon the Senate which constituted the aristocratic element. Some deliberative functions were assigned to the popular assemblies which formed the democratic element. Senate was responsible for the appointment and approval of consuls and censors. From that

point, it can be said that Polybius advocated the principle of separation of powers.

Further, Polybius supported the principle of check and balance. He pointed out that the stability of the Roman Government was possible because of three powers- the Consuls, the Senate and the Committees - which were used to check each other from becoming too powerful. If consuls tried to impose its authority too much, which was supreme in its authority upon the army, it could be checked by the Senate which had the power for voting of the supplies. The Senate had prerogatives which could limit than condition the consuls. They could also, remove any consuls. The Senate and the committees (popular assembly) were also mutually interdependent. The Senate might get the consent of the popular assembly for decrease which punished offences with death. Moreover, the people could finally pass or reject new laws.

Thus, popular assemblies exercised control over other organs by dint of their power of passing and repealing laws. Polybius praised the Roman system because in Roman System, each organ was set off against the others. Thus, Roman system was based on the principle of check and balance.

1.4.2 CICERO'S CLASSIFICATION

Cicero was a Roman lawyer and statesman who was born when the republican constitution was declining due to the civil war between two powerful sections in Rome. Cicero's political treatises were the index of political thought during the last days of the Roman Republic.

Cicero viewed that the constitution of the perfect state was the product of a long course of evolution to which so many minds of the individuals working under different circumstances. It could be achieved through the mind of one

individual but required many ages to come up. According to Cicero, the Roman constitution should must be stable and perfect form of government that political experience had evolved. By analysing its development and relationship among the parts, it could be possible to arrive at a theory of the state in which speculation was reduced to minimum.

Cicero distinguished three primary forms of regime- Monarchy, Aristocracy and democracy. From this, it can be said that there was nothing new in his classification of political system. Each regime would tend to degenerate into its corresponding corrupt form. According to him, when the elements of these three regimes were combined in a mixed form, then the tendency of corrupt form could be kept in check. Cicero accepted Polybius view on the Roman constitution as a balance of social, economic and political power. He regarded the Roman constitution as a balance of social, economic and political power. He regarded the Roman constitution as the best example of mixed constitution. He believed in the excellence of the mixed constitution and praised the advantages of it.

Cicero advocated for a society held together by ancient tradition which assigned to each part of the polity its due bound. But he did not talk how the regime or constitution came to be accepted whether by reason or by trial and error. He accepted it as the norm by which all Romans should live and rejected all drastic proposals for change. He further pointed out that the Polybian cycle theory – the orderly alternation of good and bad constitution, did not fit the idea of Roman history. He interpreted that the three organs of government as representing the three principles necessary for stability. Thus, to Cicero, monarchy represents the principle of the prestige and influence and the popular assemblies represent the principles of liberty.

1.4.3 MACHIAVELLI'S CLASSIFICATION

Niccole Machiavelli, the first modern political thinker, did not think of political society as natural in the classical Greek sense. He was of the view that individuals were scattered at first, but as they became more numerous, they began to submit themselves to the stronger individuals unconsciously for protection of their lives and possessions. Thus, the government had its origin in physical force. Machiavelli believed that in the beginning of the state, the ruler selected himself through his sheer ability to dominate. But when individuals became more aware of the reasons for leadership or rulership, they began to elect their sovereign rulers for their wisdom and justice. Non-elected sovereign emerged since individuals concluded that the children of those who had proved wise and just ruler must inherited their father's virtues. When it proved otherwise the degenerated rulers found themselves objects of jealousy and hatred by their subjects. Then the ruler reacted to this hatred by becoming himself fearful, by developing tyrannical habits to check possible consciousness. Thus the ruler used force to sustain.

Meanwhile, those sections of people who possess virtues led against the tyrant ruler and eventually succeeded to overthrow that ruler and capture power. Thus aristocracy was established. Machiavelli's point was that in the long run aristocracy would also become lawless and transmitted into the oligarchy. In the course of time, the oligarchy would also provoke rebellion and as a result masses of people pushed forward to control the state affairs. Thus the democracy or the popular government would be established.

Machiavelli observed that all forms of government were defective. The good governments were defective, because they usually flourished for relatively short period of time and bad

because by their very unnatural they subverted the preservation of the state. Machiavelli like Aristotle also believed that mixed government would provide relatively best scheme. Though it had less good than pure monarchy, aristocracy and popular government, yet it had the tendency to persist longer. It had neither the inherent virtues of the bad forms nor the short life of the good ones.

Check Your Progress – II

1. What were the primary forms of regime classified by Cicero?

2. Why Machiavelli opined that all good governments were defective?

1.5 FRENCH CLASSIFICATION OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

1.5.1 JEAN BODIN'S CLASSIFICATIONS

Jean Bodin, one of the most notable French Philosophers of the 16th century, classified political system on the basis of location of sovereignty. His classifications of government depended upon the manner and system in which sovereignty was exercised. According to Bodin if the sovereign authority resided in one individual, the state is said to be a

monarchy, if it is possessed by small number of individuals, it is known as aristocratic, and if it is possessed by the mass of citizens as a whole, the state is called democratic. In aristocracy, honours of small and narrow class and the masses excluded from the benefits thereof. But on the other hand, in a democratic state, honours and officers were to be conferred upon all on the basis of merit irrespective of class distinction. Out of these three forms of the state, Bodin regarded the monarchy of French type was the best. Because it enlisted the cooperation of all sections of the people worked for larger social happiness and provided political stability to the society. Bodin believed that vesting of the supreme power of the state in a minority of citizens or in the whole body of citizens would lead to anarchy and the ruin of the subjects. He divided monarchy into three sub-division- Despotism, royal monarchy and tyranny. Bodin did not plead for the division of sovereignty among various elements.

1.5.2 MONTESQUIEU'S CLASSIFICATIONS

Montesquieu, an eighteenth century French philosopher had classified political system into republican, monarchy and despotic. His classification was different from Aristotle because his republican form of regime covered aristocracy and democracy too. On the other hand, it is reminiscence of the Aristotelian division because the type of government depends upon the number of persons holding power. Montesquieu pointed out that when political power was shared between a few or the many, the regime would be republican one. Therefore, republican can be either aristocratic or democratic which are more endowed with charity and patriotism than monarchy. It is monarchy where power rests in the hands of a single person motivated by wide social interest. The despotic

regimes are those in which the sovereignty was unrestrained. It is the worst form of government where power rests on one individual. The ruler acts arbitrarily and exercise power for his own interests.

Montesquieu, in his classification of regime recognised the relation between the form of government and the type of society. He further pointed out that other social factors like education, morale, patriotism, level of economic equality etc. affected the existing form of the government in the society. He talked about the relationship between the size of the country and its form of governments. He emphasised that large empire breeded despotic authority, the monarchy was suitable for a moderate territory and small territory landed itself to a republic.

Montesquieu's classification of political system was criticised by Curtis on the ground that his classifications was more appropriate for eighteenth century than for contemporary condition.

Check your Progress – III

1. On what principle, Bodin classified the government.

2. How did Montesquieu relate the form of government to type of society?

1.6 CRITICAL EVALUATION

The classical writers of political science classified the forms of government as the form of state. But there can be no form of the state. All states are alike in their nature and combine the same elements. But states do differ in their organisation. The organisation of the state are its government and its is through the instrument of the government that the state formulates, expresses and realises its purpose. The purpose of every state is the same, the well being of its people. The form of government is the expression of the way in which the purposes of the state is to be realised. It includes the problem of determining in whose hands the legal authority of the state is vested, this difference is wide from state to state.

It can be concluded that the classical division of political system had influenced not only the thinking of subsequent political scholars but also the theories of the classical divisions of political system. However with the steady proliferation of independent states and increasing diversity in the pattern of governance, the earlier classifications of political system have become outdated. Therefore, the classical division of political system is limited in its usefulness as all political systems and organisations are allergic in nature.

1.7 KEY WORDS

Aristocracy	:	The highest social class consisting of people with hereditary titles.
Oligarchy	:	A small group of people having control over the state.
Tyranny	:	Oppressive governance or rule.
Monarchy	:	rule of a state by king or Queen.

- Consul : One of two electoral magistrates who ruled for a year.
- Senate : the state council of ancient Roman republic or empire.

1.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

- David E Apter : Introduction to Political Analysis, PHI New Delhi- 1978
- Alan R Ball : Modern Politics and Government, Mac Millan 1971
- M.G. Gandhi : Modern Political Analysis- Rohtak
- S Maheswari : Comparative Government and Politics.

1.9 MODEL ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

- I.
 1. Arbitrary States and Law state.
 2. (i) Number of persons
(ii) End of Ruler.
- II.
 1. Monarchy, Aristocracy and Democracy.
 2. Because it flourished for a short period of time.
- III.
 1. Location of sovereignty in the state.
 2. Social factors affected the functions existing form of government.

1.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Critically discuss Aristotle's classification of government. Why did he recognise democracy as perverted form ?
2. Illustrate Roman classifications of government. How Polybius described the principle of Check and Balance in the functioning of government ?
3. Critically discuss French classification of Government.

BLOCK - 3**Unit - 2****CLASSIFICATION OF GOVERNMENT : LIBERAL
CLASSIFICATION – BRITISH AND AMERICAN MODELS,
UNITARY AND FEDERAL POLITICAL SYSTEMS,
PARLIAMENTARY AND PRESIDENTIAL POLITICAL
SYSTEMS, AUTHORITARIAN AND TOTALITARIAN
REGIMES****STRUCTURE :**

- 2.1 OBJECTIVE
- 2.2 LIBERAL CLASSIFICATION : BRITISH AND AMERICAN MODEL
- 2.3 UNITARY AND FEDERAL POLITICAL SYSTEMS
 - 2.3.1 UNITARY POLITICAL SYSTEM
 - 2.3.2 UNITARY POLITICAL SYSTEM
- CHECK YOUR PROGRESS – I
- 2.4 PARLIAMENTARY AND PRESIDENTIAL POLITICAL SYSTEMS
 - 2.4.1 PARLIAMENTARY POLITICAL SYSTEM
 - 2.4.2 PRESIDENTIAL POLITICAL SYSTEM
- CHECK YOUR PROGRESS – II
- 2.5 AUTHORITARIAN AND TOTALITARIAN REGIMES
 - 2.5.1 AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES
 - 2.5.2 TOTALITARIAN REGIMES
- CHECK YOUR PROGRESS – III
- 2.6 LET US SUM UP
- 2.7 KEY TERMS/WORDS
- 2.8 SUGGESTED READINGS
- 2.9 MODEL ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS
- 2.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

2.1 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit you shall be able to

- understand different forms of liberal governments.
- discuss the liberal classification of governments of British and American model
- analyse the concept of unitary and federal governments.
- describe the concept of Parliamentary and presidential system of government.
- Identify the elements of authoritarian government.
- understand the concept of totalitarianism.

2.2 LIBERAL CLASSIFICATION : BRITISH AND AMERICAN MODELS

Liberal democracy was originated in England. Liberal democratic political system believes in democracy and has faith in the democratic way of living and behaving. There is rule of people and each action taken by the government is supposed to have the support and approval of the people. In liberal democracy the ultimate source of authority remains with the people. The government is run by the elected representatives of the people and is responsible to the people for their policies and programmes. Periodical elections are held in liberal democracy where the electorates are entitled to exercise their right to vote in the way they like. The elected representatives have to work in the collective spirit in order to protect the interests of the people at large of course. The sovereign powers of the state is vested in the hands of the people.

There is no religious ideology in the liberal government. The liberal government has to keep communal forces in check so that they do not pose a challenge to the secular fabric of the state. The executive in a liberal government is of two kinds viz.

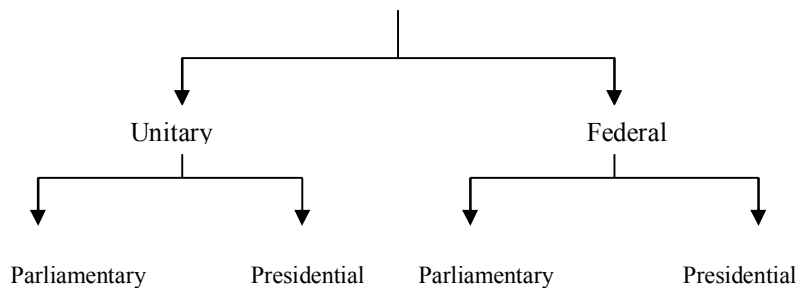
political and permanent executives. While the civil servants constitute the permanent executive who are politically non committed, the civil servants implement the programmes of the political party in power and try to co-operate with the political head of the government and ensure the success of government. Thus, the political party in power constitutes the political executive who may also be called the non-permanent executive.

Liberal democratic political system is also based on the principle of limited government governmental powers are not allowed to be concentrated rather fragmented into the hands of more than one organ i.e., executive, legislature and judiciary. Likewise maximum participation of people in the political process and activities are allowed in liberal form of government. Political parties are also allowed to be organised and contest in the periodical elections for capturing political powers and thereby to ensure their rule.

Perhaps because of the features stated above, most of seem to have adopted the liberal form of government. Some of these countries include United Kingdom, USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Belgium, Switzerland, Holland and Scandinavian countries. Other countries like France, Italy and Japan adopted it later. Liberal democratic form of government in some of the countries specially in the developing countries such as India, Sri Lanka is at experimental stage. However, majority of the world's states are governed by liberal democratic system.

The classification of the liberal governments of British and American Models can be presented as follows :

British and American Model



2.3 UNITARY AND FEDERAL POLITICAL SYSTEMS

Generally the political systems are classified into unitary and federal in terms of the method by which the government powers are distributed between the government of the whole country and any local governments which exercise power over parts of the country. A unitary government is one in which all administrative powers are vested in the centre. On the other, a federal form of government is one in which powers are constitutionally divided between the centre and the federating units.

2.3.1 UNITARY POLITICAL SYSTEM

A unitary political system is one in which there is one integrated system of government and the supreme power belongs to the central government. For administrative convenience and other considerations, the country may be divided into political divisions in different categories. But the entire authority flows from the central government. No governmental action is assigned by the constitution to smaller unit of government such as states or provinces. These subdivisions have no original existence; they are the creation of the central government and may be altered at its will. The power exercised by the province or state is only a delegated and subordinate authority which can be increased, diminished or

withdrawn at the discretion of the central government. Therefore, these sub divisions are the agents of the central government and whatever autonomy or governmental competence may have been conceded to them, exists by reciprocal understanding rather than constitutional guarantee. Thus, a unitary political system exhibits two essential characteristics – 1. The supremacy of the central parliament, and 2. The absence of subsidiary sovereign bodies.

While discussing the supremacy of British parliament, Prof. Dicey points out :

- (i) Parliament has the right to make or unmake any law.
- (ii) No person or body is empowered by the law of England the legislation of parliament.
- (iii) The power of parliament extends to every part of the King's dominions.

Thus, the local organs are merely agents of the central government. But the supremacy of legislature in unitary form of government does not overlook the supremacy of the constitution. Unitary form of government does not recognize the existence of subsidiary sovereign bodies. There may be local bodies created by a statute of the central legislature to function as subsidiary law-making bodies.

However, unitary political system ensures uniformity in law and administration throughout the country. It does not divide the allegiance of the citizens. The organisation of government is enormously simplified and the system possesses the merit of flexibility. All powers of government are concentrated in the hands of a single set of authorities and all organs of government constitute integral parts of one administrative mechanism. There can be no conflict of authority and no confusion regarding responsibility for work to be performed. Unitary system exhibits promptness of decision

and firmness of action. It injects a sense of loyalty and allegiance for the unity and integrity of the state. Unitary system of government is highly economical and saves much of the wasteful and extravagant expenditure because of absence of multiplicity of legislative and administrative authorities and processes like that of a federal counterpart.

But the critics of a unitary political system point out that it tends to repress local initiative, discourages rather than stimulates interest in public affairs, impairs vitality local governments and facilitates the development of centralised bureaucracy. The present day central government have to tackle so many complex problems that it has neither the initiative nor the time to devote to local affairs. It discourages popular interest and participation in public affairs.

Nevertheless, Great Britain, France, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and many other unitary governments have avoided these pitfalls. A unitary government can be as democratic as a federal political system. Moreover, popular interest and participation depend upon many factors apart from the form of government. For example, about 80% of the British voters regularly exercise their right to vote, while the percentage of American voters usually less.

2.3.2 THE FEDERAL POLITICAL SYSTEM

A federal political system is one in which a number of co-ordinate states get united for certain common purpose. The instrument by which A federation is brought about by an agreement between independent states and new units of government which they agree to create. Thus, a new state is created to which the hitherto sovereign states surrender their sovereignty and agree to become its component part. Federal political system may also come into existence

when a unitary state with a large area is divided into two sets of government and grants constitutional autonomy to its units. A federal polity is a dual government in which powers are divided and distributed by the constitution between central government and regional governments. Unlike unitary system, powers of the units of a federation are original. Powers are granted by the constitution to the federating units. Both the central and regional governments are co-ordinate, independent authorities within their allotted spheres of jurisdiction. Therefore, a federal political system signifies division of powers between national government and constituent units. Under such a system constitutional amendment procedure is more difficult than the enactment of ordinary law.

The basic features of a federal political system can be summarised :

- (i) A federation is born out of the desire for union. Federation allows the federating units to preserve their identity by retaining their independent jurisdiction.
- (ii) States willing to lose their sovereignty as soon as a federation is formed.
- (iii) Since the union establishes a system of dual government in which powers are divided and distributed, a written constitution is the logical necessity of such government.
- (iv) It involves rigidity of the constitution so that neither the central government nor the regional governments may be in a position to deprive the other of its powers.
- (v) The process of constitutional amendment is prescribed in the constitution by which the supremacy of the constitution is ensured. If the

government is to be federal, supremacy of the constitution needs to be established.

- (vi) Creation of an independent supreme court with the power to decide dispute which may arise between the federal government and the state governments is essential for a federation.

Though federal systems existed in ancient Greece, but the United States of America was the first federal state in modern times. Modern federations are created to preserve strong diversities by way of maintaining sufficient unity to ensure that limits are put on the powers of the centre.

Critics have pointed out that federalism is obsolescent. It is not suitable for positive action and negative in its effect. Federal government is financially expensive, since there is much duplication of administrative machinery and procedure. Multiplicity of mechanism of federalism is wasteful of time and energy. Because it depends on negotiation to ensure uniformity of laws and proper administrative compliance. In the event of conducting foreign affairs, the federal government exhibits inherent weakness and inconsistency. Similarly in times of war, the federal government may sometimes be found lacking in promptness of decision to be taken up and firmness of action due to the multiplicity of powers. It is difficult to determine responsibility of the different units and the conflict of loyalties and it may confuse individual rights and obligations.

But all the above mentioned points of criticism are not true. In all countries of the world, power of central authorities has been increasing. The centre now has been empowered to act in many areas where the federating units may not. Because the latter lacks of adequate resources to take up appropriate action. Moreover, by adopting the principle of 'cooperative federalism', certain federal regimes have sought to create conditions in which the states would have greater flexibility

and local government would play larger role within a framework established by the centre.

Check Your Progress – I

1. Write two merits of unitary government.

2. Write two features of federal state.

3. Mention two conditions which are necessary for the formation of federation.

2.4 PARLIAMENTARY AND PRESIDENTIAL POLITICAL SYSTEMS :

A liberal political system may be classified into parliamentary and presidential type. A comparison of the two clarifies certain distinctions between them. While the parliamentary system is traditionally associated with government of Great Britain, the presidential system is associated with the United States of America.

2.4.1 PARLIAMENTARY FORM OF POLITICAL SYSTEM

A political system adopts a particular pattern of government depending upon its historical and immediate factors. For example, in Great Britain parliamentary system was the result of historical struggle between the monarch and the people on the issue of political sovereignty which eventually converted the parliament – peoples representative body into the sovereign authority in Great Britain. But in France, the parliamentary system was adopted as a result of modification of the existing system where executive was very much empowered to check political instability created by multi party system.

Although the parliamentary form by itself is not an index of the democracy but all parliamentary systems have a close institutional relationship between the executive and legislature organs of the government. The executive emerges from the legislature and the former is responsible to the latter. The members of the legislature are popularly elected and elections are free and competitive. There exists an opposition in the legislature, whose task is to criticise and oversee the proceedings and is to form the government in future.

A clear distinction is made between the heads of the state and government in the parliamentary system. While head of the state possesses nominal or titular authority, the real authority rests with the government of which Prime Minister is the head. The council of Ministers is headed by the Prime Minister which plays the key game of politics in accordance with the mandate given to him by the majority party in the legislature. Each minister is responsible for administering his allotted department. Moreover, the ministers are responsible to the popular chamber of the legislature and hold their office only

so long as they enjoy the confidence of the popular chamber. Once fail to do so, they have no option but resign. It follows that the policy must be acceptable to the chamber. The responsibility of the ministers to the popular chamber is collective. In the event of deadlock between the executive and legislature, the executive enjoys the power by being able to dissolve the legislature there by calling for fresh elections. There is a constitutional requirement that limits the tenure of the legislature. But in parliamentary system, constitution provides for the dissolution of the popular chamber before the expiry of its constitutional term and elections may be held at any time during this period.

However, in parliamentary form of government, the legislature may consist of one or two chambers. There are variations in the methods of selecting the second chamber and executive has the power to dissolve the second chamber. There may be a supreme court to interpret the supremacy of constitution on the whole, parliamentary system is a party government.

The supporters of the Parliamentary system opine that the Parliament secures an essential cooperation, co-ordination and harmony between the legislature and executive which ultimately lead to administrative efficiency. The parliamentary system makes executive responsible to legislature which ultimately means its responsibility to the people of the state and ensures flexibility of the government.

But critics have pointed out that there are certain drawbacks in parliamentary system. They are as follows :

- (i) It violates the principle of separation of powers by establishing close contact between the executive and legislature.

- (ii) The control of affairs by a single political party in parliamentary system leads to partisan complicity to administration.
- (iii) Parliamentary system aids to breed nasty party-conflicts. It intensifies the spirit of party. If there is no important issue before the nation, there is always a conflict to hold the offices among the political parties. One party holds the power, the other criticise them and the conflict remains unending.
- (iv) As the parliamentary executive has no fixed term and as such their longevity depends on the mercy of the legislature, it cannot adopt and implement any long term policy for development.
- (v) Parliamentary form of government leads to cabinet dictatorship. Cabinet members with the support of absolute majority of the legislature do not care for the will of legislature and the wishes of the electorates. The control of the cabinet over the legislature enables it to pass law of its own choice. And that kind of unrestrained cabinet is tantamount to a despotic.

Though the parliamentary system of government has its elements of strength and weakness, it can be said that it works well in a country having stable bi-party system in which while one party remains in power, other party acts as the loyal opposition.

2.4.2 PRESIDENTIAL POLITICAL SYSTEM

The Presidential government first prevalent in the United States of America. Walter Bagehot used this term in 1867, while referring to the British constitution to distinguish

presidential system from the British Parliamentary system. Under the Presidential system of government, the legislature and the executive are two distinct organs of government. There is more or less a separation between the two. The executive is not responsible to the legislature for its public acts or dependent on it for remaining in office.

The chief characteristics of the presidential system are as given below :

- (i) The president is both nominal and political head of the state.
- (ii) The president is not elected by the legislature, but directly elected by the total electorates.
- (iii) The executive, i.e., the President is not part of the legislature and as such he cannot be removed from office by the legislature except through the legal process of impeachment.
- (iv) The executive cannot dissolve the legislature and cannot call general elections. Usually the President and the legislature are elected for fixed terms.

The most outstanding example of the presidential system of government is that of United States of America. Other examples of presidential government are simply imitations of the American system. In presidential system, the chief executive is chosen by the people for a fixed term. The executive selects his cabinet officers with the routine approval of the legislature. They are accountable to the president and not to the legislature. In presidential form of government, the principle of separation of powers seems to be adopted with some rigidity. However, such separation does not rule out executive messages and recommendations to the legislature, the veto and the summoning of special sessions. On the other, the

legislature has a share in the conduct of the executive business, such as the making of appointments and treaties and the supervision of administration.

The advocates of presidential form of government plead that it better safeguards the liberty of people. It ensures stability of government. Under this system, both the executive and the legislature can function with confidence for their full terms. The executive does not depend upon the wishes of the legislature. Presidential system gives administrative efficiency, speedy execution of policies, high effectiveness in the time of emergency. Its legislature is less dominated by party spirit. Since the system is based on the principle of separation of powers, it is not possible for the executive to assume legislative powers. Since all government organs act as a check on each other, power checks the abuse of power. It is a better way to preserve democratic system.

But the critics of presidential system are of the view that it divides responsibility between the executive and legislature. The executive lives in awarded independence whereas the legislature pursues its own line of policy. All these may result into frequent deadlocks, executive irresponsibility and autocracy. Security of tenure provides enough encouragement to the executive to override legislative and popular wills. The separation also leads to inefficiency and wastefulness. The limitation of tenure and the stability of the executive make the presidential system more rigid. Extravagance in appropriations and the use of long ruling techniques for passing measures of sectional interest more likely occur in the presidential form of government. Lack of direct initiative in respect of legislation and lack of direct responsibility of the executive to the legislature are other defects of the system.

Check Your Progress – II

1. Write two features of parliamentary government.

2. Mention two features of presidential government.

3. Write two merits of presidential system.

2.5 AUTHORITARIAN AND TOTALITARIAN REGIMES

2.5.1 AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES

Although outright tyrannies do not become extinct in the contemporary world, yet authoritarian political systems are almost every where. Most of the regimes around the world deserve to be classified as, ‘Authoritarian’. Monarchy, Aristocracy, Oligarchy are all authoritarian because the majority of citizens do not have any direct or institutionalized role in government affairs.

The political systems with limited not responsible, political pluralism without any elaborate and guiding ideology, but with distinctive mentalities, without political mobilization, except at some points in their development, in which a leader or

a small group exercises power within ill-defined limits, but actually quite predictable ones are termed as authoritarian regimes. Therefore, there is no responsible authority and no legally recognized opposition. Parliamentary institutions are absent and liberty is restricted in authoritarian regimes. But the system is not tyrannical. The society is traditionally oriented and power is exercised by small group such as military leaders, bureaucrats or religious leaders. Economic activities can be pursued with considerable independence.

An authoritarian regime permits only one political party in the political system. There is no alternative set of political leaders who can take the place of existing elites for the purpose of implementing new programmes. Political communication is strictly according to what the government and its ruling party allows. The alteration of government official and policies must take place within single party. Thus, authoritarian regimes indicate low specificity of political institutions, penetration of life of the society, preventing the political expression of certain group of interests or shaping them by interventionist policies.

Many authoritarian regimes have been founded by military coups and are headed by military men. A distinction can be made between military and non-military authoritarian regimes. Military regimes undergo a process of civilization if they are stable. Military men can carry out a cultural change like Ataturk, important social and economic changes like Nasser, displaced traditional regimes or prevent a continuing process of change towards democracy and social revolution after a break with tradition with a counterrevolutionary intent. The dilemma for authoritarian regime is that rebellion or revolution may become the only way to register dissatisfaction with the regime.

2.5.2 TOTALITARIAN REGIMES

Since 1950's a host of scholars have opined that the most extreme type of authoritarianism is described as 'Totalitarianism'. Totalitarianism implies an official ideology according to which members of a given society must adhere to and covers all aspects of life in the society. It is a system of terroristic police control which supervises and supports on behalf of the leader, which is directed against the enemy of the state. In totalitarianism there is an official ideology, a single mass party usually led by one leader. Terror is used by government to enforce obedience. The government has the monopoly over communication and weapons and there are central directions of economy. It has a totalist ideology. Subordination of arts and science to the interest of the political elite and to the specifications of the ideology and the organisation of labour unions, cultural associations, the educational system and other intermediary social structures for the purposes of broadening the political and social control supporting its ideological objectives. Thus, totalitarian governments attempt to control not only the citizens behaviour but his thoughts as well. It attempts to absorb all of society, to control lives and minds and to mobilise the people in all areas of life.

The three regimes regarded as prime examples of totalitarian model were Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and Soviet Union under the leadership of Stalin. Though they did not embody all the characteristics of the totalitarian model to the same degree but these three regimes were similar in their ruthlessness and extreme dictatorial behaviour. But none of them was overthrown by the people living under them in peace time. In Nazi Germany, power was concentrated in the hands of an individual or group and membership in one or another of the

youth organisations was compulsory. It eliminated opposition parties, controlled communication and mass media, exercised control over the economy and over highly centralized planning and made deliberate use of terror as a controlling factor through the secret police, concentration or labour camps. Nazism did not tolerate democracy or dissension even within the one party and refused to allow any standard of morality other than that of the party.

In Soviet Union, under the rule of Stalin, opposition parties were forbidden, the dissident groups even within the communist party were dissolved. Cruelty and inhumanity were displayed by murdering of 20 million people including top political leadership.

Italian Fascism gave importance on the glorious past of the country, need for unity, assertion of state authority and the resurgence of Italy as a world power again. Fascism controlled all political activities had tried to change human nature and made advancement contingent upon ideological conformity. However, totalitarian leaders had an important impact upon the operation of their respective political systems.

Check Your Progress – III

1. Mention two features of authoritarianism.

2. Write two features of Nazism.

3. Write two features of Fascism.

2.6 LET US SUM UP

After reading this unit, we have come to know that all these liberal forms of governments have their positive and negative points. Between the unitary and federal governments, and between the parliamentary and presidential governments, sometimes a controversy arises as to which is the better form of government. Opinions in this direction differ. In this regard, it stands out as a dominant fact that both unitary and federal or both parliamentary and presidential forms of government have advantages which deserve continuance and each can be improved by taking advantage of the practices which have proved successful in the other.

On the other, authoritarian political system presents a fascinating balance sheet of achievements – improvement in the condition of the masses by providing order and security, economic amelioration, restoration of nationalistic self-respect and national unity. But it is achieved by stifling the liberty of thoughts, expression and association and dwarfing the stature of the people. Thus the unit helped us in understanding the liberal classification of government and to analyse the nature and characteristics of different forms of governments,

2.7 KEY WORDS / TERMS

1. Separation of powers
2. Cabinet
3. Supremacy of Legislature
4. Supremacy
5. Military government

2.8 SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Comparative Government : Sriram Maheswari.
and Politics
2. Political Theory : Amal Roy and Mohit
Bhattacharya
3. Modern Constitutions : K.C. Wheare
4. D. Deol : Comparative Government
and Politics
5. J.C. Johari : Comparative Politics
6. S.P. Verma : Modern Political Theory

2.9 MODEL ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

CYP–I

- Q. No. 1. (i) Most effective form of government
(ii) Promotes national unity.
2. (i) Division of power
(ii) Supremacy of the constitution
3. (i) Desire for union
(ii) Desire for local independence.

CYP–II

- Q. No. 1. (i) Titular head of the government
(ii) Cabinet Secrecy
4. (i) Fixed tenure
(ii) Head of the state is real executive
5. (i) Stability of government
(ii) Promptness

CYP–III

- Q. No. 1. (i) It opposed to individual liberty.
(ii) It believes in centralization of power.
6. (i) Believes in violence.

- (ii) Believes in inequality of human beings.
- 7. (i) Opposed parliamentary institutions
- (ii) Glorification of the past.

2.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Define unitary government and discuss its merits.
2. Discuss the essentials, the merits and demerits of federation.
3. Examine merits and demerits of parliamentary and presidential forms of government.
4. Highlight the basic characteristics of Authoritarianism.
5. Critically examine the doctrine of Totalitarianism.

BLOCK - 4

Unit - 1

STATE INSTITUTIONS : LEGISLATURE, EXECUTIVE AND JUDICIARY

STRUCTURE

1.0 OBJECTIVES

1.1. INTRODUCTION

1.2. STATE INSTITUTION : LEGISLATURE

1.2.1. MEANING OF LEGISLATURE

1.2.2. ORGANIZATION OF LEGISLATURE : UNICAMERALISM AND BICAMERALISM

1.2.3. FUNCTIONS OF LEGISLATURE

1.2.4. DECLINE OF LEGISLATURE.

- CHECK YOUR PROGRESS – I

1.3. EXECUTIVE

1.3.1. MEANING OF EXECUTIVE

1.3.2. TYPES OF EXECUTIVE

1.3.3. FUNCTIONS OF EXECUTIVE

1.3.4. THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE IN MODERN POLITICAL SYSTEM

- CHECK YOUR PROGRESS – II

1.4. JUDICIARY

1.4.1. ORGANIZATION OF JUDICIARY

1.4.2. FUNCTIONS AND ROLE OF JUDICIARY

- CHECK YOUR PROGRESS – III

1.5. LET US SUM UP

1.6. KEY WORDS

1.7. SUGGESTED READINGS

POSSIBLE ANSWER TO CYS

REFERENCES

MODEL QUESTIONS

1.0 OBJECTIVE

After going through this unit you will be able to:

- * Explain the meaning and organization of Legislature.
- * Describe the functions of Legislature.
- * Identify the causes for the decline of Legislature.
- * Explain the meaning and types of Executive.
- * Evaluate the role of chief Executive in modern Political System.
- * Discuss the meaning and organization of Judiciary.
- * Analyse the functions and role of Judiciary.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

You must have read that comparative government involves a comparative study of governments in terms of their political institutions, structure, functions and processes.

Every political system is operated by institutions and the latter plays a leading role in the formation and implementation of public policy. This unit introduces you to formal institutions which occupy a pivotal position in every political system.

Political institutions mean both the formal organs as well as informal structures which bear upon deliberation and decision making, the former include the government, the parliament, the courts, the administrative staff. Political institutions are social instrumentalities for attainment of community goals. While informal institutions exert great influence on decision making through such input functions as political socialization, communication, interest articulation and interest aggregation, it is through the formal organs and structure that the output functions, namely decisions are officially formulated, expressed and realized. Modern

comparative government undoubtedly lays more stress on the input functions of the political System and the corresponding structure that perform these functions but a moment reflections will enable us to appreciate that formal structures are no less significant in the total scheme of the political system.

Therefore, it seems to be significant to examine the meaning, functions, role of the three formal institutions or organs of government namely: Legislature, Executive and Judiciary.

1.2 LEGISLATURE

In every modern government there are three organs and these are the Legislature, the Executive and Judiciary. The Legislature makes Laws, the judiciary interprets them and the executive enforces them. It is difficult to think of a government with out these three organs. Out of these three, the Legislature occupies the primary place. The function of government begins by law-making and is followed by law-enforcement and adjudication functions. As such the legislature is the first organ of the government.

1.2.1 Meaning of Legislature

In simple sense, the legislature is the organ of the government which makes laws of the government. It is the organ which has the responsibility to formulate legal authority and force. However, the term legislature is a generic are meaning a body which legislature. It is combination of two words: legy and lature. ‘Legg’ means law and ‘lature’ the place and etymological legislature means a place for law making. Another term which is used as a synonym of legislature is parliament. This word is derived from the French word ‘Parley’ which means to talk or to discuss and deliberate. In this way we

can say that parliament means the place where deliberations are held. Combining the two views we can say that legislature or parliament is that branch of government which performs the function of making laws through deliberation.

1.2.2 Organisation of Legislature : Unicamenralism or Bicameralism

After analyzing the meaning of legislature it becomes essential for us to discuss the organisation of legislature. The choice is between unicamenralism and Bicameralism. Bicameralism stands for a legislature with two Houses or two chambers while unicamenralism stands for a legislature with a single House or chamber. A modern legislatures are either of Bicameral or unicameral. Most legislatures are bicameral. Simultaneously however, a trend is fast developing towards unicameral legislature. The constitutional tradition of responsibilities suggests that unicamenralism is preferable to bicameralism. The reason is that in the unicameral legislature; the popularly elected representatives carry out the will of their constituents to whom in the next election, they are to answer for their acts of omission and commission.

In India, USA, UK, Switzerland, France there is bicameral legislature at centre, although the organization of the Upper House is different. In India, the 'Rajya Sabha' and in France the 'Senate' are indirectly elected Upper House of their legislatures. In UK, the House of Lords is a hereditary and nominated House. In USA and Switzerland the Upper Houses represent the federal units. On the other hand, the unicameral legislatures are working in China, Newzeland, Zimbabwe, Turkey, Portugal and other States. The state legislatures of all the Canadian and Swiss countries are unicameral. In India, while some states have bicameral legislature whereas others have unicameral legislature.

Case for Bicameralism

There are certain reasons for the formation of Bi-cameral legislature they are cited below :

1. Second Chamber is a safeguard against the despotism of a single chamber.
2. Second Chamber is essential for preventing hasty and ill considered legislation.
3. Second chamber acts as a revising chamber: the fault of the first chamber is revised by the second chamber.
4. Second chamber lessens the burden of the first chamber.
5. Essential for federation: one has represented the people as a whole and the other represent the federating units.

Case for Unicameralism

The critics of bi-cameralism and supporters of unicameralism; however rejects the thesis that second chamber is essential. They oppose it as superfluous chamber which always results into more disadvantage than advantages. Bicameralism is opposed and unicameralism is supported on the basis of the following arguments:

- Two chambers confuse public opinion.
- Second chamber is either Mischievous or superfluous.
- Source of delay in legislation. Second chamber is mostly a constructive and Reactionary Chamber.
- Increased Expenses: The second chamber entails heavy expenditure and renders no useful purpose.
- Revision of the bill by the second chamber is unnecessary and useless.
- Second chamber is only in a position to check the despotism of the first house.
- Problems of organizing the second chamber.

1.2.3 Functions of Legislature

In the past the most important functions of the legislature was to enact laws. But in recent times it has to perform a variety of functions e.g. amendment of national constitution, selection and appointment of administrative

officials or judicial officials; control of administrative actions, investigation of social, political and economic conditions and suggestion of remedies. Above all, it remains at a pivotal position of legislative authority. It serves as a forum of public opinion; it acts as a vital link between government and the governed. It provides leadership for public's opinion and organization through which opinion acquires political significance. Let us now discuss the functions of legislature.

- 1. Legislative Functions :** The first and foremost function of legislature is to legislate i.e. to make laws. In a democratic country, legislature is the chief source of law. It is the legislature which formulates the will of the state into laws and vests these with legality.
- 2. Constitutional Amendments :** Changes and amendments of the constitutions are of supreme importance to the political system. This function is performed by the legislature. In other words it is the legislature which has the power to amend the constitution.
- 3. Election and Appointments :** Legislature also acts as an electoral body for filling certain high officers and they give approval of nominations for high administrative offices in a number of democracy. There is no doubt the significance of administrative action is increasing rapidly: hence the need for legislative control can hardly be overemphasized. In certain countries, the chief executive may be selected by the legislature. In India, the President is elected by an Electoral College consisting of the number of the members of the Parliament and the State Assemblies, while the Vice president is elected by members of the two Houses of Parliament. The American constitution provides that if no candidate receives a majority in the Electoral College, the choice will be made by the House of representatives. The legislature's control over appointment to the administrative

and judicial offices is more important in the USA. For illustration, the Senate must approve all appointments to the cabinet, foreign embassies, high military rank, and high administrative offices and to the Supreme Court.

The legislature also has the right of removal in certain circumstances; the legislatures can serve as a judicial body. The clear case of the legislature acting as a judicial body is found in the UK. The House of Lords is the highest court of appeal in the land. In India and USA, the impeachment proceeding of the high officials including the President is carried out by the legislature.

4. **Deliberative Function** : To deliberate on matters of national importance, public problems and policies are important functions of modern legislature. Through these functions the legislature reflects the public opinion over various issues. The legislature makes the executive aware of the aspirations and difficulties of the people. The debates held in the legislature have high educative value for the people.
5. **Control of Parliament over the Government** : The control over the government constitutes one of the four inter-organ control. The techniques used for the exercise of this control are designation of the executive powerholder, political control over the conduct of governmental functions and removal of government.
6. **Control over Finance** : A survey of legislative control over the executive is not complete without a discussion of financial legislation. It must be noted that contemporary financial legislation is simultaneously a legislative infrastructure for controlling administration and the executive being the most powerful one among the instrument to give effect to this control.

1.2.4 Decline of legislature

If a general survey is made regarding the position and working of the legislatures in the present century, it would be evident that barring of a few important and striking functions legislatures have declined in certain important aspects and particularly in respect of powers in relation to the executive power of the government. In almost all states, the legislature has suffered a loss of prestige and role due to the rise of powerful executives. The executive comes to be most powerful branch of the government in all the states. The effectiveness of the legislatures has come to be less in comparison with the executive. This development has come to be identified as decline of legislature. IN modern democratic governmental system the legislature, in fact, seems to have been overshadowed by a strong executive so far as powers and functions are concerned.

Reasons behind the Decline of Legislature

The following reasons can be held responsible for the decline of legislature organ in various country of the world :

- 1. Increased burden of work :** The overburdened legislature of contemporary welfare state is required to pass a large number of laws, most of which relate to highly technical spheres. The legislature finds itself living with paucity of time, resources and expertise and hence has become dependent upon the executive. As a result, executive has got enough scope to become more powerful.
- 2. Rise of Delegated legislation :** The system of delegated legislation has considerably strengthened the hands of the executive. Every legislature today finds itself left with no other alternative except to delegate some of its law making powers to executive. This has become inevitable because of

the changes produced by the rise of industrial, social and welfare state.

3. **Role of political Parties : Due** to the mushroom rise of political parties, the legislatures all over the globe have suffered a decline. First the parties have definitely limited the nature and scope of legislative debate. Secondly, the parties have made it possible for the leaders the power holders in the executives to bank upon the commitment supported by the majority. Thirdly, law making by the legislatures has virtually become law making by the majority party. Fourthly, political parties have come to be developed as extra- constitutional structures which decide major issues and policies outside the legislature and they simply use the legislature as platform to get these passed on the floor of the House.
4. **Rise of Administrative State :** In the present stage of administrative state, people expect and want the executive to run the administration as welfare administration and secure all the goals of socio-economic and cultural development. This had made it essential for executive to take up new and newer responsibilities. As a result, power of legislature has obviously come down.
5. **The system of Judicial Review :** The powerful and active role played by the courts through their mechanism called judicial review, has also led to the decline of legislature. The right of the courts to judge the constitutional validity of laws passed by the legislature and can get those laws rejected or such parts of the laws are considered by them unconstitutional has definitely lowered the prestige of the legislature.
6. **System of Direct legislation :** In the states where the system of direct legislation prevails the people acting

through such devices as referendum and initiative have the right to pass the final verdict on the fate of the bills passed by the legislature. Under such a system the prestige of the elected Assemblies has suffered a decline.

All these factors have been mainly responsible for the decline of legislature and rise of the executive of a government. However, all these do not mean that legislature suffered a total loss of power and prestige. There has been a decline of legislature no doubt, but this does not mean a demise of legislature. It continues to play a vigorous role in comparison with the legislatures of initial part of 20th century. Furthermore, Legislature is performing its role as the real custodian of the finances of the state. On the whole, it continues to act as the main agency for the conversion of public demand into laws and policies.

Check Your Progress - I

1. What is the first organ of the Government ?

2. The main function of legislature is making of laws/ enforcement of Laws/ interpretation of Laws. (Select the correct answers).

3. Write two arguments in favor of Bicameralism.

4. Write two functions of Legislatures.

5. Point out two causes for the decline of Legislature.

1.3 EXECUTIVE

The second major organ of the government is the executive. It is that branch of government which enforces the will of the state as formulated into laws by the legislature. In actual practice, the executive has come to be most powerful organ of the government. The modern welfare state has emerged as an administrative state i.e. a state having a primary emphasis upon administration of laws and running of administration has become more important than the law making functions of the government. As such, the executive organ of the government has come to dominate the legislature.

1.3.1 Meaning of Executive

The term executive is used in both wide and narrow senses. In the broad sense, the executive is taken to mean all the functionaries, political leaders as well as permanent non-political civil servants who are concerned with the implementation of laws and running of the administration of the state. In its narrow connotation, the executive is taken to mean the executive heads, the political leaders who head the government departments formulate the policies and supervise the implementation of the laws and policies of the government. Traditionally, only the narrow meaning was generally accepted. In contemporary times, the executives are conceptualized in its broader sense. The students of political science however, give primacy to the study of political executive, while the students of public administration give primacy to the study of civil service i.e. non-political permanent executives.

1.3.2 Types of Executives

Executive can be of different types. Following are the main types of executive.

1. Nominal and Real Executives :

The difference between nominal and the real executives is made only in a parliamentary form of government. In it, the head of the state i.e. the President or the Monarch, is the nominal executive and Council of Ministers headed by the Prime Minister is the real executive. All the powers legally belong to the nominal executive, but these are really exercised by the real executive. In Indian political system, the President is the nominal executives whereas council of ministers headed by the Prime Minister is real executive.

Political Vs Non-political Permanent Executives.

The executive divided into two parts: political and non-political permanent executive. The political executive consists of the executive head of the state and other heads of the executive departments (ministers). On the other hand, the non-political, permanent executives consist of all the civil servants, who carry out the day to day administration and work in the government departments. The main points of difference between political and non political permanent executives are :

- Policy formulation is done by the political executives, not by the non political executives.
- A political executive is responsible and accountable to the people, not the permanent executives.
- A political executive has a very short tenure, whereas permanent executives enjoy fixed and long tenure.
- Influence of political parties is seen in case of political executive, not on the permanent executives.

- 2. Hereditary and Elected Executives :** When the executive assumes office by the laws of hereditary succession, he/she is called the hereditary executive. When the executive is directly or indirectly elected by the people for a fixed period or even for life it is called elected executive. In Britain, Japan and Malaysia there are hereditary executives. In India, USA, Germany and many other states there are elected executives.
- 3. Single and Plural Executives :** When all the executive powers are in the hand of a single functionary or leader, he/she is called single executive. In India, Britain, USA, Australia, France and many states there are single executives. In India, all the executive powers are vested in the hands of President. Similarly Article 11 of the US Constitution states : “The executive powers shall be vested in the President of United States of America”.

As against this when the executive powers are vested with a group of persons or in a committee, council or commission and these are collectively exercised by all the members of the executives. For instance, in Switzerland all executives power stand collectively vested with the Federal council which consists of seven members.

- 4. Parliamentary and Presidential Executives :** The distinction between the Parliamentary and Presidential executives is made on the basis of relationship between the legislature and the executive.

In a Parliamentary executive, there are :

- Close relationship between the executives and legislature,
- The executives are individually and collectively responsible to the legislature.

- The tenure of the executives is not fixed and it can at any time be removed by legislature,
- The legislature can be dissolved by the executive

In the Presidential executives, on the other hand, there are :

- Separate of powers between the executives and legislature,
- The members of the two organs are incompatible,
- The executive is not responsible to the legislature and the tenure of the executives is fixed,
- Neither of the two can dissolve nor remove the each other.

The Parliamentary executive is functioning in India, UK, Canada, New Zealand, Australia and many other states. In the USA the executive is Presidential.

1.3.3 Function of Executive

Although the main function of executives is to enforce laws, but it actually perform manifold activities. These can be discussed as under :

- 1. Enforcement of laws :** The primary functions of executives are to enforce laws, as formulated by the legislature and to maintain law and order in the state. Each government department is responsible to the legislature for the implementation of the laws concerning the functions of that department. For maintaining, law and order in the states, the executive organises and maintains the police force.
- 2. Appointment-making functions :** All major appointments are made by the chief executives. For example the President of India appoints the Chief Justice and other judges of

Supreme Court and high courts, Ambassador, advocate General of India etc. Likewise, the President of United States makes a number of key appointments. All the secretaries who head various government departments, Judges of the Supreme Court and other Federal Courts, the federal officers in the states etc. are appointed by the President. However all such appointments require final approval of the US Senate.

3. **Treaty-making functions :** It is the responsibility of the executives to decide as to what and which treaties are to be signed with which other countries. The executives negotiate the treaties in accordance with the procedure defined by international laws and directions and dictates of the constitution of the state, each treaty is signed by a member of the executives.
4. **Defense, War and Peace functions :** To organize military for the defense of the state, to prepare for and wage a war if it becomes necessary for state to do so, and it negotiates and signs peace settlement after every war, are the functions performed by the executives.
5. **Policy making :** It is the executive which undertakes the task of policy making and the formulation of development plans. These two functions can be legitimately described as the most important functions of the executives, through which the state carries out its objectives of promoting the welfare and all round development of its people.
6. **Functions relating to Law making :** Although law making is primarily the function of the legislature, the executive also plays a role in the law making. In a Parliamentary system, the ministers are also members of the legislature and they play a leading role in law-making. On the other hand, under the system of delegated legislation, the

legislature, because of its limitations, delegates a large amount of its law-making powers to the executive. This system has tremendously increased the law making role of the executive.

7. **Financial functions** : The executive also performs financial functions. It decides the ways and means through which the money is to be collected and spent. It formulates all economic policies and plans. It takes suitable measures for regulating the productions and distribution of goods, money supply-prices and exports and imports.
8. **Judicial functions** : In almost all democratic systems, the chief executives has the power to appoint judges. Further, the head of the states has the right to grant pardon, reprise and amnesty to criminals.
9. **Grant of titles and honours** : Another important function of the executive is to grant titles and honours to the people in recognition of their meritorious and outstanding services to the nations.

Besides, a modern executive discharges several other functions e.g. development functions through which the executive has to plan and secure socio-economic-cultural development of the people of the state. In brief, we can say that every step and in every aspect of social relations, the executive can be found to be playing a key role. The welfare state has come to be an administrative state and as such, the role of executive has come to be utmost important.

1.3.4 The Chief Executives in modern political system

There is no doubt that the President; the Prime minister and the Chancellor are the driving forces behind all government activities. The increasing scope of government activity and

resultant increase in power of the chief executive to appoint and dismiss members of government are very real and substantive.

Though the chief executive has a free hand in selection and appointment of members of their government, there is no doubt that they are to act within certain limitations, such as electoral consideration, the party balance of power and the representatives of different geographical areas,. All these are intended to create potential power having a wide support base. The British Prime Minister has, by and large, free hand in the selection of his cabinet members but there are considerations which the prime ministers hardly ignore. Sometimes the party for which he or she has become the prime minister may want some particular members in the cabinet; regional representation of the country may be made in the cabinet. As a matter of practice, members of the shadow cabinet are included in the cabinet after the election victory.

The office of the chief executive, whether Prime Minister or President, does not invest the individuals concerned with authority which they don't possess as politicians. They derive strength from publicity and non-media. The American President habitually utilizes all these. He televises speech; monthly press informer and interview bring him closer to public view. The British Prime Minister is said to have been using publicity through mass media. He seeks to project his own image, the image of a nation's leader. The British Prime minister position resembles more and more to that of the American President. People go to the polls to vote for him and his policies and programmes.

One area in which the chief executive is most active is the foreign policy. He enjoys a greater degree of freedom here partly due to reduced electoral considerations and partly to the head for speed and secrecy of action. The American President's mayor role as the leader of the West stems from his responsibility for foreign relations. The Cuban Missile crisis of

1962 provides illustrations of the speed of response and personal decision-making by the chief executive of the USA and USSR President Kennedy and Prime Minister Khrushchev.

A significant area of the chief executive responsibility is the emergency action in the constitutional sense. All the chief executives have developed a degree of freedom in defining emergencies and increase of power to grapple with the situation. Under the provision of the Constitution of India, the President is empowered to proclaim emergency due to external aggression or thrust of aggressive internal disturbances (Article 352) or breakdown of constitutional machinery in a state (Article 356) or financial instability (Article 360). But to all intents and purposes, there are the prerogatives of the Prime Minister as the chief executive. It is the Prime Minister who decides upon the emergency situation calling for proclamation by the President under appropriate provision of the Constitution.

Thus the chief executive may arrogate to themselves dictatorial power under the emergency provisions today.

Check Your Progress – II

1. What is the main function performed by the Executive.

2. Write two examples of Titular or Nominal Executive.

3. Name two countries where the system of Parliamentary executive is working.

4. Write an example of Plural Executive.

1.4 JUDICIARY

The judiciary is a rule- adjudication structure in a political system which imposes authorities, restraints of obligation on individuals by way of rules. It is in fact, the third organ of the government. It is an organ having the responsibilities to apply the laws to separate cases and settle disputes by way of interpreting and applying laws.

From the citizen point of view judiciary is the most important organ of the government because it acts as their protector against the possible excesses of the other two organs of the government. Its role as the guardian – protector of the constitution and the fundamental rights of the people, makes it more respectable than the executive and legislature. The common man depends upon judiciary for granting justice.

In fact, to do justice has been the oldest and most important function of the state. To do justice by punishing the wrong doer and by compensating the aggrieved was traditionally the most important functions of the ruler of each state. With passage of time and due to the ever-increasing complexities of social relations, this comes to be the function of special official experts in law- the judges. This system of settling disputes by the judges came to be described as the court system or the judicial system. The courts involving the judges and other personal undertaking the work connected with the dispensation of judge, collectively came to be known as judiciary or the judicial organ of the government.

1.4.1 Organisation of Judiciary

The organisation, function and operation of the judiciary vary greatly from one society to another, even among the democracies and courts perform quite differently in

democracies and authoritarian societies. Besides, one should not overlook certain similarities among all court systems. Each court system is ordered hierarchically, for example, with a large number of lower courts established for the purpose of handling minor problems and a few more significant courts for handling serious matter. At the upper of the court system, there is a supreme court to which all the appeals come from the lower courts. Again the courts may be divided according to their functional specialization: A sharp distinction is made between civil suits involving conflicts among citizens, criminal suit relating to conflict between a citizen and society and administrative suits involving conflicts between a citizen and an administrative agent. Furthermore, most countries have social tribunals to handle complex technical questions like maritime law or taxation. Despite the fact, such divisions are purely mechanical, they are significant. For example, in France, administrative courts in which a civil servant may be used by a private citizen constitutes a vital device for protecting the population against abuse of administrative power.

The distinction between the judicial systems emerges out of the nature of the law. The former Soviet judicial system fundamentally differs from the judicial system of western democracies. The fundamental fact should not however, be overlooked that the law is intimately related to the political culture in a given society, although in the western countries by popular usage, law and judicial administration are sought to be separated from the process of partisan political controversy and law-making. The organisational functions and role of modern judiciaries therefore vary according to differences in political cultures, national historical traditions and other circumstances. The deep rooted legalism and institutionalisation of western political culture found expression in the idea that the political system should be subjected to a “higher law” i.e. the law of the constitution and a major development arising out of historical

evolution in the Anglo-American systems have been that an independent judiciary has become one of the most important features of modern constitutional government.

1.4.2 Functions and role of Judiciary

The functions of judiciary can be analyzed in the following ways :

- 1. Administration of Justice :** The first and foremost function of the judiciary is to administer justice. It awards punishments to those who after trial are found guilty of violating laws of the state.
- 2. Interpretation and Application of Law :** One of the major functions of judiciary is to interpret and apply laws to specific cases. In the course of deciding the disputes that come before it, the judges interpret and apply laws.
- 3. Role in Law-making :** The judiciary also plays a role in law-making. The interpretation of laws by the judiciary amounts to law-making as these interpretations really define and apply the laws. Moreover, the judgments delivered by the higher courts are binding upon lower courts as laws.
- 4. Equity Legislation :** Where a law is silent or ambiguous or appears to be inconsistent with some other law of the land, the judges depending upon their sense of justice, levelness, impartiality, honesty and wisdom decide before them. Such decisions always involve law- making. It is usually termed as Equity Legislation.
- 5. Protection of Rights :** In all democratic societies, the judiciary is constitutionally assigned the duty to protect the fundamentals rights of the citizens against the encroachments by the state. The courts as such act as the

watch towers guarding the liberty and fundamentals rights of the citizens.

6. **Guardian of the Constitution :** The judiciary acts as the guardian of the constitutions, particularly where there is a written constitution. The constitution is the supreme law of the land and it is the responsibility of the judiciary to interpret and protect it from being violated by other organ of government inclusive of administrative units.
7. **Advisory functions :** Very often the courts are given the responsibility to give advisory opinion to the executive or to the legislature on any legal matter. For example, the Constitution of India confers on the President the power to refer to the Supreme court any questions of law or fact which is in his opinion, is of public importance.
8. **Miscellaneous functions :** Besides the above discussed functions, the judiciary also performs several other functions which are not strictly judicial in nature but which for the sake of economy, convenience and justice are often assigned to the courts. Some of such functions are: the appointment of certain local officials of the court, choosing of clerical and other functionaries, granting of licenses, patents, issues of copy rights, appointment of guardians and trustees, admission of wills to probates, to appoint trustee to look after the property of the minor to settle the issues of successions in accordance with the will of the deceased persons, appointment of receivers, naturalisation of aliens, marriage and divorce, elections petition and others.

Role of Judiciary :

With all these functions, the judiciary plays an important role in every political system. The laws of the state get applied to specific case only by the courts. The system of judicial review constitutes the power of the courts to enhance or

reduce or end the legitimacy of laws. Strictures passed by the courts against civil servants or ministers considerably reduce their decisions. The courts play a key role in influencing in a big way the process and nature of social change. A conservative approach adopted by the judges in the interpretation of laws can be a source of social conservatism. Similarly liberal approach of the judges can be source of health for socio-economic development policies and measures of the government. The judges play a big role in the evolution and working of the Constitution through the exercise of their right to interpret and safeguard it. Thus, they play a big role in the evolution and working of the Constitution through the exercise of their right to interpret and safeguard it. By and large, the role of judiciary despite being the third and weak organ in terms of money and public power is indeed, very important and valuable.

Check Your Progress – III

1. What is the Major function of the judiciary?

2. Can judiciary involve in law-making activities?

3. The organisation of judiciary varies according to the difference in political culture, traditions etc. (Write Yes or No)

1.5 LET US SUM UP

In this unit, you have learnt that there are three formal institutions which play a key role in the entire political process of a country. They have their own meaning, structure and functions.

You have learnt that legislature is the first organ of the government which not only performs law-making functions, but also performs other activities. It is evident from this unit that most of the modern legislature is on the way of decline.

Then, analysing the meaning, types and functions of executive, we observed that executive as an organ of government plays dominant role in a particular political system. The role of judiciary is also discussed in this unit.

1.6 KEYWORDS

- Law : General rules that regulate the external behaviour of the individual.
- Judicial Review : Power of the court to examine the constitutionality of the law passed by the legislature and activities done by the executive.

1.7 SUGGESTED READINGS

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POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO CYP

CYP - I

1. Legislature.
2. Making of laws.
3. (i) Second Chamber is essential in federation.
(ii) Second Chamber acts as a Revising chamber.
1. (i) Law-making,
(ii) Amendments of Constitution.
2. (i) Rise of delegated legislation
(ii) Increased burden of work.

CYP - II

1. Enforcement of laws.
2. President of India and British Monarch.
3. India and United Kingdom.
4. Federal council of Switzerland.

CYP - III

1. Adjudication of laws.
2. Yes, Judiciary can involve in law making functions.
3. Yes.

REFERENCE

- SN Roy : Modern Comparative Politics.
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- VD Mahajan : Political theory.

MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Explain the meaning and organisations of legislature.
2. Put arguments in favour of Bicameralism.
3. Put arguments for and against Unicameral legislature.
4. Identify the causes responsible for the decline of modern legislature.
5. Evaluate the role chief executive in modern political system.
6. Discuss the functions and role of judiciary in modern political system.

POLITICAL PROCESS : POLITICAL PARTIES AND PARTICIPATION

Unit – 2

STRUCTURE

2.0 OBJECTIVES

2.1 INTRODUCTION

2.2 POLITICAL PARTIES

2.3 TYPOLOGY OF POLITICAL PARTIES

2.3.1 ROY C MACRIDIS'S CLASSIFICATION

2.3.2 GABRIEL A ALMOND'S TYPOLOGY

2.4 BRITISH PARTY SYSTEM

2.4.1 THE ORGANIZATION AND STRUCTURE OF BRITISH POLITICAL PARTIES

2.4.2 FUNCTIONS OF BRITISH POLITICAL PARTIES

2.4.3 THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY

2.4.4 THE LABOUR PARTY

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

2.5 THE AMERICAN PARTY SYSTEM

2.5.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF AMERICAN PARTY SYSTEM

2.5.2 PARTY ORGANIZATION

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

2.6 CHINESE POLITICAL SYSTEM

2.6.1 PARTY ORGANIZATION

2.6.1.1 THE CELLS

2.6.1.2 THE COUNCIL OR MUNICIPAL PARTY CONGRESS

2.6.1.3 THE PROVINCIAL CONGRESS

2.6.1.4 THE NATIONAL PARTY CONGRESS

2.6.1.5 THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

2.6.1.6 THE POLITBUREAU

2.6.1.6.1 THE STANDING COMMITTEE

2.6.1.7 SECRETARIAT AND DEPARTMENT

2.7 ROLE OF PARTY

2.7.1 AS ARCHITECT AND DEFENDER OF REVOLUTION

2.7.2 AS THE EDUCATOR AND A SOURCE OF
INSPIRATION

2.7.3 PARTY AS THE GOVERNMENT
CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

2.8 SWISS PARTY SYSTEM

2.8.1 SALIENT FEATURES

2.8.2 MAJOR SWISS POLITICAL PARTIES

2.8.2.1 THE RADICAL PARTY

2.8.2.2 THE CATHOLIC PARTY

2.8.2.3 THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

2.8.2.4 THE SWISS PEOPLE'S PARTY

2.8.2.5 THE GREEN PARTY

2.9 WEAK ROLE OF SWISS POLITICAL PARTIES
CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

2.10 POLITICAL PARTICIPATES

2.11 FACTORS DETERMINING POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

2.11.1 POLITICAL FACTORS

2.11.2 SOCIAL FACTORS

2.11.3 ECONOMIC FACTORS

2.11.4 GENERAL ECOLOGICAL FACTORS

2.11.5 PERSONAL FACTORS

2.12 IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION.

2.12.1 STABILITY

2.12.2 SPIRIT OF EQUALITY

2.12.3 SPIRIT OF PATRIOTISM

2.12.4 POLITICAL EDUCATION

2.12.5 LAW AND ORDER

2.12.6 INCULCATION OF MORAL VIRTUES

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

2.13 LET US SUM UP

2.14 KEY WORDS

2.15 SUGGESTED READINGS

2.16 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

2.17 REFERENCES

2.18 MODEL QUESTIONS

2.0 OBJECTIVE

After going through this you be able to

1. Define political party.
2. Classify the political party system.
3. Identify the distinctive features of party system of different countries namely UK, USA, China and Switzerland.
4. Define the concept of political participation and its various determinants.
5. Examine the importance of political participation.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This is the second unit of the fourth block. In this unit you will be able to learn about the meaning and typology of political party. As you know party system is an essential ingredient of democratic political system. Political participation is an important component of democracy. In view of this, the present unit is also an attempt to introduce you with the concept of political participation and its determinants along with its importance in democracy.

2.2 POLITICAL PARTY

Political parties are a very useful and effective link between masses and on the otherhand the rulers and elite of the society. Political parties are the life time of modern politics. There is no instance of a 20th century democracy that functions without political parties. Any way, as regards the definition a political party is a group of men who have agreed upon a principle by which the national interest might be preserved. It is a body of men united for the cause of promoting by their joint

endeavors the public interest based upon some principles on which they all agreed.

The rise of modern political parties is coincident with the mass franchise. In Western Europe they came into limelight with the growth of constitutional and representative Government. Political parties in the third world grew up as national movements to fight for national independence and to drive out the colonial powers.

2.3 TYPOLOGY OF PARTIES

Political scientists have made numerous attempts to classify political parties on the basis of number. There are three types of political parties on the basis of number :

1. One-party system
2. Two-party system
3. Multi-party system

The one party system is found in communist countries as well as in many countries in Africa. The two party system exists in Great Britain and the United States. The multi party system is found in West European countries as well as in many other developing countries including Indian Republic.

2.3.1 Roy C Macridis's Classification

Roy C Macridis has evolved a typology of political parties on the basis of following.

Sources of party support :

1. Comprehensive parties (client oriented)
2. Sectarian parties (based on ideology)

Internal organization :

1. Closed parties.
2. Open parties.

Modes of Action and function :

1. Different parties.
2. Specialized parties.

The above classification may be put in the following tabular form.

	Integrative Party System One party system	Competitive Party System Two/Multi party system
Support	Sectarian (regional, class, ideological)	Comprehensive (Client oriented)
Organization	Closed, authoritarian Direct action and (repressive)	Open (permissive and pluralistic)
Modes of action and function	Diffused (national integration, community building resort to mobilization)	Specialized (aggressive & representative)

2.3.2 Gabriel A Almond's Typology

Almond has divided party system into four types :

1. Authoritarian party system.
2. Dominant non-authoritarian party system.
3. Competitive two party system.
4. Competitive multi party system.

Authoritarian parties are the diluted versions of the totalitarian parties. Dominant-non-authoritarian party system prevails in third world countries. The competitive two party systems are characterized by a homogeneous, secular bargaining political culture. The competitive multi party system is more fragmented and is found in West European countries.

Almond further makes a threefold classification :

1. Secular, pragmatic, bargaining parties.
2. Absolute value oriented, ideological parties.
3. Particularistic or traditional parties.

Both the two and multi party system come under the competitive party system. Great Britain, USA, Australia, New

Zealand, West European countries fall in this category. A one party system is the example of Non-Competitive party system. It is further classified into three – one party authoritarian system (Spain under Franco), one party pluralistic system (Mexico Republican party) and one party Totalitarian system (China, East European countries, Vietnam etc.)

Political parties have now become a universal phenomenon and they function under diverse political systems. This adds to the difficulty of evolving a sound scheme of typology of political parties.

2.4 BRITISH PARTY SYSTEM

According to Birch 1 the British party system possesses the following features.

1. Political homogeneity and two party systems

The most distinctive feature of the party system in Britain is the presence of two dominant parties. The main reason for this is the relative homogeneity of British society; there is no conflict on fundamental constitutional issues. All shades of opinion can be conveniently accommodated within two dominant parties. It is not that there are no minor parties, but there are indicators which enable us to classify Britain as a two-party system. Since 1945 either Conservatives or Labour has enjoyed absolute majority in Parliament. Also since 1945 both these parties have won more than 95% of all seats. The other parties are in no position to assert politically as neither the party in power nor the largest minority party looks forward to their support.

2. Mass membership and differences in social composition

British political parties are mass membership parties. The Conservative Party boasts of a membership of nearly 3 million people. Although the Labour party's

membership is 0.8 million that is comparatively small, it commands affiliated membership of around 5.5 million. In social composition, there are sharp differences in these two parties. While the Conservative Party draws its support from the middle and upper classes the Labour party's strength lies in the working class support. 'The composition of the parties therefore provides some basis for the common stereotype of British politics as being dominated by class rivalries'.

3. Highly centralized party organizations

Both the British parties are highly centralized organizationally. Unlike USA where real party power is in the hands of state leaders, in Britain on account of its unitary set-up the national units control all party operations and lay down policy programmes.

4. Parties based on ideological commitments

Both the political parties subscribe to identifiable political dogmas. The emphasis of the Conservative Party on private ownership and the Labour Party's commitment to the increasing socialization of the means of production illustrate this point. The approach of these parties could be pragmatic in actual working but there could never be a deviation from the 'fundamentals'. American political parties, on the contrary, have common ideological commitment, i.e. the support of the capitalist system. The difference arises mainly out of pragmatic considerations. The Liberals who combine the best of socialist and capitalist ideologies do not enjoy much support indicating that the British voter wants to be identified with a particular political philosophy. The Liberal Party has, therefore, been compared to a wartime transit camp; 'there are roughly the same number of people in it at any one time, but

except for the devoted permanent staff they are all on their way somewhere else’.

2.4.1 The Organization and Structure of British Political Parties

Two observations may be made regarding the organization and structure of British political parties. Firstly, the basic structure of both the parties is nearly the same though Labour Party has comparatively complex structure. Secondly, we find Michel’s ‘Iron Law of Oligarchy’ in operation : Power tends to concentrate in the hands of small groups of people in positions of authority, and this power is not and normally cannot be, subject to control by other members of the organization.

2.4.2 Functions of British Political Parties

The British Political parties, as pointed out by Geoffrey K. Roberts, perform three main functions:

1. Gaining political power through the electoral and local government spheres.
2. The preparation of politics which the party seeks to realize when in power.
3. A group of miscellaneous functions which are, to some extent, instrumental in furthering the first two.

Besides, there are also some auxillary functions.

Firstly, the party is a means of political communication and education. This presupposes a constant touch with the local opinion and interests.

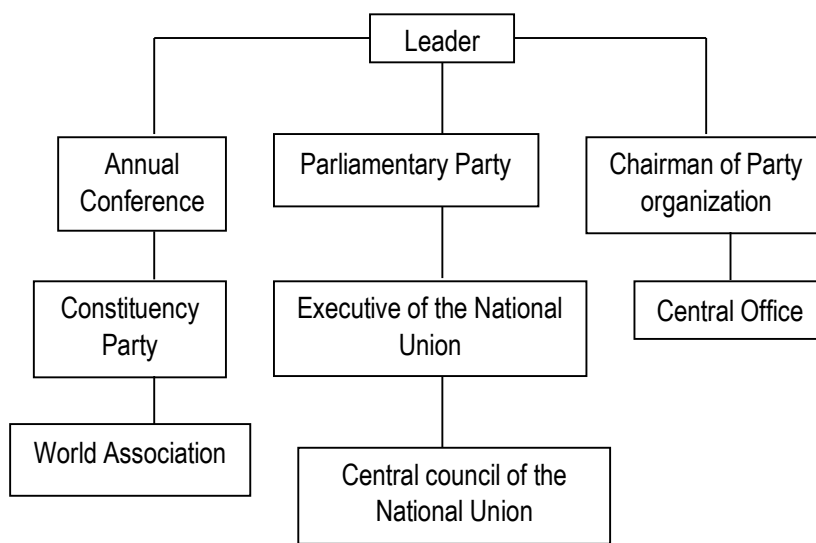
Secondly, the party acts as an organization in which people of various occupations, ages and social backgrounds can take part in political life by actions ranging from the display of an election poster in their front window, to canvassing on

doorsteps, acting as party officials or even standing as a council or parliamentary candidate.

Thirdly, a party offers a focus for loyalties and a centre for social life, and these qualities increasingly are coming to be seen as safeguards of democracy as a form of politics.

2.4.3 The Conservative Party

The broad structure of the party is as under :



It may be observed that the leader enjoys a unique position who is chosen by the party in parliament and appoints chairman of the party organization. As against the practice prevailing prior to 1965 when the leader ‘emerged’ out of the parliamentary party, the leader is now elected by a secret ballot for a full term of parliament. The leader chooses his term whether in or out of power. He is member of both the executive of the national union and the central council of the national union, but these bodies do not have an important role in policy formulation. The leader never used to attend the annual conference but the position changed in 1965 when Heath became the first Conservative leader to attend the conference. The role of the conference is also limited in making of policy

and its importance primarily lies in being a mass rally. Primarily, the Conservative Party draws its support not only from middle and upper classes but also enjoys the confidence of a part of the working class. In fact, it cannot come to power without working class vote. In view of this, the party does not openly work for the preservation of inequality to which it is ideologically committed. This has led to a clear lack of emphasis on the fundamental principles. Douglas Jay rightly approved the party for never having stood consistently for any policy : neither for free trade against protection : nor laissez faire against interference, nor collective security against pacifism; nor even private ownership against public ownership'. The Conservative Party is a Party with an 'antidoctrin'. It does not disappoint anyone. While protecting the interests of wealthy, it does not pursue anti-labour policies.

Quintin Hogg in his 'Case for Conservatism' (1947) elaborated the following principles of the Conservative philosophy.

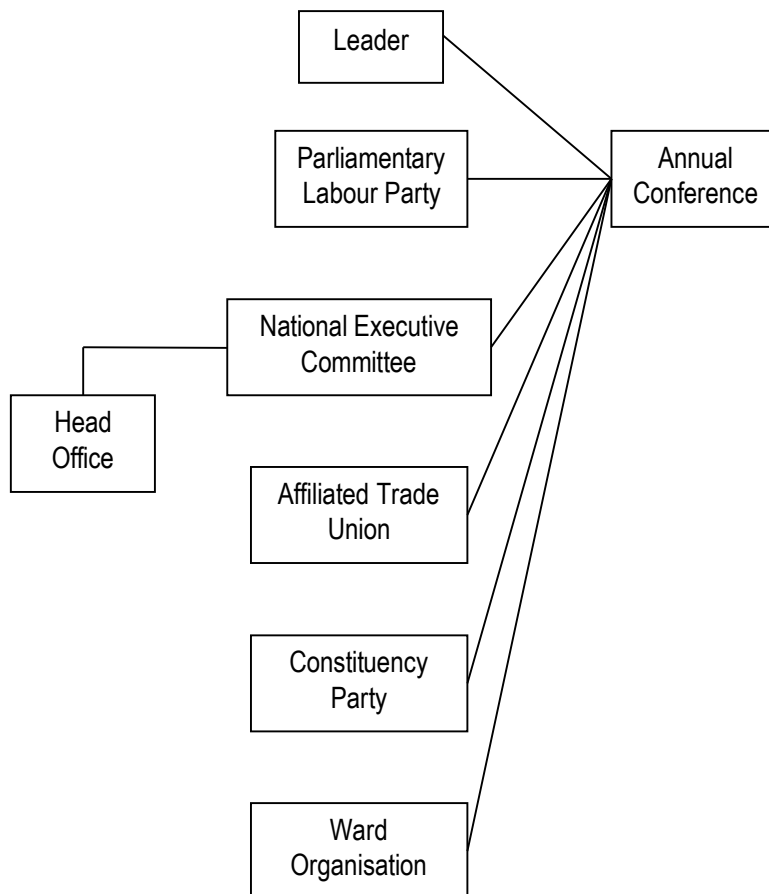
1. Conservatives do not believe that political struggle is the most important thing in life. Many Conservatives prefer fox-hunting to political struggle.
2. The Conservative does not believe that the power of politics to put things in this world is unlimited.
3. Conservatism is not so much a philosophy as an attitude.
4. Private property is the interest of the community since the desire to obtain it provides an incentive for work which is morally legitimate, and at the same time sufficiently material to operate on nature which is most of us contain certain elements not entirely spiritual or selfless. Besides, private property is the natural bulwark of liberty because it ensures that economic power is not entirely in the hands of the state.

Conservatives are highly nationalistic in their outlook. They stand for British institutions, British traditions, British culture, language and literature. They stand for the Queen and the Commonwealth. Everything British is superior and must be protected they feel. No gathering of the party is complete without national flag and the national anthem.

More recently, the party has experienced ideological conflict due to the presence of elements like Enoch Powell who is completely opposed to state interventionism by taking a strong line against Asian immigrants, favouring harsh attitude towards ECM, Scottish and Welsh separatism.

2.4.4 The Labour Party

The structure of the Labour Party is similar to the conservative Party :



The leader is elected by secret ballot by the Parliamentary Labour Party (PLP). Unlike the Conservative Party, the leader is elected by the PLP every year. Normally, it is a formality but in 1960 the election was contested. PLP also elected the chairman. When the party is in power the choice of colleagues is left to the leader (the Prime Minister) but in the case of 'Shadow Cabinet' there is election by PLP. The leader is an ex-officio member of the National Executive Committee (NEC). The NEC has a total membership of 28 including the leader and the deputy leader. It is endowed with many important responsibilities including finances, propaganda, party programmers, discipline and liaison with local parties.

The Labour party conference has a more important role than its Conservative counterpart. According to Clause V of the Party's constitution, the party conference is required to decide from time to time what specific proposals of legislative, financial or administrative reform shall be included in the party programmer. And no proposal can be included in the party programmer unless it has been adopted by the party conference with a majority of not less than two-thirds of the votes recorded on a card vote.

The labour Party is a socialist party. 'It is dedicated to the puritan ideal of building the holy community on earth, it sees itself as pure and unpolluted by the sordid pursuit of individual gain, the only party selflessly seeking the well-being of the whole country'.

The best single statement of the Labour Party's philosophy was approved by the National Executive Committee in March 1960 and is reproduced below :

1. The party rejects discrimination on grounds of race, colour or creed;
2. It stands for the right of all people to freedom, independence and self-government;

3. It seeks to build a world order within which all can live in peace;
4. It affirms the duty of richer nations to assist poorer nations;
5. It stand for social justice, for a society in which the claims of those in hardship or distress come first;
6. It rejects the selfish, acquisitive doctrine of capitalism, and strives to create instead a socialist community based on fellowship, cooperation and service;
7. Its aim is a classless society from which all class barriers and false social values have been eliminated;
8. It holds that the nation's economy should be planned;
9. It stands for democracy in industry;
10. It is convinced that these social and economic objectives can be achieved only through an expansion of common ownership substantial enough to give the community power over the commanding heights of the economy.

Check Your Progress (A)

1. Name the two political party of Great Britain.

2. Mention one feature of British party system.

2.5 AMERICAN PARTY SYSTEM

The seeds for a national political party were sown by Alexander Hamilton, the then first Secretary of Treasury, who presented his economic programme in 1790. He organized a few Senators and Representatives within the government to lend him the necessary political support within the government. This group was popularly known as the caucus or the Hamiltonian party.

Hamilton's opponents organized themselves into Republicans; in fact, they accused that Hamilton and other federalists wanted to establish a monarchical system of government. The Presidential elections of 1796 and 1800 were fought on 'party' lines. Federalist Adams defeated Republican Jefferson in 1796. Four years later Jefferson defeated Adams and the Republicans also gained control of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

The American nation was now territorially expanding as new states were joining the union. The Republicans also tried to establish themselves as a politically identifiable group in all the states. The Federalists disappeared from the scene around 1816 but the Republicans got split themselves into Democratic Republicans (who later became a part of the Democratic Party) and the National Republicans.

The present day Republican Party is the amalgamation of the two earlier parties, i.e. Federalists led by Hamilton and the National Republicans. The Democrats suffered a setback during the civil war when it was divided into Northern and Southern Democrats. The Democrats have played a significant role in the recent American political history. Some of their Presidents like Cleveland (2 terms), Wilson (2 terms), F.D. Roosevelt (4 terms), Truman, Kennedy and Johnson (Single term) were not only strong chief executives from domestic

angle but were also accepted as prominent statesmen in the arena of world politics.

2.5.1 Characteristics of American party systems

Austin Ranney and Willmoore Kendall have listed four most important characteristics of the American party system :

1. **Decentralisation** : Organisationally, both the major parties are highly decentralised. This is decentralization in nominations and elections; candidates for important posts are chosen not by the party bosses but voters directly through the system of primaries the high degree of decentralization is the direct outcome of the federal form of the political system.
2. **Heterogeneity and representativeness** : The major parties do not represent distinct and separate social groupings. Both the parties have members who are poor, middle class, very rich, Negro, white, Catholic and Proportion of each class in a particular party might vary from time to time.
3. **Moderation and inconsistency** : The political programmes of Democrats and Republicans are moderate. They offer 'no group everything it wants' and yet offer 'every group something of what it wants'. These programmes are mixtures of 'inconsistency and equivocation'.
4. **Similarities and differences** : The American political parties are very similar in their policies and outlook, As D.W. Brogan has mentioned. 'The fact that all the confusion of party names nearly complete. But at the same time it is wrong to jump to the conclusion, as Lord Bryce did, that the American parties are 'two bottles, each having a label denoting the kind of liquor it

contains, but each being empty.' What then are the differences ? Republican Party gets consistent support from people who are mostly in high income brackets, who have received more formal education, and who are elder in age. Democrats, on the other hand, are generally accepted as the friends of people with low income, broad pattern of public support naturally affects the policies and programmes of the these parties to favour some sections of society more than the others.

2.5.2 Party Organisation

Two points deserve attention regarding the political party organisation in America; firstly, both the main political parties have identical party organisation, and, secondly, in view of the federal character of the polity the party organisation can be divided into state and national units.

At the lowest level of the party hierarchy there is a local organisation known as the precinct committee which covers about five hundred voters. The committee consists of a chairman or executive of the party precinct. The committee is important in as much as it provides a direct link between the voter and the party. There are also some other local organisations as ward, city, township or village committee.

The next high party unit is country committee which co-ordinates the work of all local bodies. The committee has an important role to play in Congressional districts by promoting party candidates.

At the state level there is state central committee, the highest state level party unit. It consists of one man and one woman from each Congressional district. They are selected by each district's delegates to the regular state convention for a period of two years. The state central committee selects its state chairman.

The highest national party organisation is national committee. It consists of one man and one woman from each state selected for a four-year term. The national chairman is selected by the presidential nominee but is formally elected by the national manager and administers the national headquarters. He also selects an executive committee to assist him. The party central office maintains specialized departments for research and publicity, money raising protection of and minority interest groups. Campaign committee and a Congressional campaign committee for intensifying party's election campaigns are also equally important departments of the party.

Check Your Progress – B

1. Mention one feature of American party system.

2.6 CHINESE POLITICAL SYSTEM

One of the basic features of the Chinese political system is the monopoly of political power enjoyed by the Communist Party. The pivotal position of the communist party and the dominant role that it plays in all fields of economic, social and cultural activity are incorporated in the Chinese constitution itself.

2.6.1 Party Organisation

The Chinese Communist Party was set up in 1921. The membership is strictly limited. Any one who has attained the age of 18 and who does work and does not exploit the labour of

others is eligible to become a member. The name for membership must be recommended by two full members of the party. If the party branch as well as the next higher party committee approves, he is given a probationary status. After a satisfactory completion of one year of elementary education during which his political qualities are carefully screened he is admitted as a full member of that group which approved him for the probationary status. Thus full membership is granted to an individual only if upon rigorous examination he is found to be committed by no selfish motives grounded in and wedded to the communist faith.

2.6.1.1 The Cells

The organization of the Communist Party which is probably more elaborate than that of any other political group in the world is in form that of a great pyramid. At its base are the local cells. They are set up in factories, farms, offices, educational establishments in villages. The main functions of the cells are to enlist new members and organize their political training, to impart political education to the party members, to carry organizational work among the masses to strengthen labour discipline and to participate actively in the economic and political life of the country.

2.6.1.2 The Country or Municipal Party Congress

The Country or Municipal Party Congresses constitute the next type of the party pyramid. They are composed of delegates elected by the cells. These Congresses hold session at least once a year. The Congresses supervise the work of the cells and issue necessary directives and instructions to them.

2.6.1.3 The Provincial Congress

The delegates to the Provincial Congress are elected by the County of Municipal Party Congresses. The provincial Congresses organize, direct and supervise the work of the party within the areas under their respective jurisdiction.

2.6.1.4 The National Party Congress

The ultimate authority of the a party is the National Party Congress. The delegates to the National Party Congress are chosen by the Provincial Congresses after every five years. But actually, only two national Party Congresses have been elected during the last two decades. The National Party Congress must meet every year unless the Central Committee decides that extraordinary conditions do not permit such a meeting. The National Party Congress determines the broad policy, reviews and amends the programme and status of the party, reads and approves the reports of the Central Committee.

2.6.1.5 The Central Committee

In order to carry on the affairs of the Party, a Central Committee consisting of 196 members is elected by the National Party Congress. The Central Committee is the highest leading body of party organization when the National Party Congress is not in session. “The Central Committee guides the work of the party, set up various party institutions and guides their activities, distributes the resources to the party and manages the central funds. However, since, the Central Committee is numerous body and meets only once or twice yearly and that too for only two or three weeks, it functions mainly as a sounding board for previously determined policy.

2.6.1.6 The Politbureau

The Politbureau is the core of the important decision-makers and “probably acts as a controlling nucleus for the larger body”. It consists of twenty members elected by the Central Committee. It formulates the policy of the party and takes other decisions on political matters. It transmits these decisions to the Central Committee. It is obligatory on all the party organs to accept and implement all such decisions without hesitation and objection.

2.6.1.6.1 The Standing Committee

Since the Politbureau is a numerous body, it has Standing Committee to carry on the actual work. It consists of seven members elected by the Politbureau and is the brain trust of the Politbureau. It consisted of men of the stature of Mao Tse Tung, Liu Shao Chi, Chou En Lai, Chou The, Chen Yen, Lin Hsia Ping and Lin Piao. The standing committee constitutes the apex of National Policy formulation and is the real authority in China.

2.6.1.7 Secretariat and Departments

Other organs are the Secretariat and Departments. The secretariat monitors the execution of policy through the Party Central Organs, Bureau and Committees. There is a Control Commission to examine and deal with cases of the violation of Party Constitution, party discipline, Communist ethics, State laws and decrees on the part of party members. It consists of seven regular and four alternate members. Control Commission looks into the infractions party rules, party discipline,

communist morality, national laws and decrees on the part of other party members.

2.7 Role of Party

The Communist Party holds a pivotal position in People's Republic of China. Its role in the socio-political system of the country has been vital and of far-reaching importance. The general programme of the Party declares. "As the highest form of class organization, the party must strive to play a correct role as the leader and core in every aspect of the country's life. "Liu-Shao-Chi, in his report on the Draft Constitution presented to the National People's Republic maintained that the leadership of the communist Party of China was essential not only to the Chinese People's democratic revolution, but also not only to the realization of socialism. It must also combat any tendency to departmentalism, which reduces the party's role and weaken its unity.

The Party's role in China may be discussed under the following heads :

2.7.1 As Architect and Defender of Revolution

The Communist Party professes itself to be the Architect of the Revolution which overthrew colonialism, feudalism and capitalism. The Preamble of the Chinese Constitution narrates the achievements of the Chinese people led by the Communist Party of China. The Preamble declares, "in the year 1949, after more than a century of heroic struggle, the Chinese people led by the Communist Party, finally achieved their victory in the people's revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. "Summing up the gains of the Revolution led by the Communist Party,

Liu-Shao-Chi said, “Firstly, China is no longer in the position of a colony or dependency under the domination of foreign imperialism. It has become really an independent State, for more than hundred years, the Chinese people made untold sacrifices to free themselves from domination by foreign imperialism. Their aspirations have come true. Secondly, the age old grip of feudalism on our country is now ended... Thirdly, our country has put an end to the long period of chaos. It has achieved internal peace and an unprecedented unification of the entire mainland... Fourthly, our country has, to a great extent, put an end to the situation in which the people had no political power. It has attained a high degree of democracy.”

2.7.2 As the Educator and a Source of Inspiration

The Communist Party has acted as a guide, teacher and inspirer of the people. It had to explain to the people why a communist Revolution was necessary. It had to set an example of earnestness, courage, discipline and devotion. It had to teach the Chinese citizens to be ardent nationalist devoted to the cause of Communism. It had to arouse the enthusiasm of the people and stimulate their effort. In this way, the party has acted as an education and an inspiration to the whole of China.

2.7.3 Party as the Government

Finally, the party leads and directs the Government of China. Outwardly the Party and the Government are distinct from each other. Both have their separate organization. Theoretically the Party stands outside the government, yet as a teacher and leader it functions as the prime force inside the government. Its members hold all the key position in Government and society. Its leaders decide Government policy.

Its ideology is the only officially propagated doctrines, mandatory for members and non-members alike. All must respectfully and rigidly accept the higher dictates of Party. Every political institution in China is under the control of the Communist Party. It is the only party allowed to exist in the country accordingly, it enjoys a monopoly over power and is the real decision making body. It controls the Government entirely and fully. Government and Party are separate and distinct only on paper. In fact, they are one and complementary to each other. The higher officials are assertive not because they are holding the key positions in the Government but because they happen to be important leaders of the Communist Party. According to party rules, a party member has “the duty to report to the party Control Committees whatever he knows about infractions against party rules, party discipline, Communist morality, national laws and decrees on the part of other party members. Moreover, it is his duty to help the party control Committee struggle against such phenomena.”

To conclude, therefore, it is due to say that the Communist Party is the prime force both inside and outside the Government in China. It commands a pivotal position and holds control of the Government fully, guides and disciplines the society.

Check Your Progress – C

1. How many political parties are there in China ?

2.8 THE SWISS PARTY SYSTEM

Switzerland has a multi party system and it reflects the pluralistic character of Swiss society. The Swiss party has its some unique features. It offers a very interesting study of the working of several political parties operating within a system of Direct democracy.

2.8.1 Features of Swiss Party System

1. Multi Party System : Switzerland has a multi party system. It has four major and several other minor political parties. The major political parties are the Swiss people's party, the catholic democratic party. The socialist Democratic Party, Free Democratic party. The minor parties are the communist, the liberal socialist, the Independents and some others.

2. Coalition Rule : The major four political parties now together share political power in Switzerland. They are sharing altogether seven seats of the federal government in the proportion of 2:2:2:1.

3. Lack of Professionalism in Swiss Politics : The Swiss people are devoid of rigid professionalism in politics. These parties always prefer to elect and re-elect time and again, men of ability, experience and proven qualities.

4. Constitutional recognition of political parties : Prior to 2000, like other liberal democratic states the Swiss constitution gave no recognition to the political parties. During that time, party system worked as extra-constitutional status. The New Constitution of 2000 accepts the reality and importance of political parties. Article 137 of the New Swiss Constitution admits that political parties act as agencies for the formulation of opinion and desire of the people.

5. Absence of strong opposition : The major political parties share power and the minor parties act as opposition. As you know that the federal government is a plural executive in which the coalition partners have a fixed share of seats 2:2:2:1. Despite political heterogeneity, the federal council acts as a homogenous united team and leads the Swiss Government.

2.8.2 Major Swiss Political Parties

2.8.2.1 The Radical Party

The Radical Party of Switzerland is the architect of modern political institutions. This party was responsible for making of the 1874 Constitution of Switzerland. The Radical Party is a party of artists, writers, lawyers, statesmen, financiers, old liberal, and employees. Except Catholics it represents all sections of Swiss society. C.J. Hughes has observed, “The Radical party for many purposes in Switzerland and together with the tiny groups, old liberals, it dominates Swiss intellectual and commercial life.

2.8.2.2 The Catholic Party

The catholic party is also known as socialist conservative peoples party. The membership of catholic party is open for only Roman Catholics. It can also be regarded as religious party. It represents the propertied class and the Catholics. It favours private philanthropic and cooperative institutions. It calls itself both as conservative and a socialist party.

2.8.2.3 The Social Democratic party

This party is also known as the socialist party. This party has been an active actor in the Swiss Political System. It was formed in 1888. The social Democratic party has been enjoying a support which favorably comprises the support bone of Radicals and the Catholics. In the 1920s the Party adopted Marxism and modernism ideology, and is totally opposed to the Catholics.

2.8.2.4 The Swiss People Party

The Swiss People Party which is also known as the farmer's party, come into existence in 1919 out of break away part of the Radical democratic party. This party is successful for furthering the interests of the farmers and the urban middle class.

2.8.2.5 The Green Party

The Green party has its root in various environmentalist groups that were formed in 1970 to prevent the construction of new motor ways. In 1991 it experienced biggest electoral success when it got G.L. per cent of popular votes and 14 seats in the Hours of Representatives.

2.9 WEAK ROLE OF SWISS POLITICAL PARTIES

- (a) Lack of vital issues because of well settled political paths and politics.
- (b) Similar party perceptions about the economic policies of Switzerland.
- (c) Absence of strong and violent partnership.

- (d) Lack of patronage at the disposal of ruling political parties.
- (e) Lack of a strong opposition and presence of power sharing culture.

2.10 POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Modern age is an age of Democracy. Democracy is the only system under which even a common man can do unusual work since this system is 'of the people, by the people and for the people'. Generally speaking, all the political systems belong to the people, and as such democratic system is governed by the people. In this system people cannot complain that their grievances are not attended to. So democracy and political participation cannot be segregated from each other. In other words, modern age can be called an age of political participation.

Although the study of political participation is related to the study of democracy, yet it does not mean that only democracy provides change to political participation. All the political systems of 20th century, whether they are sovereign, conservative or reactionary, provide the right of political participation to its citizens. On this basis, they proudly claim their country to be democratic. Every citizen is expected to participate in the administration of a State and in solving its problems. But the fact is that political participation in every political system depends on the political culture and political socialization of system concerned.

2.11 FACTOR DETERMINING POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Political participation depends upon many factors. People get more changes for political participation in the democracy than in dictatorship.

The following factors determine political participation :

2.11.1 Political factors

Political participation depends on political system. Political system means the whole political culture and the rules of political game, party-traditions upon which political participation can depend are included in it.

(a) **Political participation and political machinery :**

Political participation depends upon political machinery. The very nature of political machinery determines political participation. Political machinery can be of two types :

- (i) Democratic Political Machinery.
- (ii) Totalitarian Political Machinery.

In democratic political system like Britain and America, people actively participate in politics. In this system, an individual is regarded as means whereas the political system is an end. The highest power of state lies with people and they can use it directly or indirectly. Democracy is a principle of popular participation. As opposed to democracy, human thoughts or reactions are strictly controlled by the state in totalitarian system. In this system, the power nominally lies with the people but in reality it is in the hands of selected few. These persons owe no responsibility to the people. The basic concept of this system is that the people do not have the capacity to rule and so right to participate in administration cannot be given to all in America. There developed

participatory democratic culture and in Great Britain the developed deferential political culture.

In totalitarian system, the opportunities for political participation are quite limited. The state gives an order for political participation. The state gives direction as to when and how can an individual participate in politics. Though a citizen in communist countries, has a right to vote at the age of eighteen, yet he is not free to use it. There is only one party in Russia and only the Communist Party has been approved in constitutions. The individuals, who are the members of communist party, are given full chances for political participation, but those who are not, limited chances. In egalitarian countries like Russia and China, people are given political rights but they have to be used within the limits fixed by ruling party. People in Russia, had to participate in parades and demonstrations, at the command of Communist Party. People are directed to vote in favour of a particular candidate at the time of elections. Right to vote is an essential duty instead of being a voluntary right.

- (b) **Sound Party System** : Political participation depends on sound party system. The success of a democracy is dependent on sound party system. The political parties guide the people and inspire them to participate in politics. People, in communist countries, get limited chances for political participation because of single party while in UK and the USA there is greater scope of political participation.
- (c) **Decentralisation** : A political system which has maximum decentralisation provides lots of chances to people for political participation. Decentralisation encourages political participation.
- (d) **Freedom** : Freedom too determines political participation. Citizens in democracy are given various types of freedom by using which they can participate in

politics. Freedom to express views, to get impartial justice freedom is nominal while in Western Liberal democratic countries like UK and the USA people exercise greater freedom.

- (e) **Able Leadership** : Able leadership is another factor to determine political participation. Able leadership means as to how many leaders are capable of encouraging the people for political participation. A country with lots of popular and able leaders has maximum political participation.

2.11.2 SOCIAL FACTORS

- (a) **Caste** : The caste system greatly influences politics. It is generally seen that the people essentially use their caste while organizing their people and casting their vote in periodical elections. Caste is therefore, considered as a major factor in Indian Politics.
- (b) **Religion** : Religion also influences political participation. People, belonging to a given religion are more united and they prefer to vote for a candidate of their religion.
- (c) **Social Equality** : Social equality affects political participation. The people in a country where there is less difference between high and low socially are more interested in political participation. But in a country prevailing social inequality, primarily the rich people participate more in politics, than the poor.
- (d) **Community** : The community, particularly the minority community, influences political participation. Generally, the people of a community prefer to vote for a candidate of their own community for the sake of their development.

- (e) **Sex** : The sex-difference also influences political participation. Women, compared to men take less part in politics. Women prefer to vote for a women candidate. Mrs. Gandhi used to appeal to women to vote for women candidate during election days in the name of emancipation and empowerment.

2.11.3 Economic factors

Economic factors have also a deep impact on political participation. Money is closely related to politics. People, having a sound economic condition, are more interested in taking part in politics. Mostly the rich contest the elections because they have money and time to spend. A poor man, who is worried about a bread, cannot think of participating in politics. If a rich man may not contest elections but certainly affects the elections by subscribing money to the candidates. In India, generally the capitalists and landlords both contest and control elections.

2.11.4 General ecological factors

General ecological factors, too, affect political participation immensely. History traditions, social standards are closely connected with political participation. The ecological factors are of two kinds :

- (a) **Physical environment** : Physical environment stands for hot and cold weather, the wind, the mountain etc, in fact, natural factors also affect political participation. Montesquieu has pointed out a close relation between politics and physical environment. For example, hot environment creates laziness and a lethargic person prefers to stay at home instead of going to a distant

place to cast vote. So the number of voters in India compared to England and America are less. Thus political participation also depends upon physical environment.

- (b) **Biological and demographic environment** : The biological and demographic environments is related to population. Population, rate of birth and death affect politics. Politics remains pure with less population and more people participate in politics. The politics of Switzerland is pure because of its less population. During emergency so much of emphasis was given on family planning because of more population that people voted out Congress in elections.

2.11.5 Personal factors

Personal factors also influence politics. They can be discussed as follows :

- (a) **Vigilance** : Vigilance influences political participation a lot. If the citizens are vigilant, they will participate in politics to the maximum. So it is often said, “eternal vigilance is the price of liberty”.
- (b) **Attitude** : The participation of an individual in politics depends upon his attitude and its intensity. The people who are closely related or have much interest in politics, take more part in elections. But the people with disinterested attitude towards politics take minimal part in elections.
- (c) **Character** : The character of people also affects political participation. A man of good character uses his right to vote and does not sell it whereas a man with degraded character is ready to bargain for his vote.

- (d) **Cultural factors** : Cultural factors also have their impact on political participation. Art, language and literature guide political participation.

2.12 IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Political participation is more important in modern age. The success or failure of Democracy much depend upon the degree of political participation. The importance of political participation goes on increasing day by day.

2.12.1 Stability

Political participation is important mainly because it brings stability. When people participate in politics directly or indirectly, they develop faith in government. The people feel content and so stability comes in society. According to Huntington, if political participation and political institutional action are in equal proportion, there will be stability in the society. If political participation is greater than the political institutionalization, then stability will take place.

2.12.2 Spirit of equality

Political participation creates equality because all the adults are given right to vote. No discrimination is made on the basis of caste, colour creed and sex in so far as political participation is concerned.

2.12.3 Spirit of patriotism

Political participation inculcates the spirit of patriotism in the mind of citizens and they are ready to sacrifice their own interests for the welfare of the country.

2.12.4 Political education

People participate in elections by political participation. With its help, people gain knowledge about the government and its administration. This enhances their political education. According to C.D. Burns, “All Governments is a method of education but the best education is self-education, therefore, the best government is the self-government.

2.12.5 Law and order

Political participation is important because it ensures law and order in the country. The people’s participation in politics enables their elected representatives, to frame laws. Thus, the people fully co-operate with the Government that helps to maintain law and order is established in society.

2.12.6 Inculcation of moral virtues

Political participation inculcates the spirit of cooperation, tolerance and individual responsibility. J.S. Mill has rightly written that, “It promotes a better and higher forms of national character than any other policy whatever”.

Check Your Progress – C

1. Mention two factor which determine political participation.

2.13 LET US SUM UP

From the above discourse you have come to know about the meaning and typology of party system as well as the party system exists in four different countries namely UK, USA, China and Switzerland. On the basis of this knowledge you will be able to make comparison of political party system of these countries.

2.14 KEY WORDS

Direct Democracy : A form of democracy where people can directly take part in decision making process.

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2.16 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

CYP – A

- Q No. 1 The conservative party and the labour party
- Q No. 2 Political homogeneity and two party system.

CYP – B

- Q No. 1 Decentralisation

CYP –C

Q No. 1 One party.

CYP – D

Q No. 1 Political and economic factors

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BLOCK – 4

Unit – 3

INTEREST GROUPS AND POLICY MAKING

STRUCTURE :

3.0 OBJECTIVES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

3.2 PRESSURE GROUPS AND INTEREST GROUPS

3.3 FUNCTIONS OF PRESSURE GROUPS/ INTEREST GROUPS

3.4 PRESSURE GROUPS/ INTEREST GROUPS AND POLITICAL PARTIES

3.5 PRESSURE GROUPS/ INTEREST GROUPS IN AMERICA

3.6 PRESSURE GROUPS/ INTEREST GROUPS IN BRITAIN

3.7 PRESSURE GROUPS / INTEREST GROUPS IN CHINA

3.8 PRESSURE GROUPS/ INTEREST GROUPS IN SWITZERLAND

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS, (A)

3.9 POLICY MAKING: CONCEPT

3.9.1 THE OFFICIAL POLICY MAKERS

3.9.1.1 LEGISLATURES

3.9.1.2 THE EXECUTIVE

3.9.1.3 ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCIES

3.9.1.4 THE COURTS

3.9.2 THE UNOFFICIAL POLICY MAKERS

3.1.2.1 INTEREST GROUPS

3.1.2.2 POLITICAL PARTIES

3.9.2.3 THE INDIVIDUAL CITIZEN

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

3.10 LET US SUM UP

3.11 KEY WORDS

3.12 SUGGESTED READINGS

3.13 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

3.14 REFERENCES

3.15 MODEL QUESTIONS

3.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to

- 1) Define the term interest groups
- 2) Examine the working of interest groups in four different countries namely USA, UK, China and Switzerland.
- 3) Conceptualise the term policy making and its various determinants

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit you will come to know the meaning of interest groups. You must have heard of the term interest groups. This unit will enable you to understand what they stand for and the process in which they influence the political spectrum. In addition, you will also get the idea about the process of policy making and its key determinants.

3.2 PRESSURE GROUPS AND INTEREST GROUPS

Along with political parties, in modern political systems pressure groups play a very significant role. These groups are found in every political system and work outside the regular party system, which are also known as ‘interest groups’ that influence public policies and take these in a particular direction but do not accept either directly any responsibility or a public office. In Political Science study of interest groups is confined only to the extent to which they become part of political process, though in actual practice every group is involved in this process. These groups play a big role in developed democracies, compared to backward countries.

Though both pressure and interest group are very nearer to each other, yet it is better to have a clear distinction between

the two. In our society there are various groups, like economic, social, political and religious. It is through interest groups that the desires of the people are translated into individual satisfaction. These group facilitate the course of desired legislation either by influencing or controlling those people who play a key role in making public policies. The groups essentially advance the interests of their members by converting themselves into pressure groups when they exert pressure to ensure that these interests are promoted. The pressures can be of various kinds and various forms as well. As long as pressure tactics are not adopted, interest groups do not get themselves converted into pressure groups.

The study of pressure groups in comparative politics has become important because their study make it easier to find out underlying forces and processes through which political power is marshaled and applied in well-organized societies. These groups very much exist in totalitarian societies but they struggle to attain those interests which are determined by the state. In a democratic society, pressure groups get opportunity for the widest possible participation, whereas in a totalitarian societies they are encouraged to work in a particular direction congenial to the interests of the state. But in both the societies these groups will always try to influence public policies in a particular direction.

3.3 Functions of Pressure Groups/ Interest groups

Pressure groups are required to perform certain functions. Of course, these are more applicable to democratic rather than totalitarian states. These groups articulate demands and each group tries to get the support even by giving concessions to each other. It ensures that groups demands become public policies.

3.4 PRESSURES GROUPS/INTEREST GROUPS AND POLITICAL

In democracies pressure groups are allowed to go political party leaders and directly or indirectly try to maintain contacts. Pressure groups and political parties are quite distinct from each other. In the words of Neumann, “Fundamentally, pressure groups are the representation of homogeneous interests seeking influence. The interest groups are strong and effective when has they direct towards policy decisions, combine heterogeneous groups. In fact, it is one of their major themes to reconcile the diverse forces within political society. Theirs is an integrative function which is not the domain of interest groups.”

Pressure groups/Interest groups have no clear or directed politics, which is one of the main features of political party system in every country. The former are also not prepared to assume any direct responsibility whereas the latter are always prepared to do so.

In a federal system, as it operates in the USA where federating states enjoy considerable autonomy and two political parties are always in race for power, pressure groups operate at state level to win concessions denied to them in the states. The type of the party system and the structure and ideology of the parties have significant effects on pressure group activities. In countries like the USA where there are clear ideological differences between the two political parties, pressure groups are likely to be more influential.

Relationship of pressure groups with political parties depends on political culture of the society. In the USA there is more tolerance towards pressure groups than what is shown to them in other liberal democracies. In some countries political culture is that of violence and there the role of pressure groups

is sure to be different from where the culture of politics is based on non-violence. Under such situation no political party can think of mustering electoral support based on the philosophy of violence.

No pressure group is interested in contesting elections. Each group will however, try to put forward as many candidates as it can for contesting elections. It will also finance them. But as a group it will not contest any election. On the other hand, main aim of political party is to contest elections. Not only this, but it wants to win elections and for the purpose uses all fair and foul means. It supports and propagates openly for its candidates. Strength and weakness of a political party depends on its failure or success at the polls.

A political party always has a partisan attitude. In distinct party system, without clear ideological differences, party does not attract much electoral attention. It is this partisan attitude which distinguishes one political party from the other. On the other hand, a partisan attitude which distinguishes one political party from the other. On the other hand, a pressure group cannot adopt any partisan attitude. It is supposed to promote certain interests, regardless of party affiliation. Even if a particular group in the beginning may have a partisan attitude, gradually it sheds the same and tries to make itself as an interest group out and out.

3.5 PRESSURE GROUPS / INTEREST GROUPS IN AMERICA

The political parties are essential party of any democratic political system, but they are insufficient and incapable to look after the multiple hopes and grievance of the people as a whole. As a result, a number of pressure/interest group have come into being to pressurize the governments and thereby to get their grievances redressed.

Robert Biersted (Modern Social Science, 1964) has classified groups into four categories, namely, statistical, societal, social and associational . Statistical groups are merely statistical figures prepared on the basis of age, sex, occupation, income level, etc. Societal groups are conscious of their existence as a group. For example, people living in any social formation are conscious of one another's characteristics. When these people develop social interaction they become a social group. Associational group is an organized group whose members have consciously decided to organize themselves with a view to achieving certain goals. It is the last category which we call the interest group.

An interest group, writes Watson, is any collection of individuals with a shared attitude on some matter who make certain claims or demands on others in society with respect to that matter. The political interest groups have basically two motives to bring some positive benefit to their members or to prevent some governmental action which is likely to hurt the group interests.

A question is sometimes asked : what special purpose do these groups serve and why can't political parties undertake the functions to be performed by them ? There is a fundamental difference between a party and a group, i.e. while a party achieves it ends in an open manner by contesting elections, by propagating its policies and by maintaining an open organisation, a group achieves its objective through private and personal means. There is a need for group politics in "America as a House representative represents the entire congressional district and is elected by a majority vote; it is therefore, impossible for him to take adequate care of all minority interests. The minorities can make their voice heard by organizing themselves into appropriate groups on state or national levels. Thus it is seen that the United States of

America is also not free from the influence of pressure/interest groups.

Three biggest interest groups in America are farm, labour and business. There are four national farm organisations, namely, the American Farm Bureau federation, the National Grange, the National Farmers Union and the Farm Bureau. There are also specialized associations for cotton growers, dairy owners, wool growers, etc. The farm lobby has considerable influence in the Senate. The biggest labour organisation is the American Federation of Labor – Congress of Industrial Organisations (AFL-CIO). The merger of these two organisations took place in 1955 and presently AFL-CIO membership exceeds 12 million. Business interests are numerically small but the resources they want to protect run into hundreds of billions of dollars. There are two business interest groups at the national level, namely, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and the National Association of Manufactures (NAM). Besides, there are a large number of trade associations. Business interests normally stand for lower taxes, lower labour wages and benefits, lesser federal and state controls over business among others.

Lobbying is the most common pressure group technique. It is a process by which interest groups seek access to public officials. In old days the representatives of various interest groups used to visit the lobbies of government offices for influencing policy decisions. Thus according to Leaster Milbrath's description, the name lobbyist refers to a person who, communicates with a governmental decision maker to try to influence what he does (or does no do) about a particular matter. Lobbying can be done both directly (working through intermediaries to influence decision-makers).

In view of the power of the lobbyist to influence governmental decision making, Congress imposed a control over this activity by means of congressional Reform Act of

1946. Under this Act, any person engaged in lobbying must (1) register with the House Clerk or the Senate Secretary, and (2) file quarterly reports concerning his receipts and expenditure for lobbying. Convictions for violation of the provision of this law have been very few.

The greatest service rendered by pressure/interest groups is that they represent those interests which otherwise would not have received proper representation. In this manner, they supplement the work done by the major national political parties. They also provide likely lines for official action and the feedback from the system as to how the official decisions have been received by the concerned groups of people.

On the negative side, it may be mentioned that not all people get benefitted from group pressures. In fact, one group's gain is some other group's loss. As E.E. Schattschneider (*The Semisovereign People*, 1960) has written : 'If everybody got into the act the unique advantage of this form of organisation would be destroyed, for it is possible that if all interests could be mobilized the result would be a stalemate.

3.6 PRESSURE GROUPS IN BRITAIN

In comparison to the pressure groups in the U.S.A. the pressure groups in Britain play a much restricted role, even though they exert considerable influence on the various organs of government. In the first place in Britain the pressure groups greatly influence law-making process by maintaining direct contact with the various departments of the government and trying to impress them to enact laws which protect their interests. For this purpose they maintain direct contacts with high officials and civil servants.

Again the pressure groups exert necessary influences on the administrative wing to formulate a policy in keeping with

its interests by presenting necessary data and information to these departments. It is said that if the pressure groups do not render necessary assistance to the administration it may not be able to determine the policy.

The pressure groups try to win public support in favour of their viewpoint and to project the issue as a matter of common concern. For example, while making a plea against nationalization of a particular industry they would try to project it as an encroachment on the citizen's right to private property. They try to win the public support through newspapers, demonstration, meetings, films etc.

The pressure groups in Britain also play an important role in bringing about social, economic and political reforms. It is well known that in the nineteenth century slavery was abolished chiefly due to pressure of certain groups. Similarly women were granted equal franchise with men in 1928 due to pressure exerted by the Women League. In 1965 the Parliament was forced to enact law movement known as National Campaign for Abolition of Capital Punishment. At Present a pressure group known by the name African Bureau is working for ending caste distinctions in Britain.

The pressure groups also check the despotic tendencies of the government. They keep a constant watch on the actions of the government to ensure that the interests of their members are not adversely affected.

Critics have condemned the working of pressure groups in Britain and highlighted various draw-backs. In the first instance it is said that only rich, powerfull and well-organised groups are able to get their view accepted and the weaker groups are not able to exercise any influence on the policies of the government. Secondly, the pressure groups resort to bribes and other corrupt methods to get their demands conceded, which is highly damaging. Thirdly, the pressure groups seek to protect the interests of their respective groups unmindful of the

national interests. But this criticism seems to be based on false notions. Under a Parliamentary system of government prevailing in Britain, the pressure groups are able to exert only limited influence due to rigid party discipline. Further it is wrong to assume that the pressure groups can afford to ignore the general welfare. Even while presenting their demands they try to reconcile these demands with the interest of the common people.

The pressure groups in Britain play a significant role in the political process. They influence the administration at various levels and serve as a useful link between the government and the various sections of society. In recent years the pressure groups in Britain have grown more powerful than the pressure groups in the U.S.A. This is due to the presence of unitary system of government, the conversion of state into a welfare state and the commitment on the part of the government to provide controlled economy in Britain. As a result, the pressure groups in Britain have succeeded in obtaining from government certain concessions which their counter-part in the U.S.A. has not succeeded in securing.

3.7 PRESSURE GROUPS IN CHINA

Politics in China tend to follow institutional lines, rather than voluntary interest groups or lobby organisations. In China, the Communist party is the only legitimate political organisation representing all actors of society. Hence other groups and factions with specific interests are not granted legitimacy in the political process. There is a fusion of institutional and individual interests in China which are not found in the west. Since factionalism or groups is officially not recognized nor allowed a place in the political process, group divisions or conflicting interests legitimize their position by articulating their views through occupational or bureaucratic

groups which have a voice in decision-making. The conflicts in the Chinese political system are often reflected in bureaucratic struggles. Paul Cocks has written of dispersal of administrative authority to important bureaucratic sub-systems the military, factory Managers, regional party secretaries, agricultural interests and jurists. If important interest wish to influence decisions they have to be represented by a section of the bureaucracy. Most Chinese policies are the outcome of compromises and adjustments among these bureaucratic groups representing diverse interests in Chinese society. There are trade Unions, youth leagues, writers' Union, women's forums etc. but they function as 'transmission' belts – that is to transmit policy to the groups not as sources of originating it. They are, thus, not autonomous entities. Although interest groups depend for their emergence and survival upon a political culture and ideology and institutional setting. They are nevertheless operating in the Chinese society. Major interest groups include the army, industrial managers, economists, writers, scientists etc. These interest groups pursue narrow sectional interests as well as broad public interests. They apply a wide variety of informal and non-institutionalised methods for defence of their interests which range from being persuasive to coercive.

3.8 PRESSURE GROUPS / IN SWITZERLAND

In Swiss political process; like any other developed liberal democracy the pressure groups play an important role. In Switzerland there is a multiparty system where pressure groups participate in the political process in an effective way. Their role can be compared with the role played by the U.S. interest groups. In this context it is suggested that the Swiss political system 'tends to provide more opportunity for the

open and direct participation of interest groups in the political process than does the system in the U.S.

The pressure groups in Switzerland are well organised than the political parties. The political parties are well organized at the cantonal level while the pressure groups are better organized at the national level. This factor has largely increased the role of the Interest groups in the political process. Some of the powerful interest groups exert deep influence and control over the political parties. For instance, the confederation of Swiss Industries has a great hold over the activities of the Radical party. Similarly the Socialist Party is under the strong influence and control of the trade unions. You can say about the Catholic Democratic Party which really represents the catholics as a religious interest groups. The support of the agricultural and peasant groups to the peasants party has ultimately resulted its popularity in the canton of Berne. In the light of this you can say that this party is, in fact, a party of the Interest groups of a peasants.

Moreover, lack of professionalism among the leaders of the political parties influenced the leaders of the interest groups to enter the federal and cantonal legislatures. They have the ability to manage the affairs of their interest groups through their agents.

The existence of certain institutions like Referendum and Initiative provide wide scale opportunities to the interest groups to influence the process of direct legislation. The business like approach of the Swiss too favours the increased use of interest group mechanism for fulfilling their interests.

Furthermore, the inclusion of various provisions clearly recognize the role and importance of the activities of interest groups in the Swiss political system.

Check Your Progress – A

1. Mention a difference between political party and pressure group.

2. Pressure group relationship with political parties depends on _____

(Fill up the gaps)

3.9 POLICY MAKING CONCEPT

Public policies are those which are developed by government bodies and officials, though non-government actors and agencies may also exert direct or indirect pressure or influence in the policy-making process.

There are certain implications of the concept of public policy. First, purposive or result-oriented action rather than random behaviour is the hallmark of public policy. Second, public policy refers to the action or decisional pattern by public administrators on a particular issue over a period rather than their separate discrete decisions on that matter in an adhoc fashion. Third, policy is what governments actually do and what subsequently happen rather than what they intend to do or say they are going to do. Fourth, public policy may be either positive or negative in form. Lastly, public policy, at least in its positive form, is based on law and is authoritative. It has a legal sanction behind it which is potentially coercive in nature and is binding on all citizens.

3.9.1 The official policy makers

Official policy makers are those who are legally empowered to formulate public policy. These include legislators, executive, administrators and judges.

3.9.1.1 Legislatures

Formally legislatures perform the task of law making in a political system. This does not necessarily mean that they are independent decision-making authorities or that they actually frame the official policy. It is often said that the British and Indian parliaments merely consent to laws that are originated by political parties and pressure groups, framed by bureaucrats, and introduced in the legislature by the government. This is because the government, enjoying a comfortable majority in the legislature, knows that it can get any measure or its choice passed by parliament. In the course of approving legislation the parliament performs other important functions like deliberating, scrutinizing, criticizing, and publicizing government policies and their consequences for the public on the floor of the House. However, in the American system of separation of powers, legislatures often take an independent and final decision in matters of law making. In the US Congress, the standing committees have ultimate authority over proposed legislation and may even act in opposition to a majority of the members of the House in which they exist. On matters of taxation, civil rights, welfare and labour relations policies tend to be shaped in substantial part by the Congress. In contrast, in matters of foreign and defence policy, the Congress is guided by presidential initiatives. An individual legislator while voting will be guided more by his party affiliations than personal bias or ideological orientations. He may also be guided by his

constituency requirements in particular cases. In parliamentary democracies voting is done essentially on party lines.

In comparison, the Chinese national legislature often merely ratifies or confirms decisions made by high officials within the legislatures are more important in policy formation in democratic than in dictatorial countries; and within democratic systems, legislatures generally tend to show greater independence in policy formulation in presidential systems (USA) than in the parliamentary (India).

The power vested in Parliament or Congress must become decentralised if it is to give due weightage to policy proposals. To discuss these genuinely it needs to develop expertise about the issues involved in proposals. The elected members, however, can hardly be specialists on everything. Hence the decentralisation of parliamentary power to various committees is necessary. These committees permit each member to specialize in few policy areas. The idea for legislative committees actually came from the British Parliament, but in England the committees came into being with the growth of the cabinet government. Once parliamentary committees have been set up to allow more expert consideration of proposals, it is hoped that parliament will show a reasonable degree of difference towards the committees decisions. Thus the committees have become crucial in determining the fate of legislation in both the presidential and parliamentary forms of government.

Finally, in the parliamentary systems, a large number of legislation are made by virtue of certain conditions the powers delegated to the ministers by parent statutes on the basis that include parliamentary time, the technical quality of such legislation, and need for sufficient time to develop adequate administrative machinery. However, in most countries only a small proportion of such statutory delegated legislation receives any parliamentary scrutiny at all.

3.9.1.2 The Executive

What has been called an “executive-centred era” in modern governments everywhere depend vitally upon executive leadership both in policy formation and execution. In Parliamentary countries all policies must have the approval of the cabinet and all important laws in parliament are introduced by the ministers of the government. In the USA the President opts to exercise legislative initiatives is clearly recognized as a fact. The divisions in the Congress resulting from the committee system and lack of strong party leadership render that body incapable of developing consistent and coherent legislative programmes. Consequently, the Congress gradually has come to expect the president to initiate or send proposals for legislation. This does not mean that the Congress acts on the President’s commands or merely approves his proposals. The Presidential proposals are very often rejected or merely approves his proposals. The Presidential proposals are very often rejected or considerably modified before enactment. In case of foreign and defence policy, the President possesses greater constitutional powers and operational freedom than in domestic policy. The US foreign policy is largely a creation of presidential leadership and action.

In the developing countries the executive probably has even more influence in policy making than in modern countries. This happens so because there is often no strong bureaucratic base and as such the executive plays a largest role in policy formulation because of a greater concentration of power in governmental hands coupled with less responsiveness to the legislature. In such countries pressure groups have little influence on policy making due to their lack of sophistication or coordination. However, executive decision making is not done in a vacuum. The executive is expected to act in

conformity with the constitution statutes and court decisions. Foreign policy decisions often depend on their acceptability by other nations, while domestic policy decisions may depend upon their acceptance by legislatures, administrators and the public. Another limiting factor may be the availability of resources.

3.9.1.3 Administrative Agencies

Administrative systems throughout the world vary with respect to size and complexity, hierarchical organization and degree of autonomy. Although it was once an accepted doctrine in political science that administrators were merely executors of policies determined by other organs of governments, the fallacy of this distinction is now being increasingly realized. It is common knowledge now that policies and administration are blended, and that administrators are involved in the policy formulation process in more ways than one.

In complex industrial societies specially, the technicality and complexity of many policy matters, the need for continuing control, and the legislator's lack of time and information, have led to the delegation of much discretionary authority to administrative agencies formally recognized as rule-making power. Agencies are also a major source of proposals of legislation in the presidential systems like United State and parliamentary governments like Britain. Public officials are associated with policy formulation in three important ways. First, they have to supply facts, data and criticism about the workability of policy to the ministers or to the legislature if the initiative for policy making comes from them. The members of parliament or ministers are a changing body of amateurs who may have political skill or popularity but lack administrative acumen or experience, and as such they have to rely and give due weightage to the suggestions of the officials. Secondly, very often the initiative for policy legislation originates from

the administration. This is due to the fact that it is the administrators who are constantly in touch with the general public, and therefore, in a better position to understand the difficulties or amendments in the existing law often emanate. Thirdly, on account of lack of time and knowledge, the legislature passes skeleton acts and leaves the details to the administration. It is heard that administrator have the maximum scope for policy making. In order to execute these acts, the administration frames rules, regulations and by-laws which are significant contribution to policy making.

3.9.1.4 The Courts

In countries where the courts constitutionally enjoy the power of judicial review, they have (as in the United States) played an important role in policy formation. The courts have often greatly affected the nature and content of public through exercise of the powers of judicial review and statutory interpretation in cases brought before them.

However, the judiciary, in any political system, particularly in the policy making process indirectly. Courts are approached to interpret and decide the meaning of legislative provisions that are often generally stated and permit conflicting interpretations. Any judge confronted with a choice between two or more interpretations and applications of as legislative act, executive order, or constitutional provision must choose from them, because the decision has to be given or the controversy must be ended. And when the judge does so, his interpretation becomes policy for the specific litigants. When a court accepts one interpretation or a decision is accepted by other courts, the court has made a policy for all jurisdictions in which that view prevails.

The judiciary in democratic systems has played a major role in the formation of social and economic policies. Much of

the law relating to such matters such as equal protection of law, property ownership, corporations, employer-employee relations have been developed and applied by the courts in the form of common law and equity. They originated in England but have been adapted to American needs and conditions by the American judges. Judicial activism in the United States in the past was restricted mainly to the areas of economic regulation and law enforcement but for the past two decades the courts have also ventured into many new areas of social and political activity.

3.9.2 Unofficial Participants

Besides, the official policymakers, many others may participate in the policy making process like interest groups, political parties and individual citizens. They may considerably influence policy formation without possessing legal authority to make binding policy decisions.

3.9.2.1 Interest Groups

Interest or pressure groups play an important role in policy making in most countries. The strength and legitimacy of groups differ from country to country depending upon whether they are democratic or dictatorial, developed or developing. Pressure groups are found to be more numerous in the United States or Great Britain than they are in the Soviet Union or China. The main function of these groups is to express demand and present alternatives for policy action. They may also supply the official law makers with much technical information for and against specific issue and possible consequences of a policy proposal. Given the plural character of American society, it is not surprising the pressure groups are many and varied in number, interests, size organization and

style of operation. By and large, the primary concern of a pressure group is to influence policy in as particular policy matter.

3.9.2.2 Political Parties

In modern societies generally, political parties perform the function of “interest aggregation”, that is, they seek to convert the particular demands of interest groups into general policy alternatives. The way in which parties “aggregate” interests is affected by the number of parties. In predominantly biparty systems such as the United State and Great Britain, the desire of the parties to garnck widespread electoral support will force both parties to include popular demands in their policy proposals and avoid alienating the most important social groups. In one party system like the Soviet Union and China, they are the chief official framers of public policy. However, political parties have a broader range of policy concern than interest groups in policy formation.

In the states with parliamentary system, states, the political party enjoying majority of votes in parliament forms the government which is the chief official policy maker. Needless to say, most of the governments make policies according to the party mainfestos on the basis of which they have been elected to office. In presidential system like the United States, the fact that members of legislatures often vote in accordance with their party policy and as such the party controls the Congress in the event of policy formulation.

3.9.2.3 The Individual citizen

Since democratic governments are representative governments, it is often said that citizens indirectly represent citizens’ participation in policy making, despite the fact that many people do not exercise their franchise or engage in party

politics. In some of the American states (like California) and some countries (like Switzerland) citizens can and still vote directly on legislation or on constitutional amendment bills submitted to the voters for approval. Elections are the major instruments in democratic countries to gauge public opinion or popular wishes. Some political scientists speculate that voting in elections may be an important method of citizen's influence on policy because it actually permits citizens to choose their officials and to some degree instruct these officials on policy. Thus a genuine elections puts a stamp of approval on citizen participation. Indirectly, therefore, election enforces on proximate policy, makes a rule that citizens' wishes are counted in policy making.

No government, whether democratic or dictatorial, can afford to oppose the desires, wishes, customs or traditions of the people. Even dictators undertakes popular measures to keep down unrest or discontent against the regime. One-party system like the Soviet Union, also seems to be concerned to meet citizens' wants despite the fact they exclude citizens from direct participation in policy formation.

Check Your Progress – B

1. Mention two official participants of policy making.

2. Mention two official participants of policy making.

3.10 LET US SUM UP

In this unit you have come to know about the interest groups, how they are formed and how they are functioning in

the different countries like USA, UK, China and Switzerland. In addition, you have also learnt what is policy making, the process of policy making and the key factors that influence the process of policy making which are also known as the determinants of policy making.

3.11 KEY WORDS

- Referendum : The practice of seeking the consent of public on important policy matters.
- Initiative : The practice where people take first step in proposing any policy or important decision of the government for execution.

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3.13 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress. – A

- Q.1. Pressure groups have no clear or directed politics, which is one of the main features of political party system in every country.
- Q.2. Political culture.

Check Your Progress. – B

- Q.1. Legislatures and the courts.
- Q.2. Interest groups and political parties.

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3.15 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Define Interest Groups. Distinguish between Interest Groups and Political Parties.
2. Explain the role of Pressure Groups in Great Britain and America.
3. What do you mean by policy making. Explain the role of official and non-official members in policy making.
4. Compare and contrast the Pressure Groups of America with that of Swiss Pressure Groups.

BLOCK - 4

Unit - 4

IDENTITY POLITICS

STRUCTURE

- 4.1 OBJECTIVES
- 4.2 INTRODUCTION
- 4.3 MEANING OF IDENTITY POLITICS
- 4.4 ROLE OF CASTE IN INDIAN POLITICS
- 4.5 RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE IN INDIAN POLITICS
- 4.6 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS (CYP– A)
- 4.7 ANALYSE THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IN INDIAN POLITICS
- 4.8 ETHNIC POLITICS IN INDIAN CONTEXT
 - 4.8.1 KASHMIR NATIONALISM
 - 4.8.2 SIKH REVIVALISM
 - 4.8.3 HINDU REVIVALISM
 - 4.8.4 DRAVIDIANISM
- 4.9 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS (CYP– B)
- 4.10 LET US SUM UP
- 4.11 KEY WORDS
- 4.12 REFERENCE BOOKS
- 4.13 POSSIBLE ANSWER TO CYP
- 4.14 SUGGESTED READINGS
- 4.15 MODEL QUESTIONS

4.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to :

1. Define the meaning of Identity Politics
2. Explain the role of Caste in Indian politics
3. Describe the Religious influence in Indian politics
4. Analyse the role of language in Indian Politics
5. Discuss the ethnic politics in Indian Context.

4.2 INTRODUCTION

Identity politics has become a prominent subject in the Indian politics because India is a multilingual, multicultural, multicaste, multireligious, and multiethnic country. Rise of low caste, religious identities, linguistic groups and ethnic conflicts have contributed to the significance of identity politics in India. Some of the scholars believe that identity politics is a recent or modern phenomenon because emphasis on identity based on a central organising principle of ethnicity, religion, language, gender, sexual preference or caste positions etc. are some sort of compelling remedy for anonymity in an otherwise impersonal modern world. Sense of negligence, dominance backwardness etc. are the focal source which have inspired the various groups to assert their identity. In this unit you would be able to know about the meaning of the identity politics, caste politics in India, linguistic influence in the Indian political system and be able to find out the historical background of the ethnic politics in India.

4.3 MEANING OF IDENTITY POLITICS

Identity politics is political arguments that focus upon the self-interest and perspectives of self-identified social

interest groups and ways in which people's politics may be shaped by their identity in terms of race, class, religion gender sexual orientation or traditional dominance. Identity politics is as aid to "signify a wide range of political activity and theorising founded in the shared experiences of injustice of members of certain social groups". As a political activity it is thus, considered to signify a body of political projects that attempts a recovery from exclusion and designation of groups wither to be marginalized on the basis of difference based on their "selfhood" determining characteristics like ethnicity, gender, sexual preferences, caste positions etc. Identity politics thus, attempts to attain empowerment representation and recognition of social groups by asserting the very same markers that distinguished and differentiated them from the others and utilise those markers as an assertion of selfhood and identity based on difference rather than equality. Contrasting placed it is to imply that adherents of identity politics essentialise certain markers that fix the identities of social groups around a ensemble of definitions absolutes these markers may be those of language, culture, ethnicity, gender sexual preferences caste positions religion tribe race etc. the proponents of identity politics thus assign the primary of some "essence" or a set of core features shared only by members of the collectivity and no others and accepts individual persons as singular integral, altogether harmonious and unproblematic identities. These core markers are different from associational markers like those of the workers who are defined more by their common interest rather than by certain core essential naturally given identity attributes of the groups engaged in identity politics.

In another way, we can explain that the minority influence is a central component of identity politics. Minority influence is a form of social influence which takes place when a majority is being influenced to accept the beliefs or behaviour of a minority. Unlike other forms of influence this usually

involves a personal shift in opinion is called “conversion”. This type of influence is most likely to take place if the minority is consistent, flexible and appealing to the majority.

The term identity politics has been used in political and academic discourse in the United States since the 1970’s. One aim of identity politics has been to empower those feeling oppressed to articulate their felt–oppressed in terms of their own experience – a process of consciousness-raising that distinguishes identity politics from the liberal conception of politics as driven by individual self interest.

Identity politics is a phenomenon that arose first at the radical margins of liberal democratic societies in which human rights are recognised and the term is not usually used to refer to dissident movements within single party or authoritarian states. Identity politics were first described briefly in an article by L.A. Kauffman who traced its origin to the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee (SNCC), an organisation of the Civil- rights movement in the USA in the early and mid 1960’s. Although SNCC invented many of the fundamental practices and various black power groups extended them, they apparently found no need to apply a term. Rather, the term emerged when other outside the black freedom movements–particularly, the race and ethnic specific women’s liberation movements, such as Black feminism began to adopt the practice in the late 1960’s perhaps the oldest written example of it can be found in the Combahee River Collective Statement of April 1977, subsequently reprinted in a number of anthologies and Barbara Smith and the Combahee River collective have been credited with winning the term, which they defined as “a politics that greet out of our objective material experience as Black women.

Some groups have combined identity politics and Marxist Social Class analysis and class Consciousness – the

most notable example being the Black Panther party but this is not necessarily characteristics of the form. Another example is move, who mixed Black Nationalism with anarcho-primitivism (a radical form of green politics based on the idea that civilization is an instrument of oppression, advocating a return to hunter society) and the related idea neo-luddism.

The term identity politics has been applied retroactively to varying movements that long predates its coinage. Historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. discussed identity politics extensively in his book “the Disuniting of America “. Schlesinger, a strong supporter of liberal conception of civil rights argues that a common basis for culture and society to function.

In his view, politics based on group marginalisation fractures the civil polity and therefore works against creating real opportunities for ending marginalisation. Schlesinger believes that movements for civil rights should aim towards full acceptance and integration of marginalised groups into the mainstream culture, rather than perpetuating marginalisation through difference. Similarly he says that “identity politics has come to signify a wide range of political activity and theorising the shared experiences of injustice of members of certain social groups. Rather than organising solely around belief systems programmatic manifestos or party affiliation, identity political formations typically aim at securing the political freedom of a specific constituency marginalised within its larger context. Members of the constituency assert or re claim ways of understanding their distinctiveness that challenge dominant oppressive characterisation with the goal of greater self determination.

4.4 **ROLE OF CASTE IN INDIAN POLITICS**

The term caste has been derived from the Portuguese term “caste” meaning race, breed or kind. The great socialist Fairchild defines it as “homogeneous, endogamous social control organisation with distinctive rituals, especially those pertaining to a religious party”.

According to Prof. M.N. Srinvas, ‘A sociologist would define caste as a hereditary endogamous usually localised group having a traditional association with an occupation and particular position in local hierarchy of castes. Caste-based discrimination and oppression have been a pernicious feature of Indian Society and in the post independence period its imbrications with politics have not only made it possible for wither to oppressed caste groups to be accorded political capital.’ Likewise Michael Breacher has observed that while caste plays a major role in the state and local politics but it plays a marginal role at the all India level. Further at the state level also it does not play an identical role in all the states. For example - Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Bihar etc. in those states caste has played more prominent role in politics. On the whole, caste plays a significant role in Indian politics ever since the independence.

In Andhra Pradesh, there are triangular fight among the Reddy, Kamas and Ualama Communities. In fact caste has been playing more conspicuous role in the politics of Andhra Pradesh than in any other states. As Prof. Harrison observes, “As an example of Hindu caste discipline in political motion, the post war decade in Andhra Pradesh merits special alteration. Caste has played so fundamental role during the period that discrimination becomes the impact of the caste in Indian representative institutions.”

In Bihar the four main castes- Rajput, Brahmins, Kayastha and Adivasis- are involved in a struggle for power. These castes extend support to different political parties or have formed separate political parties to protect their respective interests. For example, the Rajputs lend support to the Janata party of Raja Kamakrishna Narayan Shingh of Rajgarh, while the kayastha are involved in a struggle of power against the Brahmins in the state legislature as well as in matter of formation of ministers.

The Adivasis on the other hand have got themselves organized in to a separate political party known as Jharkhand party, which strongly pressed for the creation of a separate state of Jharkhand, which has already been realized.

In Kerala the Nayars and Ezhavas, the two dominant castes are involved in a political power struggle. To a large extent the success of the Communist party, which was the first regional party to capture power in State, can be attributed to its ability to manipulate political strategic caste lobbies.

In Maharashtra, all the three major castes- Marathas, Brahmins and Mahars – are involved in power struggle. In this struggle the Brahmins, who constitute the smallest percentage of the total population of the state have enjoyed a pre dominant position on account of their western education. Similarly, in certain other areas like Kolhapur and Satara, the Marathas who constitute only 25 percent of the total population of state, enjoy a dominant position, while the Mahars who constitute the largest part of the population have enjoyed a comparatively inferior position. This fact was fully exploited by the Congress to consolidate its hold on politics of the state. So far the Congress has enjoyed undisputed mastery over the state politics mainly with the help of the support extended to it by the Mahars.

In almost all the state elections, distribution of ministerial posts and their appointments are made on the basis of caste consideration. In short, we can say that in most of the states the member of higher caste and the members of the lower caste which are more numerous have come to play an effective role in the politics of these states. In fact, Dipankar Gupta has clearly exposed this contradiction when he elaborates the differences between Ambedkar and Mandal Commission's view of caste. While the former designed the policy of reservation or protective discrimination to remove untouchability as an institution from Indian social life and polity, the latter considered caste as an important political resource. Actually, the Mandal commission can be considered the intellectual inspiration in transforming caste-based identity to an asset that may be used as a basis for securing political and economic gains. Though it can also be said that the upper caste by virtue of their predominant position were already occupying position of strength in the political and economic system, and when the Mandal commission heightened the consciousness of the Dalits by recognising their disadvantage of caste-identity as an advantage the confrontation ensures the caste system, which is based on the idea of purity and pollution hierarchy and difference has, despite social mobility, been oppressive towards the Shudras and the outcastes who suffered the stigma of ritual impurity and lived in abject poverty, illiteracy and deprivation of political power. The origin of confrontational identity politics based on caste may be said to have its origin on the issue of providing the oppressed caste groups with state support in the form of protective discrimination. This group's identity based on caste has been reinforced by the emergence of the political consciousness around caste identities is institutionalised by the caste-based political parties that prefer to uphold and protect the interests of the specific identities including the caste. Consequently, we have the upper caste dominated BJP, the

lower caste dominated BSP (Bohojan Samaj Party) or the SP (Samajwadi Party), including the fact that the left parties have tacitly followed the caste pattern to extract mileage in electoral politics. The cumulative result at the politicisation can be summarised by arguing that caste based identity politics has had a dual role in Indian society and polity.

Caste has become an important determinants in Indian Society and politics, the new lesson of organised politics and consciousness of caste affiliations learnt by the hitherto despaired caste groups have transformed the contours of Indian politics where shifting caste class alliances are being encountered. The net effect of these mobilisations along caste identities have resulted not only in the empowerment of newly emerging groups but have increased the intensity of confrontational politics and possible leading to a growing crisis of governability.

4.5 Religious Influences in Indian politics

Another form of identity politics is that affected through the construction of a community on the basis of the shared bond of religion. In India, Hinduism, Islam, Sikhism, Christianity and Zoroastrianism are some of the major religions practiced by the people. Numerically the Hindus are considered to be majority which inspires many Hindu loyalist groups like the RSS (Rastriya Swayam Sevak Sangha) or the Siva Sena and political party like BJP (Bhatrtiya Janata Party) or the Hindu Mahasabha to claim that India is a Hindu State. These claims generate homogenising myths about India and its history. These claims are counted by other religious groups who force the possibility of losing autonomy of practice of their religious and cultural life under such homogenising claims. This initiates dissensions that have often resulted in communal riots.

In India the constitutional provisions had the desired effect and for some time there was perfect communal harmony. However religions continued to be an important factor in Indian politics. A number of political parties were organised on religious basis such as Jana Sangh, Muslim League, Majlire Murkhawrat, Jama-e-islami, Akali Dal etc. These political parties exploited the religious sentiments of the voters to capture greater number of seats. The reason for the continuity of religion as an important factor in Indian politics even after the adoption of secular polity. As such Grace Jones says “basic religious beliefs survive in disguised form in moral assumption and cultural norms and they continue to mould the attitudes of any people to such institutions as the family marriage and the education system”.

The communal harmony was seriously disturbed in 1961 when a clash between the students of the two communities took place at the Aligarh Muslim University. It produced repercussion in other parts of UP, Bihar, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh and communal trouble broke out in a number of towns, resulting in enormous loss of life and property.

Historically, the Hindu revivalist movement of the 19th century is considered to be the period that saw the demarcation of two separate cultures on religious basis. This division which has become institutionalised in the form of a communal ideology has become a major challenge for India’s secular social fabric and democratic polity. When the Indo-Pak war broke out in 1965 it was generally feared that the communal harmony would pose a serious internal threat to the country. In 1966 trouble once again broke out in Washim (Maharashtra) on the question of stoning a Hindu procession by some Muslims. The situation became so tense that the police had to resort to firing which resulted in a number of deaths.

In 1968 once again, the problem raised in UP, Assam and West Bengal. In UP the trouble from places Meerut and Allahabad, while in Karimganj (Assam) the trouble started over the killing of a cow. A similar incident in Aurangabad led to communal riots.

In 1970 Bhiwardi near Mumbai, fresh riots took place. The trouble started over the stoning of a Hindu procession by certain Muslims. These riots took a toll of over so many lives and property worth thousands of rupees was destroyed. In 1971 and 1972 there were riots at Aligarh Telicherry and Gulbarga, but compared to the riots at Ahmadabad and Bhiwardi they are of minor nature.

In the subsequent years also religious tension has continued to grow and number of riots took place in different parts of the country. In 1973 once again Meerut was made target riots which resulted in the death of nine persons and injury to over 40 persons apart from normal loss in property. In 1974, Delhi the capital of India witnessed one of the worst riots since independence. The riots virtually assumed the shape of a news fight on the street. Over 100 shops were burnt, ten persons were injured. In view of the serious nature of the riots at Delhi the service of border forces had to be invited. Between the years of 1975 to 1977 number of riots were witnessed. With the end of emergency followed by formation of government by Janata party once again the communal harmony was disturbed and very serious riots broke out at Aligarh in 1978 which resulted in loss of many lives. In 1980 once again religious violence prevailed in various parts of the country. It was started at Moradabad when the prayers were going on some stray animals entered the mosque and killed 150 persons including some police men. This was followed by riots in Gujarat, Jammu and Kashmir and UP. At some places the situation grew so tense that the army had to be called to bring the situation under

control. Thus, during the year 1986 there were 180 religious incidences in different parts of the country which resulted in death of about 200 persons. Of all the states, Gujarat witnessed maximum number of religious incident (92) during the year. In recent years lot of religious tension has been generated over the issue of Ram Jananmbhumi and Babri Masjid at Ayodhya.

Apart from the discussion, we can say that identity schemes based on religious have become a major source of conflict not only in the international context but since the early 1990's it has also become a challenge for Indian democracy and secularism. The rise of majoritarian assertiveness is considered to have become institutionalised after the BJP that along with its Hindu constituents gave political cohesiveness to a consolidating Hindu consciousness, formed a coalition ministry in March 1998. However, like all identity schemes the forging of a religious community generates internal difference within a particular religion. Thus difference of caste groups within a homogeneous unified religion can also be held responsible for identity politics.

4.6 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS (CYP - A)

1. What do you mean by Identity politics ?

2. Do you think that caste plays a vital role in Indian politics ?

3. Mention 3 major religions in India.

4.7 ANALYSE THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE IN INDIAN POLITICS

We all know that India is a multilingual country and is often described as “Babel of tongues”. According to the linguistic Survey of India there are 179 languages and 544 dialects. In view of this multiplicity of language one of the problems which confronted the framers of the constitution was as to which one of these languages should be adopted as the official language. But political leaders and some of the political parties used it as an instrument to assert their identity. Identity claims based on the perception of a collectivity bound together by language may be said to have its origin in the pre-independence politics of the congress that had promised re-organisation of states on linguistic basis. But it was the JVP (Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhai Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramaya) committee’s concession that if public sentiment was insisted and overwhelming, the formation of Andhra from the Telegu-speaking region of the then Madras could be concealed which as Michael Brecher mentions was the opening wedge for the bitter struggle over states re-organisation which was to dominate Indian politics from 1953 to 1956. Ironically, the claim of separate states for linguistic collectivities did not end in 1956 and even today continues to confront the Indian Leadership. But the problem has been that none of the created or claimed states are mono-ethnic in composition and some even have numerically and politically powerful minorities. This has result in a cascading set of claims that continue to threaten the territorial limits of existing states and disputes over boundaries between Maharashtra and Karnataka over the district of Belgaon or even the claims of the Nagas to parts of Manipur.

We see the India is lacking of a uniform language policy for the entire country. Since in each state the dominated regional language is used as the medium of instruction and social communication, the consequent affinity and allegiance that developed towards one's own language gets expressed even outside one's state of origin. For instance, the formation of linguistic, cultural and social groups outside one's state of origin helps to consolidate the unity and sense of community in a separate linguistic society.

In the year 1977, some of the northern states gave rise to a feeling in the south that Hindi may be imposed on them. This feeling existed because Jan Sangh, a staunch exponent of Hindi national language, was an important constituent of the Janata Government. In April 1977 Morarji Desai, the then prime minister assured the non-Hindi speaking states that Hindi would not be imposed on any state and they should not be afraid of it. However he asserted that there was a great need to develop Hindi as link language and for this the states shall have to make every possible effect.

On return to power in 1980 Indira Gandhi also assured that Hindi would not be imposed upon non-Hindi-speaking people and English would continue as an associate official language till such time as the non-Hindi people wanted. For a while, the linguistic feeling lay dormant. However, fresh tension was generated on the issue of language following issue of circular by the Rajib Gandhi Government in 1986 directing its staff to sign letters and files in Hindi. This evoked strong resentment from DMK in Tamilnadu and a serious anti-Hindi agitation was started. During the agitation part 17 of the Indian constitution, which states that Hindi in Devanagiri script shall be the sole national language of the country was burnt. A number of party leaders were arrested and sentenced to rigorous imprisonment. However, subsequent they were

released by the Tamil Nadu Government on compassionate grounds. Generally majority community under the cloak of “sons of the soil” theory organised physical assault against linguistic minorities and insisted on the employment of people speaking the local language in public and private services. For example, in Maharashtra, the Shiva Sena harassed people of Kerala speaking Malayalam and people of Karnataka speaking Kannada. Likewise, in Assam the people speaking Bengali were considered as outsiders. Likewise, in other states also the linguistic minorities faced lot of hardship.

It is true that the most of the serious language stir took place in Karnataka. (From the Gokak Committee report) the Gokak committee which was appointed by the government of Karnataka with a view to deciding whether Sanskrit or Kannada should be the first language for medium of instruction at the school level.

In Andhra Pradesh also linguistic chauvinism appeared in the nature of demand for Telegu language. This demand raised on the plea of infusing a sense of oneness in the Telegu people. Some cases in Punjab the language problem was given a communal twist because a section of Hindu population, though speaking Punjabi is not prepared to declare it as their mother tongue.

In Goa, serious linguistic trouble erupted towards the close of 1986 when agitation was launched for making Konkani as the official language of Goa and conferment of status of statehood in Goa. This resulted in unprecedented violence and loss of several lives.

The above discussion makes it amply clear that linguistic politics had been responsible for constant friction between the Hindi and the non-Hindi speaking and has greatly stood in the way of national unity. To a large extent the central government is to be blamed because it not only failed to define

in clear-cut terms its language policy and has kept on fluctuating with the changing conditions, but also because it has allowed the official language of the union to be confused with sanskritised Hindi, the language of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh etc.

Another reason why language controversy persists even after five decades of independence is that the politicians have tended to exploit this factor for their selfish motives. On different occasions the politicians have tended to use the “issue of language” and taken extreme postures not because they wanted to promote the interest of a particular language but because this could serve their selfish interest.

4.8 ETHNIC POLITICS IN INDIAN CONTEXT

An ethnic group or ethnicity is a population of human being whose members identify with each other, either on the basis of a presumed common genealogy or ancestry on recognition by others as a distinct groups or by common cultural linguistic, religious or territorial traits, possess that result in the emergence of such identifications are summarised as ethnogenesis members of an ethnic group. On the whole, claim for cultural identity continues overtime although historians and anthropologist have documented that many of the cultural practices on which various ethnic groups are based are of relatively recent invention. The term is used in contrast to race culture refers to a classification of physical and genetic traits perceived as common to certain groups.

In India many ethnic groups are emerged in recent decades and demanded their separate identity on the basis of their lingo-cultural traits. Because these ethnic groups have their own language, culture, customs, traditions dialect historical background and so on. Every ethnic group has felt that they have been exploited, dominated by the ruling class and they are not able to occupy any prominent place in the

administrative and political share. Pre-independence as well as post-independence era, number of ethnic groups raised their demand against the government and started their movements. Some of the movements have turned violent. Demands like – demand for Dravid Nad, demand for secession by Mizos, demand of secession by Nagas, demand of secession by People's Liberation Army in Manipur, demand for the creation of Gujarat and Maharashtra, demand for separate state of Vidarva, demand for separate state of Punjab, demand for Meghalaya, Foreign National issue in Assam, demand for sovereign state of Assam, demand for Rabha Hasong, demand for Telengana state, demand for Gorkhaland demand for Jharkhand, demand for Bodoland, demand for Konkan State, demand for Uttrakhand etc. These demands are raised by the ethnic groups for the development of the community.

4.8.1 Kashmiri Nationalism

The insistent demand for a plebiscite in Kashmir within a few years of decolonisation and apparent accommodation of Kashmiri nationalism between the mid - 1970's and mid -1980s give poorly exposes the timing of the Indian government centralising efforts, which began around the late 1960s. Pakistan which was created as a homeland for South Asian Muslims disputed the accession of Kashmir a regime with a Muslim majority to India leading India and Pakistan to go to a war and divided the region in 1948. The major political forces in Jammu and Kashmir accepted this accession initially, disgracing only on the extent of autonomy the state should enjoy and on conducting a plebiscite to determine its future. Indeed, Kasmiri nationalists even helped the Indian army to take on Pakistani forces during the 1948 and 1965 wars.

As both the Indian and Pakistani states failed to conduct a plebiscite, the leaders of the National Conference pressed for

a plebiscite, considered secession, and tentatively sought western help for this purpose in the early 1950s. The Indian government repressed the pro-plebiscite forces and repeatedly rigged state election until the 1970s to ensure that loyal forces ruled the state.

The Indian state failed to foster support for Kashmiris accession to India, despite initial favourable inclinations among many Kashmiris as Kashmiris who cooperated with the repressive government only lost respect thereby. The strategy of the plebiscite front, the umbrella under which most Kashmiri nationalist gathered from the mid-1950s to the mid-1970 was not defined by that of the state. Not only were its protest largely peaceful, it opposed amalgamation with Pakistan and had the support of a significant minority of the Hindus of Jammu and Kashmir, especially the peasants in the Jammu valley, who had been benefitted from the land reforms implemented by the National Conference government in the late 1940s and early 1950s.

Kashmiri wounds appeared to be healing when Sheikh Abdullah, the patriarch of Kashmiri nationalism, reached a compromise with Indian government in 1975 after spending much of the previous two decades in prison. Sheikh Abdullah abandoned the plebiscite demand and accepted Jammu And Kashmir's parliament accession to India in return for regaining control over the state government, initially as part of the pact and later by winning the state's first open elections.

The mid 1970s was not a time when the Indian government was correcting its violations of democratic norms. Rather the national government followed its earlier centralising moves by introducing a phase of authoritarian rule throughout India during so-called emergency. Abdullah climb-down did not mean the accommodation of Kashmiri nationalism had nurtured itself through repression on the image of a leader

imprisoned for the course, was therefore had considerable liberty to initiate strategic shifts. However, the earlier democracy had shaped the sentiments of many Kashmiri nationalists in such a way that they had misgiving about the Sheikh's acquiescence and responded militantly when the Indian government returned to power in mid 1980s, after Abdullah death. Kashmiri nationalists Sheikh's son and successor Farooq Abdullah's, forced the Indian government to hold fresh elections and ensured a National Conference victory. When Farooq Abdullah lacked his father stature allied himself with the Congress party and colluded in seeking an independent Kashmir or accession to Pakistan. Although Pakistani's support gave Islamist militants added influence, the Kashmiri nationalist militias remained the most popular forces until repression led to their fragmentation and organisational decline. The Indian government interventioned in many other states but insurgencies erupted in response only in places like Kashmir and Punjab and parts of north-eastern India, when the government had for long rejected the bases of ethnic movements.

4.8.2 Sikh Revivalism

Sikh Revivalism, of the late colonial and early postcolonial periods, had implications for social pluralism. On the other hand, it created elected committees to manage Sikh temples, which served for community activities and welfare provision and factions competed vigorously at times for control over these communities. On the other, it associated Sikh identity exclusively Khalsa nationalism, owing allegiance to the last Sikh Guru, which had farmer and artisanal castes at its core and viewed the Sikh as an embattled community opposed to other religious groups. The lion's share of community resources controlled by the umbrella organisation for the

temple management committees named, the Shiromoni Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC). Agitation for a state for Sikhs erupted in the 1950s and 1960s within the Indian union. The Indian government the former possibility of a separate state and rejected their demand. However, the Government was willing to concede autonomy to Punjab, where Sikhs are concentrated, provided the demand was made on behalf of a language group. Some Sikh leaders tactically exchanged the banners of religion for one of the languages and attained their initial goal of a Sikh majority state in 1966. The Indian government responded differently to automatism in Punjab and Kashmir as Pakistan claimed only the latter region.

Since the 1970s, the many Sikh movement's factions shared the claim that Sikhs are a distinct political community which government continued to reject, even while conceding some religious demands raised by Sikh agitators in 1980s. The militants were able to use the fluiding of voter alignments throughout India in the early 1980s to rise to dominance in Sikh revivalism. The encouragement the Congress party briefly gave the militants reversed hero, Sant Bhindravwade, to undercut moderate Akali Dal leaders was far less important in the growth of the Sikh militancy.

4.8.3 Hindu Revivalism

Hindu revivalism has constructed an image of Hindu traditions on the basis of epics and scriptures. The land holding and mercantile caste of northern and western India, its core supporters are in the fore front of Hindu revivalism process. It regards as truly Hindu/Indian only those who give Indian soil shared significance, regardless of people's citizenship, religious practices census record and their religious affiliations. Other Indians are said to lack a cultural bond with the nations, making their patriotism unreliable. This has justified the conversion of

people on religious basis, particularly Muslims, throughout the movement's history. Attachments to scared geography made Hindu revivalist uncomfortable of secession and autonomism and that became more acceptable to the governing elites of Muslims. As a result some of them accepted elements of Hindu revivalist ideology. The electoral incentives resulting from Hindus being 83 percent of the population reinforced the disinclination of Congress party leaders to repress Hindu revivalist, even when the latter launched extensive protest against non-Hindus and other opponents. The Hindu revivalist participated in a national government in the late 1970s, led one from 1998 to 2004 and ruled many states from the 1990s.

4.8.4 Dravidianism

In Tamil Nadu, the Dravidia movement not only provoked little violent conflict, it also promoted the growth of political participation, autonomous associational activity and the representational emergent groups. Further, the success of its appeals based mainly on language, caste, land and religious revivalism. Notably, Hindu revivalism is weakest in Tamil Nadu which has seen the least violence when the religious riots have erupted periodically in India from the 1970s onwards. Two parties emerged from Tamilnadu, the Dravida Munnetra Kashagan (DMK) in 1949 and the Anna Dravida Munnetra Kashagan (ADMK) and later All India Dravida Munnetra Kashagan (AIDMK) in 1972, which have dominated Tamilnadu politics since 1967. The Dravidianist rejected pan-Indian nationalism like that of Sikh and Kashmiri militants did, and more clearly than did the Hindu revivalist. The national government rejected Dravidianist demands for secession subsequently, for greater autonomy and the state governments. The centres concession on national language policy failed to satisfy Tamil Nationalist sentiments, expressed in major

language agitations. It dismissed Tamil Nadu State governments whose terms in office had not expired as many as four times (1976, 1980, 1988, 1991), and twice ruled the state directly to promote the prospects of the party ruling the country (1976-77, 1988-91).

4.9 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS (CYP – B)

1. Do you think that some of the political parties or leaders use “language’ as an instrument for their selfish interest ?
Yes or No.
2. In Karnataka, most of the serious language stir took place.
True or false.
3. Ethnic groups have their own language, culture, customs and traditions.
Yes or No.

4.10 LET US SUM UP

From the above discussion, all of you will be able to know about the meaning of the identity politics, caste politics in India, linguistic influence in Indian political system and ethnic politics have become an important phenomenon in politics. Identity politics is a power politics and it is directly related to the political activity of a group. The identification of a member of the group in the basis of sharing common attributes on the basis of all or some of the attributes like, language, gender, language religion, culture, ethnicity etc. that indicate the existence or forming of identity. The mobilisation on the basis of these markers is called identity politics. Identity politics gained legitimacy in the 1960s in USA and now the

term “identity” is used by the academics, politicians and general measures for their own interest.

4.11 KEY WORDS

Assert	:	To affirm, claim
Poignantly	:	Sharp, stinging
Allegiance	:	Loyalty
Affinity	:	Relationship/ Similarity
Discrete	:	Separate.
Discriminate	:	To distinguish

4.12 REFERENCE BOOKS

Prakash Chandra	:	Indian Movement and Politics
B.L. Fadia	:	Indian Government and Politics.
Sanjib Baruah (ed)	:	Ethno nationalism in India.
K. M. Deka (ed)	:	Nationalism and Regionalism in North east India.

4.13 POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO CYP

- (A) 1. Identity Politics is said to signify a wide range of political activity and theorising founded in the shared experience of injustice of members of certain social groups.
2. Yes, Caste plays a vital role in Indian politics.
3. Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs.
- (B) 1. Yes.
2. True.
3. Yes

4.14 SUGGESTED READINGS

Girn Phukan (ed) : Politics of identity and nation building in
North –East India.

K.S. Singh (ed) : Tribal Movements in India.

J. Milton Yinger : Ethnicity, Sources of Strength.

4.15 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the role of caste in Indian politics.
2. Critically analyse the linguistic influence in Indian politics.
3. What do you mean by identity politics?
4. Find out the relations between ethnicity and politics in Indian context.

BLOCK - 4

Unit - 5

CIVIL SOCIETY- SOCIAL MOVEMENT - NON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATION AND VOLUNTARY ORGANISATION

STRUCTURE

- 4.1 INTRODUCTION
- 4.2 CIVIL SOCIETY – MEANING
- 4.3 FUNCTIONS OF CIVIL SOCIETY
- 4.4 CIVIL SOCIETY AND GLOBAL GOVERNANCE
- 4.5 CHALLENGES THAT OBSTRUCT CIVIL SOCIETY WORKING
- 4.6 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS – MEANING AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK
- 4.7 SOCIAL MOVEMENT AS AN INSTRUMENT OF SOCIAL CHANGE
- 4.8 DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL MOVEMENTS
- 4.9 FORMS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS
- 4.10 NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS
- 4.11 NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS- MEANING
- 4.12 ROLE OF NGO's
- 4.13 VOLUNTARY ACTION
- 4.14 CONCLUSION
- 4.15 KEY WORDS
- 4.16 SUGGESTED READINGS
- 4.17 MODEL QUESTIONS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, we will discuss civil society, social movements, Non-governmental organisations and Voluntary Actions which are interrelated.

Objectives :

- a. know what a civil society is and its role and function in global governance.
- b. have an understanding social movements, their types and new social movements.
- c. Know about Non-Governmental Organisations and Voluntary Actions.

4.2 CIVIL SOCIETY – MEANING

Civil Society refers to a dynamic non-governmental system of interconnected socio-economic institutions. These networks supplement and complement the role of the state. Perhaps, the simplest way to see civil society is as a “third sector”, distinct from government and business. The diverse association, groups and organisations are now attending to various functions in the social spheres like public health promotion, minority rights protection, providing legal aid to the poor people, making people aware of their rights and to promoting national integration. In this view, civil society refers essentially to the so-called “inter-mediary institution” such as professional associations, religious groups, labor unions, citizen advocacy organisation, that give voice to various sectors of society and enrich public participation in democracies.

The concept of civil society emerged after the middle of the 18th century. At this time, civil society was identified more with the sphere of economic and social relations and the state

with political sphere. In the middle of the 19th century, the state became the supreme institution in and of the society but in the last decade of the 20th century, civil society projected itself with new sharpness. This happened largely owing to the recession of the state from some of its earlier functions. At present, globalization promoted the expansion of private sector and puts pressure on the political state to withdraw from the economic aspect of society. The civil society institution entered the scene in a big way. The intervention of the civil society institutions brings about an adjustment of the claims and counter claims.

4.3 FUNCTIONS OF CIVIL SOCIETY

- (1) An active civil society can create social capital which includes trust, co-operation over ethnic, religious and other decisions, inclusiveness and open debate. The various ingredients of social capital are very much essential for keeping up peace and harmony between various sections of society. They can make people aware of their living conditions. They speak about the underlying causes of frustrations and conflict such as political and economic marginalisation openly.
- (2) Civil society promotes peace negotiations and settlements so that peace constituency can be formed. Civil society actors can influence the ambition of the disputing leaders. Civil society expresses the opinion of the public to the leaders. Civil society makes efforts to increase the participation of the grassroot masses in the process.
- (3) In post-violence scenario, civil society can play an important role to build up trust and dialogue between different groups. Civil society acts as a

pressure group to rebuild peaceful society. Because the actors give pressure to rebuild democracy and good governance important for rebuilding of peace.

- (4) Again civil society organisations give form to civil society activities. As such, civil society organisations structure civil society. Community Networks are a specific form of civil society whose task is to encourage networking within the community.
- (5) Another function of civil society is to provide lifelong learning process. Although this life-long learning effort is essentially seen from the perspective of institutionalised, formal education and training, there is a growing awareness of the importance of tacit knowledge based on personal experience. While seeking ways and means of enhancing such non-formal learning, public authorities are turning to civil society bodies as potential relays. The theory is that associations being closest to the everyday life of citizen are best placed to encourage a learning attitude and to create a suitable contest within which learning can take place.

4.4 CIVIL SOCIETY AND GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

Civil society is often conceived as a political space where voluntary associations seek to shape the rule that govern one or the other aspect of social life. Civil Society groups bring citizens together in an endeavour to mould the formal laws and informal norms that regulate social interaction. Although in practice, civil society arenas cannot be wholly separated from official and commercial spheres, veritable civil society

association do not pursue for themselves public office or pecuniary gain.

Since they attempt to influence social rules, civil society activities largely revolve around the governance apparatus. In recent times, civil society associations have redirected their attention from states to other sites of governance including global regulatory institutions.

Civil society engagement of global governance is now part of the daily fare of politics. For example, Peace groups have pushed for enhanced global regimes of arms control and conflict management. Women associations have pleaded for increased gender sensitivity. Environmental movements have argued for tighter global regulation of various ecological conditions. Many other civil society organisations have addressed global governance arrangements in respect of children, consumer protection, corruption, cultural protection, education, food security, humanitarian relief, intellectual property, migration, refugees, sports, tourism and more.

On many occasions civil society associations have indeed made global authorities more publicly answerable for their projects. Civil society organisations have elicited this greater accountability in four main ways which are discussed below;

Transparency : For efficient governance, citizens need to be aware of the rulers, their ruling objectives, about the decisions that concern them etc. only then citizens can have adequate grounds to judge the performance of the rulers.

To achieve this target, a number of civil society associations have provided a significant democratic service by pressing global governance agencies to undertake greater public disclosure about their work. Civil society activists have, for instance, urged the institutions to increase their public

visibility with brochures, annual reports, websites, media appearance etc. Some civil society groups have argued that documents should be translated into the relevant languages and hard copies need to be made available for people who lack internet access. In this way, various civil society associations have pressed for transparency.

Policy Monitoring and Review : Civil society associations make sure that various policies undertaken or implemented are in compliance with constitutions, official resolutions and public declarations. For instance, human rights groups have monitored governments compliance with UN human rights conventions.

Pursuit of Redress : Civil society activists have also provided channels through which citizens can seek correction of mistakes in global governance. In this regard, civil society groups have pressed to change rules, replace officials, institution reconstructed and reparations paid. The associations concerned have taken grievances about global governance to auditors, ombudspersons, courts etc.

Promoting formal accountability mechanisms : Civil society association have attempted to improve democratic accountability in global governance by urging the setting up of formal mechanisms to monitor and control the agencies concerned. For instance, pressure from civil society groups led to the creation of an Inspection Panel for the World Bank in 1994.

4.5 CHALLENGES THAT OBSTRUCT CIVIL SOCIETY WORKIGN

Civil Society is generally considered as the “third sector”, distinct from government and business. Since in a civil society, people associate to advance common interests, therefore they must be equipped with certain avenues to enable

their functions efficiently. But civil society faces certain challenges that obstruct its functioning. They are briefly discussed below ;

Resources : Efficient functioning of civil advocacy groups require funds, staff, premises, equipments and supplies. The majority of associations NGO's, religious groups and trade union have operated with small budgets and limited financial security. Moreover, these organisations have only a few staff and have to rely on voluntary and low paid labour.

Networks : Networking implies working in co-operation with other groups. Resource shortage for civil society can often be partly alleviated when associations collaborate in networks. Most Civil Society networking occur among similar types of groups.

Official attitudes : The ability of civil society associations to function effectively depends considerably on their relationship with ruling authorities and their attitudes towards them. If the authorities are ignorant about civil society organisations, averse to engage with them, then the functioning of civil society associations faces problems.

Political Culture : The efficiency of civil society depends to a large extent on the political culture, that is, the established way that questions concerning the acquisition, allocation and exercise of power are handled in a given social context.

The political culture of citizenship also affects the chances that civil society will bring greater democratic accountability. Certain political cultures are marked by a strong tradition of citizen activism while others by deference towards governing authorities. Similarly, an environment of cynicism about politics can greatly discourage citizen activism through civil society associations.

In addition, attitude of mass media and accountability of civil society groups themselves challenge the efficient functioning of civil society groups. Improvement in a number of areas are required if civil society's contribution to accountability in global governance are to be maximized.

4.6 SOCIAL MOVEMENT – MEANING AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

A social movement is defined as a collective activity of a group of people with some continuity to promote or resist a change in the society or group of which it is a part.

The term 'social movement' became popular in European languages in the early 19th century. The political leaders and authors who used the term 'social movements' were primarily concerned with the emancipation of the exploited class and creation of a new society by changing the existing property relationships. Since the early fifties, various scholars have attempted to provide a 'thorough – going' definition of the concept of social movement. The works of Rudolf Herberle, Neil Smelser and John Wilson are important in this regard.

Paul Wilkinson gives the following working concept of social movement,

“A social movement is a deliberate collective endeavour to promote change in any direction and by any means not excluding violence, illegality, revolution or withdrawal into utopian community”.

Thus, a social movement is the effort by an association to bring about a change in society. A social movement may also arise to resist a change. Ideology is considered to be a crucial aspect of any social movement. While some movements aim at modification of certain aspects of the existing social order,

others may aim at changing it completely. The former are known as reform movements and the latter are called revolutionary movements.

Social movements are of uncertain duration and lack institutional status. Some oppose them and some support them. Social movements may be unorganised. Social movements are basically caused by changes in cultural values and behaviour, social disorganisation and social injustice.

The people who take part in social movements include;

- (a) People who are mobile and have little chance to become integrated into the life of the community.
- (b) People who feel isolated from society
- (c) People who are affiliated with economic security and loss of status.
- (d) Unemployed, misguided youth and oppressed classes.

M.S.A. Rao, an Indian sociologist has identified five interrelated conceptual sets of problems. They are (a) problem of definition and classification (b) problems relating to emergence of movements (c) problems concerning the formulation of ideologies (d) problem of collective mobilisation (e) problems concerning the nature of the consequences for and changes in the wider society and culture.

Furthermore, Rao has identified certain features which are characteristic of a social movement. A social movement undoubtedly involves collective action as distinct from individual action. However, only when the collective action is somewhat sustained, does it take the form of a movement. This collective action, however, needs to be formally organised. Hence a social movement essentially involves sustained collective mobilisation, either informal or formal organisation.

Secondly, a social movement is generally oriented towards bringing about change, either partial or total, in the existing system of relationships, values and norms, although there are efforts which are oriented towards resisting change and maintaining the status quo.

Thirdly, ideology is an important component of a social movement as it distinguishes from a general category of movements involving collective mobilisation and orientation towards change. Thus, a social movement is an organized attempt on the part of a section of society to bring about either partial or total change in society through collective mobilisation based on ideology.

4.7 SOCIAL MOVEMENT AS AN INSTRUMENT OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Social movements deal with a class of social phenomenon which are connected with the in the realm of process. If we consider a social movement to be an organized effort on the part of a section of the population, involving collective mobilisation based on an ideology to bring about change in the social system, then we have to see the social process as consisting of inter-related social activities, interactions and events as related to ideology, on the one hand and as connected with social and cultural changes on the other.

The character of a social movement as an instrument of social change is quite different from an imitative or emulative process of mobility and change. While the latter centres around acquiescence, the former is focused on protest of one kind or the other. Following from this, the latter emphasizes the functional unity of the social system, whereas the former places emphasis on contradiction and conflict. The social mobility and change that are brought about by social movements are based

on challenge, protest, confrontation, aggression and revolt as opposed to acquiescence, obedience and loyalty. The latter type of process of mobility and change only perpetuates the established order, whereas social mobility and change brought about by social movements lead to social transformation, thereby changing the traditional balance of power. Thus, social movements based on protests bring qualitative changes in the traditional structure of social relationships. Protests and acquiescence are logically opposed to each other and the rapture of changes that are brought about by protest is qualitatively different. An approach to the study of change through social movements centred around contradiction and conflict offers a corrective to the simplistic explanation of emulative process of mobility and change.

4.8 DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SOCIAL AND POLITICAL MOVEMENTS

Political scientists do not make a distinction between social and political movements. According to sociologists, social movements also include those movements which have a clear objective of bringing about a political change.

Rudolf Herberle, a European sociologist argues that all movements have political implication, even if their members do not strive for political power. Of course, recently, Andre Gunder Frank, another European sociologist and Marta Fuentas made a distinction between social and political movements. According to them, social movements do not strive for state power, rather seek more autonomy.

Secondly, political movement is located in the state alone, while the objective of social movement is social transformation. Despite so, it may be said that any collective effort to bring about social transformation change in labour and

property relationship and the struggle for justice involves capturing or influencing political authority, though it may not be on the immediate agenda. Therefore in the present context, the difference between social and political movement is merely a semantic one.

4.9 FORMS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Generally, it is difficult to classify social movements. however, a broad classification of the forms of social movements are as follows :

1. **Migratory Movements :** Migratory movements take place when a large number of people leave home and settle at some other place due to discontentment with present condition or the allurements of a bright future. For example, the movement of Jews to Israel was a migratory social movement.
2. **Utopian Movements :** This movement seeks to create an ideal social system as a perfect society which can be only imaginary and not in reality. Sarvodaya Movement in India is such sort of a social movement.
3. **Reform Movements :** The movements that attempt to modify some parts of the society without transforming it. The movements to abolish caste, dowry system, preserve wildlife, ecology etc. are examples.
4. **Revolutionary Movements :** The movements that seek to overthrow the existing social system and replace it by a completely different one. The communist or Socialist Revolutions in China and former Soviet Russia can be cited as classic example of revolutionary social movements.
5. **Resistance Movements :** These movements try to block a proposed change in society or prevent it. The DMK

movement against Hindi language that is the Dravidians movement is one example. The Narmada Bachao Andolan is another example.

4.10 NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

In the 1960's and 70's, European and American societies witnessed the emergence of large scale movements around the issues which were basically humanist, cultural and non-materialistic in nature. These movements are led by non-political groups and are universalistic in their goals and values. These movements are called the New Social Movements (NSM's).

The NSM's do not concern with the questions of anti-capitalism, class and class struggle. The NSM's are concerned with the questions of anti-nuclearism, disarmament, feminism, regionalism, ethnicity and civil mechanism.

New Social Movements emerged in the fifth decades of twentieth century. The strategy and aims of the new social movements are essentially new. In the first place, we can point out that the traditional or old social movements were concerned with the problems of the oppressed or disadvantaged classes. But contemporary new social movements have more commonly attracted the young, the better educated and the relatively affluent.

Secondly, NSM's typically have a post-colonial orientation being more concerned with equality of life issues than with social advancement.

Thirdly, the traditional or old social movements were basically under the purview of party.

Fourthly, the new social movements are universalistic in nature. The goals and values of new social movements were

essentially universalistic. But old social movements were basically nationalist movements.

Characteristics of New Social Movements : Contemporary NSM's are the mirror of the image of a new society in the becoming. These movements project the needs for a new paradigm of culture and society and a new self-consciousness of the communities about their future. The NSM's can be treated as the reflection of the cultural revolt of the contemporary individual against the increasing mechanisation of the system of control and surveillance by the states over the civil society. The basic characteristics of the NSM's can be pointed out as.

1. Most of the new social movements anchor their ideological conceptions to the assumption that civil society is getting diminished. The social aspect of civil society is getting eroded by the controlling ability of the state. The NSM's raised the issue of the "self-defense" of the community and society against the increasing expansion of the state apparatus.
2. The NSM's radically altered the Marxist paradigm of explaining movement and contradiction in terms of class and class conflict. Marxism proves to be an inadequate explanatory model to analyse the new social movement. Many contemporary struggles like anti-racism, disarmament, feminist movement and environmentalism are not class struggles nor do they reflect a movement of classes. Their grouping is beyond classes.
3. NSM's are transnational movements. These movements articulate, project and struggle for human issues and for issues relating to very condition of human existence, possibly for a sensible existence in the future. A number of their goals and targets are therefore located at the trans-social global human site.

4. NSM's generally abandoned both the industrial workers model of union organisation and the political model of political parties. NSM's generally develops a grassroots politics.
5. The structure of NSM is defined by plurality of pursuits and purposes, goals and orientations and by the heterogeneity of their social bases. NSM's are generally global and non-segmental. The NSM's donot respond to the question of human existence alone but also go beyond the human world. It goes into the world of nature. They respond to the question of the planet on which humankind survives.

It follows from the foregoing discussion that there are certain differences between traditional and new social movements. Generally speaking, social movements mean a collective effort of a group of people in order to promote or resist change. Interest in social movements has been reviewed by the emergence of the so called "New Social Movements" since 1960's.

4.11 NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

A non-governmental organisation is a legally constituted organisation created by natural or legal persons that operate independently from any government. The term originated from the United Nations, and is normally used to refer to organisations that donot form post of the government and are not profit-motive oriented. In the cases in which NGO's are funded totally or partially by governments, the NGO maintains its non-governmental status by excluding government representatives from membership in the organisation. The term NGO's is usually applied to organisations that pursue some wider social aims that have

political aspects, but are not overtly political organisations such as political parties. The term ‘NGO’ has no agreed legal definition. In many cases, they are also referred to as ‘civil society organisations’ or referred to by some other names such as volunteer sector, independent sector, transnational social movement organisation, private voluntary organisations etc.

4.12 ROLE OF NGO’s

Non-Governmental organisations (NGO) are private organisations whose members are volunteers drawn from the citizens of a given state. These volunteers form organisations to promote their shared ideals and interests by influencing the policies of national governments. The NGO tackle many problems such as crime, environmental degradation, human rights abuses, child labour, gender biases, citizen rights etc. The efforts of the NGO’s have led to the successful creation of set of rules that help regulate many national problems. At the same time a large number of NGO’s are composed of minority, racial or religious groups whose demands shake the sovereign control of states. Many NGO’s are successful in exerting political pressures on states to accept their claims. Ethno political groups, religious movements, terrorist and multi-national corporation are also a part of NGO’s. Some of the international NGO’s e.g. Amnesty International, Wildlife Federation are making borders porous and the states vulnerable to both external pressures and to challenges from within their boundaries.

4.13 VOLUNTARY ACTION

Voluntary Action is generally considered an altruistic activity, intended to promote good or improve human quality of life, but people also volunteer for their own skill development,

to meet others, to make contacts for possible employment, to have fun and a variety of other reason that could be considered self-serving. Volunteering may not earn money but it produces a feeling of self-worth and volunteers earn respect and favours instead of money.

Volunteering takes many forms and is performed by a wide range of people. Many volunteers are specifically trained in the areas they work in, such as medicines, education or emergency rescue. Other volunteers serve on an as needed basis, such as in response to a natural disaster or for a beach clean up.

Volunteering is often considered a defining characteristic of the organisations that constitute civil society and are often called NGO's or NPO's

4.14 CONCLUSION

From the foregoing discussion, we can conclude that a civil society is an unusual concept and that it always seems to require being defined before it is applied or discussed. Perhaps, civil society can be considered as a third sector of society as distinct from government and business. These include the professional groups, religious associations, labor unions etc. that give voice to various sectors of society and enrich political participation in democracies. Again, social movements also refer to collective action of a group of people to bring about change in the structure of society. Non-governmental organisations are also aimed at bringing about social good and are not profit motive-oriented. In fact the basis of civil society, social movements and non-governmental organisations is voluntary action.

4.15 KEY WORDS

- Political Culture : It refers to individual orientation and attitudes towards politics.
- Authority : Legitimate power is called authority.

4.16 SUGGESTED READINGS

Global Civil Society : Glascies, Marties, Mary Kalder and Helmut Ahneier.

Social Movements : M.S.A. Rao.

Social Movements in India : Ghanashyam Shah.

Social Movements in India : T.K. Oommen

4.17 MODEL QUESTIONS

- Define a civil society, Evaluate its role and functions in global governance.
- What are social movements ? Do social movements act as instrument of change ?
- What are new social movements ? How are they different from the old social movements ?

BLOCK- 5

Unit - 1

STATE AND GLOBALISATION

STRUCTURE

5.1 OBJECTIVES

5.2 INTRODUCTION

5.3 MEANING OF GLOBALISATION

5.3.1 FEATURES OF GLOBALISATION

5.3.2 FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR GLOBALISATION

C.Y.P. – 1

5.4 POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE IMPACTS OF GLOBALISATION

5.5 GLOBALISATION AND ITS IMPACT ON STATE
SOVEREIGNTY

C.Y.P. – 2

5.6 CONCLUSION

5.7 KEY WORDS

5.8 SAMPLE QUESTIONS

5.9 REFERENCES

5.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you should be able.

- d. To know the meaning and features of globalisation.
- e. To identify the positive and negative consequences of globalisation.
- f. To highlight the impact of globalisation on the sovereignty of the state.

5.2 INTRODUCTION

Globalisation as we all know is a process of growing interdependence between people of all nations. It is a process of international integration. Human interaction over long distances existed thousands of years ago. Global movement of people, goods and ideas expanded significantly in the early 19th century with development of new forms of transportation and telecommunication that seem to “compress” time and space. In the 20th century, road vehicles and airlines made transportation much faster as well easier than ever before. Electronic communication, most notably internet, connected billions of people in new ways. In the light of the growing impact of globalization world over, in this unit an attempt will be made to highlight the features and effect of globalisation. At the same time an effort will also be made to evaluate whether globalisation has led to the demise, the resurgence or the transformation of state power.

5.3 MEANING OF GLOBALISATION

Globalisation is a process of growing interdependence among people of all nations. A buzzword of the 21st century, the term “globalisation” has acquired considerable force during the 1990’s.

The study on the meaning and content of globalisation should start with Roland Robertson, who could be said to be the father of globalisation. In his article, “Mapping the Global Condition”, he said that global culture is not the culture of a particular nation-state, say, U.S. or Europe, the culture of a nation-state cannot be global culture because it is homogenous and integrated.

Global Culture is therefore, necessarily a trans-societal culture which takes a variety of forms which have preceded the inter-state relations into which nation – states can be regarded as being embedded and processes which sustain the exchange and processed which sustain the exchange and flow of goods, people, information, knowledge and images which give rise to communication process on a global level.

Globalisation is so controversial because the term has different meaning for different people.

Globalisation has been considered by some quarters as the consequence of modernization. Anthony Giddens links modernization with globalization. For him modernization means a capitalist system, which is concerned with commodity production where there are social relations between the owners of private capital and non-owners who sell their labour for wages. The second feature of modernity is industrialism, third is nation-state and finally nation states power to surveillance. All these features of modernity are involved in the process of globalisation.

Globalisation can thus be defined as the intensification of worldwide social relations, which links distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shared by events occurring many miles away and vice-versa.

To be more precise, it is a gradual and ongoing expansion of interaction processes, forms of organisation and

co-operation outside the traditional space defined by sovereignty.

It is a historical process which involves more than simple economic and other linkages between separate nation-states or national economics. It is analytically distinct from interdependence or international relations. The two denote growth in connections and linkages among sovereign states whereas the globalisation process involves the inter-penetration of people and ideas, not just the movement of goods and capital.

To talk about globalisation in the field of politics is to acknowledge that politics is no longer defined by national, legal or territorial boundaries. A stretching of the political process has occurred to the extent that decisions and actions in one part of the world can have world-wide repercussions. Associated with this is a deepening of the political process to the degree that developments can have global effects even at the local level. Finally, this stretching and joining have been supplemented by a broadening of politics in a sense that the growing array of issues which have surfaced on the international political agenda has been accompanied by the emergence of new kind of actors such as the NGO's, networks of human rights groups, citizen assemblies and international media.

The result is a "compression" of the world, and the corresponding diminution in the significance of the nation – state. By eroding the distinction between external and internal, globalisation invites the denationalization of the territorial space of state. In contrast to the territorial form of nation – state, globalisation conjures up images of overflowing rivers, washing away all the frontier checkpoints and controls ultimately the bulwark of the nation – state.

Globalisation typically is seen as a process driven by economic and technological forces. However, its effects are not limited to these domains in other words, globalisation is not reducible to single logic e.g. capitalism. It refers to the pattern of growing global inter – connectedness across the different domains – social, economic, cultural, technological and political. Globalisation, therefore, requires a multi-casual explanation.

5.3.1. FEATURES OF GLOBALIZATION

- Globalisation includes the creation of new and the multiplication of existing social networks and activities that increasingly overcome traditional political, economic, cultural and geographical boundaries.
- Globalisation involves the integration of domestic economy with global economy. It involves opening up of the economy. It involves opening up of the economy to foreign capital, foreign investment, foreign technology and free competition.
- Globalisation involves a stretching of social, political and economic activities across political frontiers so that events, decisions and activities in one region of the world come to have significance for individuals and communities in distant regions of the globe e.g., civil wars and conflicts in the world's poorest regions increase the flow of asylum seekers and illegal migrants into the world's affluent countries.
- The growing magnitude of interconnectedness as a result of globalisation is in almost every sphere of social existence from the economic to the ecological, from the activities of Microsoft to the spread of harmful microbes, such as the SRS virus, from the

intensification of world trade to the spread of weapons of mass destruction.

- Information technology (IT) is an integral part of the process of globalisation. Technological innovations or technological transfer benefit most of the developing and Least Developing Countries (LDC's), as for example the advent of mobile phones, internet etc.
- Expansion of multi-national corporations (MNC's) is another feature of globalisation. These corporations have unique and empirical capacity to increase production and distribution.

Thus globalisation is characterized by shrinking space, shrinking time and disappearing borders. It has swung open the door to opportunities.

5.3.2 FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR GLOBALISATION

The major causes of emergence of globalisation are :

- **Policies of Liberalisation :** The adoption of the policies of liberalization by nation-states in the post-communist era accounted for the growth of globalisation. As a result, restrictions on international economic transactions were removed which paved the way to globalisation.
- **Technological Revolution :** Improvement of the means of transport and communication has converted the world into a global village. Jet air crafts, computers, satellites, internet, e-commerce and information technology have served to remove frontiers of time and space.

- **New forms of Industrial Organisation :** New management techniques in industrial organisation has also accelerated the process of globalisation.
- **Failure of Soviet Socialist Model :** As a result of centrally planned economy, the Soviet Union and East European countries economies suffered a miserable set back. Consequently, the communist system collapsed in these countries due to dismal economic performance, controlled markets and closed door policy. After the failure of the Soviet Socialist Model, all these countries adopted Western model of free market economy and policies of liberalisation and globalisation.
- **Example of Some Developing Countries :** The experiences of some of the developing countries also promoted the idea of globalisation. Countries like South Korea, Thailand, Malaysia, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore as a result of their extraordinary economic performances earned the name of 'Asian Tigers'. These success stories of globalisation inspired other countries to get their economies globalised in due course.
- **Role of International Institutions :** Several international organisations namely WTO, the IMF and the World Bank as well as the ILO, the UNDP, the UNCTAD etc., have also created an international environment in which the process of globalisation got accelerated.

5.4 POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE IMPACTS OF GLOBALISATION

The impact of globalisation is visible in almost all sectors, in fact, the state system is also not left untouched. Openness is obvious in economic, social and cultural sectors

under globalisation. At present no country can even think of development, keeping itself aloof from the globalisation process.

While some view globalisation as a process that is beneficial to world economic development, others believe that it increases inequality and creates problems. Globalisation in its essence has merits as well as demerits. Globalisation has proved to be beneficial to all countries and especially to developing countries. Its merits are as under;

1. **Beneficial to Developing Countries :** The globalisation has promoted economic equality and reduced poverty. The integration of the poor economics with richer ones has provided avenues to the poor people to improve their lives.
2. **Free Flow of Foreign Capital :** Globalisation encourages flow of foreign capital in the form of foreign direct investment, commercial borrowings, collaborations etc. There have also been major changes in industrial structure which have led to increases in the power, profits and productivity of those firms and corporations that have the capacity, human and capital resources to choose among many countries and suppliers for their sources of materials, production facilities and markets. Moreover, the flow of foreign capital is mutually beneficial for developed as well as underdeveloped countries. The developed countries earn profit with transference of capital and in case of underdeveloped countries, investment in productive activities increase.
3. **Entry of Multinational Corporations :** Globalisation encourages entry of multinational corporations. These corporations have unique capacity to increase production and distribution with their superior technology. These corporations bring modern technology with them.

4. **Increase in Knowledge :** Rapid increase in knowledge through Globalisation provides a new potential for developing countries to grow faster. The knowledge explosion is driving technical change, which is changing the nature of global interaction and competition.
5. **Socio-economic Transformation :** Globalisation is not only an economic phenomenon. It is also a cultural and social phenomenon. It is found that due to globalisation, personnel in management and other superior positions will come to underdeveloped countries with their own life styles which will have a good influence on these societies.
6. **Growing competition across the globe :** Globalisation has led to growing competition across the globe. There are beneficial aspects that increase production & efficiency. Competition and increasing market space can lead to specialisation and an improved division of labour. There are also economies of scale and scope that have salutary effects on costs and prices which eventually provide a strong impetus for economic growth. Trade gains also accrue to a wider array of actors which include individuals, firms, nations, trading blocs and entire regions. Competition thus has relative gains for all parties, with the potential for increased production, output and higher wage levels and living standards, thereby improving human welfare and standard of living.

After discussing the merits, let us now discuss the evils of globalisation ;

The costs of globalisation can lead to conflicts at various levels, especially since many of the beneficiaries of globalisation have been the richer countries of the OECD. The result has not been convergence rather divergence of income worldwide, with rapid growth of economy , mainly Asian joining richer nation but with poor nations of Africa, Latin

America and even some in East and Central Europe, slipping further behind.

Another consideration is that sovereign countries have lost control over their economies and that such control has shifted to more powerful countries, multinational firms and international financial institutions. The rationale behind this concern suggests that national sovereignty has been systematically undermined by globalisation.

A section of scholars consider iglobalisation as agency for dependency and neo-colonialism. At the same time, globalisation has non-economic effects that involve greater risk and costs. The globalisation of insecurity, for example, has become a source of regional conflict, sectarian violence and ethnic irredentism. There has been a proliferation of conventional weapons and weapons of mass destruction. Greater inter-connectedness is also raising new security threats stemming from and compounded by, for example, deficient energy and water supplies, illegitimate and autocratic regimes, terrorism, environmental impacts such as global warming and pandemics such as HIV/AIDS.

The critics are of the view that globalisation will lead the foreign countries to cut-throat competition. It will weaken political, social and economic independence. Multinational might be in a position to manipulate things to their advantage which will prove to be detrimental to the interests of poor nations. By way of making use of improved and sophisticated technology in their production system, these corporations fix lower price for their own interest and thus compete out local producers. Once the indigenous industry is completely destroyed, multinational corporations retain full control over the market.

Apart from these, globalisation creates favourable and conducive conditions for all forms of particularization,

localization and even fragmentation. The challenge posed by localization is serious. The interaction between global and local is also termed as hybridization of institutions or fragmentation of society. The developing countries of Asia and Africa are much scared of the expansion of globalisation. They consider it to be a new kind of imperialism which exercises its hegemony in the fields of economy and culture. The other part of this process is that globalisation in the long run would establish a uniform civil order. The end of this process is homogenization. By and large, the challenges of globalisation in all its different forms and manifestations will require greater co-operative efforts among major and emerging powers in full consultation and the participation of poorer developing countries.

5.5 GLOBALISATION AND ITS IMPACT ON STATE SOVEREIGNTY

The concept of sovereignty refers to the three-fold capacity of a state which is the “absolute supremacy over internal affairs within its territory, absolute right to govern its people and freedom from any external interference in the above matters”. So a state is sovereign provided it has the ability to make and implement laws within its territory, and can function without any external power and assistance. In the similar way, a state does not acknowledge any higher authority above itself in the world of independent states. Thus from the above definition one can draw the conclusion that either a state can be sovereign or not, since sovereignty is defined as the absolute supremacy and right of the government in a given state.

Different theories are advanced to explain the meaning of globalisation : some of these appear simple and logical, while others merely seem to add to the confusion surrounding globalisation, debate about it has raised some serious questions

about the viability of fiscal sovereignty, and therefore, the nation state.

A realist like Steven D. Krasner agrees on the collapsing autonomy of states but deny the impact of globalisation on nation state which could possible lead to the death of state sovereignty. In this context he argues, “Those who proclaim the death of sovereignty misread the history. The nation state has a keen instinct for survival and has so far adapted to new challenges, even the challenge of globalisation”. Furthermore he also argues that globalisation is not a new challenge or phenomenon but the question remains as to whether contemporary globalisation is likely to have different impact on the nation-state than that of the past. Because globalisation today distinguishes itself from that of the past in terms of rapid communication, market liberalization and the global integration of goods, services and production. In recent times, state sovereignty in many developing countries in the South has been severely reduced under the influence of globalisation and of increasingly detailed prescriptions from the International Financial Institutions (IFI’s) and other external actors. Under the pressure from the IFI’s and the new dispensation of the WTO, liberalization, privatization and structural adjustment policies have been imposed or adopted by many countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, thereby diminishing the economic role of the state in framing its policies or setting its development goals. State sovereignty is no more absolute and non-state actors are playing significant role in national politics of states as well as in international politics. Economic polices of developing countries are being dictated by IFI’s or by donor (developed) countries. These developments have resulted in dependency and the international marketisation of domestic economies wherein the movement of capital, goods and services are made dependent

on the exterior factors as national barriers to investments and trade have been removed.

But opponents of this view argue that in present times no state can think of development keeping itself aloof from globalisation. According to them in the present scenario, change in the state system has become very important. It is a result of globalisation that now-a-days the democratic system has become stronger in comparison to the earlier ones. In the state people are given more freedom. In fact, a communist country like China is also on the track to have a liberal economic system.

The countries which are non-democratic and are ruled by militaries are also influenced by globalisation. In these countries also with the human freedom and global change are agreed to, accept for the developmental change. The state organisations are also liberal so that they can connect the influence of liberal economy and cultural openness with globalisation. Because of globalisation, the state organisations have now adopted the preventive measures, ensure economic system, administrative advantages and ensure freedom for more than a billion people of the country.

Moreover, the state continues to remain the most important authority in international relations that is accountable towards its population for dispensing justice and providing security. No other non-state actor how so ever powerful and rich may it be performs welfare activities other than the state and as such the state continues to remain the most powerful actor in international relations.

5.6 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, globalisation comes with many challenges and has different facets but it is developing countries that have to confront many of the most difficult-to-manage risks relating to their integration into the global economy and global markets. A direct consequence of this is that globalisation exacerbates inequality, raising its political risks and widening already existing social cleavages. The challenge is to ensure an orderly transition to more competitive, less rent-seeking and rules – based economic systems, with more ready access to social assets, especially education and health.

5.7 KEY WORDS

- **Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)** : Investment made by the rich foreign countries in their subsidiary countries.
- **Multi-national Corporations (MNC)** : Corporations that manage and maintain their commercial activities in more than one country.
- **Neo-colonialism** : Indirect control exerted by rich countries over poor countries by controlling their economics.

5.8 SAMPLE QUESTIONS

- What do you mean by Globalisation ? What are the essential features of Globalisation ?
- Discuss in brief the merits and demerits of globalisation.

- What is the impact of globalisation on the sovereignty of nation states ?

5.9 REFERENCES

- International Relations – V.K. Malhotra
- Globalisation and World Politics – John Baylis,
Steve Smith

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress – (CYP – 1)

- Identify the causes for the growth of globalisation.

Check Your Progress – (CYP – 2)

- What are the positive effects of globalisation ?

BLOCK- 5

Unit - 2

REGIONAL INTEGRATION & STATE

STRUCTURE

- 5.1 INTRODUCTION
- 5.2 OBJECTIVES
- 5.3 MEANING OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION
 - 5.3.1 HISTORY OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION
 - 5.3.2 FORMS OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION
- 5.4 THE ROLE OF STATE IN REGIONAL INTEGRATION
- 5.5 RECENT REGIONAL INTEGRATION
- 5.6 PROBLEMS OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION
- CHECK YOUR PROGRESS
- 5.7 CONCLUSION
- 5.8 KEY WORDS
- 5.9 SUGGESTED READINGS
- 5.10 MODEL QUESTIONS
- 5.11 REFERENCES

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the preceding chapter, we have discussed globalisation and the state. We have learnt that globalisation is a process of growing interdependence among the people of all countries. In a broader sense, globalisation is the expansion and intensification of connections and movements of people, goods, capital, ideas and culture among countries. We have also studied the merits and demerits of globalisation. Apart from this, we have studied the form of globalisation and the role of the state in the era of globalisation. In this unit, we shall discuss regional integration and state. The forces of globalisation have brought about significant changes in the relation among states. As a result, new trends have emerged in the relation among states. Regional integration is one of such trends. In this unit, we shall discuss in detail the regional integration and the role of state in it.

5.2 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will know,

1. What Regional Integration is and the compulsions of regional groupings.
2. about the forms of regional integration and
3. the role of the state in regional groupings.

5.3 MEANING OF REGIONAL INTERNATIONAL

Regional integration is a process by which states co-operate with one another through regional institutions and rules for the achievement of certain specific objectives. Such an integration is based upon location in a given geographical area

for safeguarding and promoting of the participants interests and is sanctified by a treaty or other arrangements.

To Bruce Russett, a region is constituted with a group of people having common characteristics such as social and cultural homogeneity, economic interdependence as evidenced from intra-regional trade, common political ideas, religion, moral values, class structure and common aspirations. However if statehood is to be protected, states need to seek co-operation and assistance from neighbouring or regional states. It is a political reality that a state can wield more power if it acts together with a group of states. That is why regional groupings take place within a region for promoting their common interest.

In short, regional integration is the joining of individual states within a region into a larger whole. The degree of integration depends upon the willingness and commitment of independent sovereign states to share their sovereignty. The objectives of regional integration could range from economic to political, although it has generally become a political economy initiative where commercial purposes are the means to achieve broader socio-political and security objectives.

The compulsions and consequences of regional groupings of states can be described as follows :

- A regional group acting together can have more military power with other groups of states.
- A visible regional grouping can command more commercial interests.
- A regional grouping gives them stronger negotiating power.
- A regional grouping can collectively defend a member state from any aggression.

- A regional grouping with different interests allows the states to trade or to sell their support for issues that are important to other members in exchange for support of issues that are important to themselves.

5.3.1 HISTORY OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION

The process of regional integration has been evolutionary. Though a few regional organisations came into being even before World War I and in the inter – war period (1918 – 1939), its growth became unprecedented, especially after World War II.

Prior to World War I, regional integration was practiced in a rather limited way in the Inter – American, the Balkan and the Baltic areas. During this period there was some progress towards economic regionalism which resulted in the formation of regional organisation. However, they lacked clear and precise definition and objective and were of a relatively minor nature.

During the interwar period (1918 – 39), a large number of regional arrangements came into being. However, most of them remained undeveloped and were never fully organized. Among these, mention may be made of the Little Entente, composed of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Romania and created shortly after the conclusion of war. It gradually developed into a broader political organisation and after 1933 came to approximate a close diplomatic confederation with definite organisational structures. There were many other attempts through agreements to form grouping of states in Eastern Europe and the Balkan area, but these attempts did not lead to any regional organisations.

In the U.S.A., the Inter-American System which formally began in 1889 had expanded steadily in both purposes

and machinery prior to World War II, but it had not explicitly accepted the principles of common defense or close economic co-operation. However, before 1939, Inter-American collaboration had been present in many areas of interest such as public health, trade, agriculture, education, child welfare and so on. There also existed an elaborate machinery for the promotion of these common interests. The Inter – American system could properly be regarded as a regional arrangement, even before World War II.

World War II brought unprecedented co-operation among the American Republics. They started co-operating in a number of areas including common defense, exchange of essential materials, finance and culture. The formation of the Organisation of American States (OAS) was the result of such co-operation.

In Western Europe, a large number of regional organisations, both economic and military were formed. The Benelux Union was formed by Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg to operate as a single customs union. Benelux Union represented the first official action of West European countries towards integration and it paved the way for more extensive moves in the same direction.

The organisation for European Economic Co-operation created in April, 1948 was the most comprehensive regional arrangement in Western Europe. The organisation aimed at promoting European economic co-operation, especially in matters of trade, international payments and movements of labour.

All these developments in regional integration were largely due to the crisis of the post-war order that led to the emergence of the new global political structure. This new global political structure made obsolete the classical Westphalian concept of a system of sovereign states to

conceptualise world politics. The concept of sovereignty becomes looser and the old legal definitions of an ultimate and fully autonomous power of a nation-state are no longer meaningful. Sovereignty has gradually lost meaning as power over the economy. All regional integration projects during the Cold War were built on the Westphalian state system and were to serve economic growth as well as security motives in their assistance to state-building goals.

North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), a regional defense organisation came into being on 4th April, 1949 when the representatives of twelve states signed the North Atlantic Pact in Washington.

East European rival to NATO, Warsaw Treaty organisation came into existence on 14th May, 1955. The signatories of the Warsaw Pact were the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Albania, Bulgaria & Romania.

Arab League is the first and the most comprehensive non-western regional organisation of the Middle East. It was formed in March 1945. All of the Arab states are the members of Arab League. In February 1955, a bilateral security pact was concluded between Turkey and Iraq, which turned into multilateral Baghdad pact when subsequently Britain, Pakistan and Iran subscribed to it. In March 1959, Iraq withdraw from the Baghdad Pact and thereafter it came to be known as the Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO).

Similarly in May 1963, the Organisation of African Unity was formed in the Addis Ababa Conference. The Conference passed proposals for African unity, mutual co-operation in different fields and end of imperialism in Africa. It is the most important and comprehensive regional organisation in Africa.

Similar attempts were made toward integration in South-East Asia and Asia-Pacific region. The formation of the South East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO) in 1954, Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 1967 and South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC) in 1985 can largely be attributed to such attempts of economic and military co-operation.

Regional integration and globalisation are the two phenomena challenging the existing global order based upon sovereign states at the beginning of the 21st century. The two processes deeply affect the stability of the Westphalian state system, thus contributing to both disorder and a new global order.

5.3.2 FORMS OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION

The Cold War gave rise to many regional groupings or umbrella structure in all continents. Economic regionalism and security regionalism are two important trends. Economic regionalism include European Union, ASEAN, Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation Forum, NAFTA etc. Security regionalism include groupings like NATO, WTO, CENTO, SEATO etc.

Examples of Economic Integration

- a. Association of South-East Asian States :** The ASEAN was established in 1967. Its immediate objective was economic co-operation growth and to promote regional peace and security.

The main objectives of ASEAN are :

- to accelerate economic growth, social and cultural development in the region.

- to promote collaboration in matters of common interest in economic, social, cultural and technical fields,
- to collaborate in the development of agriculture, trade, industry, transport and communication.
- to promote Southeast Asian studies.
- to promote regional peace and stability.
- to maintain close and beneficial co-operation with the existing international and regional organisation with similar aims and objectives.

Although its aims were directed towards economic co-operation, in the late 1960's there was a fear of communism spreading in the region from Vietnam. Political observers believed that the formation of ASEAN was designed to prevent communist influence in the region by making concerted efforts to exploit natural resources to improve the quality of life of people so that they did not become victims to the ideology of communism.

b. European Union : The European Union aimed at establishing a 'General Common Market' without competition. The purpose was to convert six nations or 'Little Europe' into an overall free trade area, in which common economic policies were pursued and there were no trade barriers. The following are objectives of the European Economic Community :

- To establish a free trade area for member states within the community
- To eliminate tariff restrictions on imports and exports among the member states,
- to adopt common trade and tariff policies with regard to the countries outside community.

- to provide free-movement of labour and capital within the community.
- to pursue common policies in regard to transport and agriculture and
- to equalize wage, social conditions, taxes and fiscal policies within the community.

Examples of Military Integration :

- a. NATO :** North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) is primarily a regional military alliance. It is a defensive organisation against Soviet bloc and perhaps, one of the greatest alliances in the non-Communist world.

North Atlantic Pact was signed in Washington on 4th April, 1949, by the representatives of 12 states. Later the membership of NATO had increased to 16.

- b. SEATO :** After communist regime was established in mainland China, the idea of regional arrangement on the pattern of NATO came in the minds of west to save this region from communist influence. On September 1954, the United States, Great Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand and Pakistan met in a conference held in Manila to consider measures for resistance to aggression in South East Asia. Out of this conference there emerged the Pacific Charter and the South East Asia Collective Defense Treaty. It come to be called the South East Asia Treaty Organisation as soon as two states of South East Asia joined the same.

- c. CENTO :** Like other regional arrangements, the west wanted to have some defence pact for the Middle East as well. In February 1955, a bilateral security pact was concluded between Turkey and Iraq, which turned into multilateral Baghdad pact when it was endorsed by Britain, Pakistan and Iran subsequently. In November

1955, the five members of the pact met in Baghdad and set up the formal organisation. In March 1959, Iraq withdrew, her membership from the Baghdad pact, and thereafter it came to be known as the Central Treaty Organisation. The main purpose of this pact is the formation of a military alliance. The Treaty provides for members co-operation in their security and defense, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and non acceptance of obligations against the Treaty.

5.4 THE ROLE OF STATE IN REGIONAL INTEGRATION

The State is one of the most fundamental concepts in political analysis. Max Weber's definition of the state focuses on its behavioural characteristic : "the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory", (Weber, 1958). Under the growing influence of globalisation and regulations imposed by international organisations, the state can no longer monopolise all its internal affairs today. Even so, the state remains the most powerful authority within its own territory.

In case of regional integration, it is seen that a regional organisation is the outcome of enduring agreement between two or more states facilitating common political, military or economic action in particular circumstances on the condition that commitment extends to a defined area and specific states. Organisations of permanent nature in a particular geographical area of several countries execute such a system which by virtue of their territorial proximity, common interests in cultural, linguistic, historical or spiritual attachments, entrust themselves for the peaceful settlement of any dispute which may arise between them and for the maintenance of peace and security in

their region besides safeguarding their interest and the progress of their economic and cultural relations.

In such a situation, where states are themselves allies in concluding and giving final shape to a regional arrangement, the question arises as to what effect it has on the nature and activities of the state. The answer to such a question is positive as such an arrangement does not endanger their national sovereignty. As regional integration is a process of willful unification of nation states, it has enabled the nation states to retain their own distinctness as well as to accomplish the advantages of interpretation and co-operation without in any way affecting the nature and functions of the state.

But even then state autonomy and sovereignty can be limited and checked, for the routine conduct of regional organisation's affairs involves the integration of national policies into the larger regional organisations policy framework. As such regional obligations automatically curtail the autonomy of the state. Such systems based on regional integration, lead to the establishment of informal and powerful supra-governmental personnel networks which are difficult to monitor by national mechanisms of accountability and control, in addition, members of regional organisations are in conflict among themselves for limited resources, arms contracts, international prestige and other means of national betterment.

Moreover, globalisation in the form of global flows of capitals, commodities, peoples and information does reshape the states functions and structure. International obligations in the fields of trade liberalization, monetary stability and environment protection also constrain the behaviour of the state. In spite of all these, the state remains the essential political entity for the formation of domestic opinions and national interests, the preservation of internal economic, political, military orders and the security of state borders. This

is not because the state remains a powerful actor, rather because it offers the basic institutional site to fulfil these essential practices of the state. Importantly, these states practices are more often than not indispensable factors in regional co-operation and integration and as such the state still occupies a vital position.

5.5 RECENT REGIONAL INTEGRATION

Examples of organisations that are the result of the process of regional integration have already been cited in this unit. Apart from these, the advent of trade blocs increased the number of such organisations as these Trade Blocs tend to draw in some parity between high incomes industrialised countries and developing countries with a much lower income base. Because they tend to serve as equal partners under such a system. The concept of equal partners grew out of the concept of providing reinforcement to the economies of all the member countries.

An important example of this would be the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA) formed in 1994 when the Canada – U.S. Free Trade Agreement was extended to Mexico. Prior to this regional integration in Europe took place in the Treaty on the European Union in November, 1993. Subsequently, Latin America initiated Southern Common Market Treaty in January 1995. In the Pacific there was the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) in 1993 which looked into reducing the tariffs. The AFTA started working in full swing in 2000.

5.6 PROBLEMS OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION

Regional groupings suffer from two vital problems.

Firstly, on many occasions there is lack of consensus among the members of the organisation.

Second problem relates to the lack of enforcement machinery.

5.7 CONCLUSION

From the above discussion, we find that a regional grouping takes place within a region for promoting their common interests. Such a grouping is helpful for promoting the military, commercial and security interests of member-states. Moreover, the member-states also command a stronger negotiating power. Moreover, we have also discussed the forms of regional integration – economic and military with examples. Apart from, we have studied the role of state in regional integration. We have found that despite certain limitations, the state remains the most vital within its territorial limits. In the following chapters, we will discuss the state and its relation with international organisations and multi-national organisations.

5.8 KEY WORDS

1. State Border : A natural or imaginary line on terrestrial or water surface defining the limits of a states sovereignty over its land and waters air space and natural resources.
2. Political Economy : Matters relating to production and distribution of goods have an economic character. But as their regulation is done

by the state, they are very much involved in the political process.

5.9 SUGGESTED READINGS

- International Relations : K.K. Ghai
- International Politics & Relations : Dr. V. P. Joshi
Dr. L. S. Srivastava
- Theories of International Relations : Chris Brown

5.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

- What do you mean by Regional Integration ? Discuss the evolution of Regional Organisations.
- What are the forms of Regional Integration ? Elucidate with examples.
- Discuss the role of the state in Regional Integration. Is there a decline in the authority of the state as a result of Regional Integration ?

5.11 REFERENCES

- The Globalisation of World Politics : John Baylis,
Steve Smith.
- International Politics and Relations : V.P. Joshi & L.S.
Srivastava.

BLOCK- 5

Unit - 3

INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS AND STATE

STRUCTURE

- 5.1 INTRODUCTION
- 5.2 MEANING OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS
- 5.3 FUNCTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS
- 5.4 THE FORMATION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS
 - 5.4.1 ORGANISATION
 - 5.4.2 EVALUATION OF THE WORKING OF THE LEAGUE
- 5.5 THE FORMATION OF UNITED NATIONS
 - 5.5.1 PRINCIPAL ORGANS OF UNITED NATIONS
 - 5.5.2 AN APPRAISAL OF UN'S ROLE IN MAINTAINING WORLD PEACE
- 5.6 INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS AND STATE SOVEREIGNTY
- 5.7 CONCLUSION
- 5.8 KEY WORDS
- 5.9 SUGGESTED READINGS
- 5.10 MODEL QUESTIONS
- 5.11 REFERENCES

5.1 INTRODUCTION

As we have seen in the earlier unit that regional organisations come into existence for fulfilling certain common goals of member states. Such organisations serve a useful purpose in economic, security and cultural matters. We have also studied about the types of regional organisation and the relation between state sovereignty and international organisation. Like regional organisation, international organisations are also formed to achieve certain objectives. The most important among such objectives is the preservation of world peace and increasing co-operation among the nation states.

In this unit we will discuss in detail the meaning and functions of international organisations in the light of the functioning of the League of Nations and the United Nations. We will also discuss the relationship between state sovereignty and international organisations.

Objectives :

After going through this unit, you will develop an idea about;

1. what international organisations are and what functions they perform.
2. the composition, functioning and evaluation of working of the League of Nations.
3. the role of the UN in maintaining world peace, and.
4. the relationship between state sovereignty and international organisations.

5.2 MEANING OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

The Nation-State System is composed of a number of separate sovereign states. The sovereign states interact with one another in a variety of ways. Each state is dependent on the other for satisfying their economic, political and military requirements. Interdependence is an incontrovertible fact of international relations. As such, certain amount of international co-operation also exist among sovereign states. The very necessity of nation-states interdependence and consequent co-operation give rise to international organisations. All international organisations owe their existence to the twin facts of international life – national sovereignty and state interdependence.

International organisations serve as crucial forces of co-ordination and co-operation on many political, economic, social, military and cultural issues. International organisations have become important participants in the international system. In general, International organisations are based on multi-lateral treaties between at least two sovereign states. The term ‘International organisation’ has been defined as “any co-operative arrangement instituted among states to perform mutually advantageous functions implemented through periodic meetings and staff activities”.

International organisation can either have a global or a regional character, with the latter in general displaying a more centralized structure due to the limited number of regional state actors available. While many International organisations are single issue based organisations, others focus their attention on a large number of issues. International organisations may either be open to new members or consist of a closed system. On certain occasions, International organisations are established for a certain duration but mostly they are permanent.

International organisations are primarily of two types :

- (a) International Non-Governmental Organisation (INGO's) :
Non-Governmental Organisations that operate internationally may be either :
 - International profit organisations such as International Olympic Committee, World Organisation of the Scout Movement, International Committee of the Red Cross etc.
 - International corporations, referred to, as multinational corporations. Examples include The Coca Cola Company, Sony, Toyota, Mc Donalds etc.
- (b) Inter governmental organisations are also known as international governmental organisations. This type of organisation is most closely associated with the term international organisations and are primarily composed of sovereign member states. Examples of such organisation include The United Nations Organisation for security and Co-operation in Europe, European Union, World Trade Organisation.

In addition to the above, Global Public Policy Network's (GPPN's) may be considered as a Third Category. These GPPN's take various forms and may be made up of states and non-state actors. Non-state actors involved in GPPN's may include state agencies, inter governmental organisations, states, regional or municipal governments in partnership with non-governmental organisations, private companies etc.

International organisations have existed in one form or the other since time immemorial. However, formal and permanent political organisations became a reality with the establishment of the League of Nations.

5.3 FUNCTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS

International organisations have become the expression of inter-state co-operation at a tangible level and it is a co-operation that has its roots in the organisation been granted certain powers to act. These powers may be granted either by the member nation states or by civil society organisations. Aside from the traditional domination of international politics by established or recently codified nation-states, International Organisations have become important participants of the international system. International Organisations in general perform the following functions :

1. Promotion of World Peace and Co-operation :

The primary goal of international organisations is to promote co-operation among the member-states in areas which provide advantages for a large number of countries. For achieving this purpose, international organisations provide the venue where decisions to co-operate can be reached and also the administrative machinery for executing the decisions.

2. Provides New Methods of Accommodation :

War and conflict are inevitable among nation-states pursuing different interests. However, modern international organisations have made available a new method and dimension for accommodation and compromise beyond the previously existing channels of diplomacy and peaceful settlement. International organisations such as the United Nations provide means through which accommodation can be exercised.

3. Providing Channels of Communication :

International organisations provide multiple channels of communication among governments so that accommodation

can be achieved whenever problems of interest grow among nation states.

4. Minimising the effects of conflict :

In the event of any conflict, the international organisations are supposed to minimise the evils of conflict situation. For instance, the United Nations provide several major organs whose functions basically include the resolution of conflict. Moreover, the Charter of the United Nations provide a yardstick towards peaceful solutions.

5. World Public Opinion :

The International organisations express the opinion of the member states on various issues and serve as a mildly effective pressure influencing the behaviour of states. In this way these organisations serve as mirrors of world public opinion.

6. Promotion of socio-economic and technical work :

Apart from the traditional role of maintaining world peace and preserving national sovereignty, International organisations have served in all areas ranging from economy, health, culture to education. These organisations facilitate reaching agreements that have mutual benefits for member states. The achievements of the UN and its specialised agencies like UNESCO, WHO, ILO, FAO etc. are spectacular in this direction.

7. Means of carrying out coercion :

It is through the institution of an international organisation that any coercive action against a state can be taken. Through the combined forces of the nation states, action can be taken against any aggressor nation to preserve world peace.

The above are some of the functions of international organisations. Now let us examine the role and functions of the League of Nations and the United Nations Organisations.

5.4 THE FORMATION OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The end of the First World War heralded in a new era which provided an impetus to international organisations. Prior to the establishment of the League of Nations, the organisations that came into existence were mainly functional organisations having only limited scope. A permanent international organisation of a universal character came into existence for the first time after the First World War. The devastations caused by the First World War necessitated the establishment of the League of Nations to ensure peace and stability in future. It was expected that the League with its instrument of collective security would succeed in providing security to all.

The League of Nations, formed in 1920 has its background in the Paris Peace Conference. The Allied Powers (United States, Britain and France) played the key role towards the establishment of the League. The League was expected to be a real organisation with a legal personality, organs and agencies of its own. In President Wilson's words, who was the main architect of this organisation, it was not to be 'merely a league to secure peace of the world' but also 'a league that can be used for co-operation on any international matter'. The main goal of the League was to maintain peace and to make future war impossible.

5.4.1 ORGANISATION

The League of Nations was composed of mainly European nation states. At its peak, its total number of member

was fifty nine. There were two types of members of the League-Original and Non-original. The states which were signatories to the Peace Treaties were the original members. On the other hand, Article I of the covenant of the League provided that any state could be admitted to the League by two thirds majority of the Assembly. It also provided that any member of the League after giving two years notice might withdraw from the League.

The League had three principal organs :

1. an Assembly in which all states were represented and in which unanimous agreement was necessary for action.
2. The Council which was the executive of the League was composed of only Great Powers, as permanent members. The membership of the Council varied from time to time. The decisions of the council were to be unanimous but the decisions on procedural matters were taken by simple majority.
3. an international secretariat which was permanent and was headed by the Secretary General to perform administrative functions. Its primary work was to assist all organs of the League.

Apart from these organs, the covenant provided for a Permanent Court of International Justice, the International Labour Organisation and Technical organisations.

5.4.2 FUNCTIONS OF THE LEAGUE

The League of Nations was entrusted with five important functions which are discussed below;

- (1) **Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes and Maintenance of Peace** : The primary objective of the

League was to prevent war and establish international peace and security. This objective was sought to be achieved by a variety of means including the obligation of the member-states by not resorting to war, bringing a matter affecting international peace to the notice of the League, adoption of peaceful methods of conflict resolution and reduction of armaments.

- (2) **Functions related to Mandates :** The mechanism set up by the League of Nations for the administration of colonial areas taken from Germany and Turkey by the Allied Powers after the First World War is called the Mandates System. The administration of such areas was entrusted to the League and the League in turn put them under the mandate of the Allied Powers.

The covenant made it obligatory for the mandatory power to submit its annual report to the council in regard to the administration of the mandate under its charge.

- (3) **Protection of Minorities :** The League was entrusted with the responsibility of protecting the interest of the minorities which had permanently settled in different states after the First World War. The Council was empowered to look into complaints of violation of the rights of the minorities.
- (4) **Administrative Function :** Among its administrative functions, the League was entrusted with the administration of Saar Valley and the City of Danzing as per the terms of the Treaty of Versailles.
- (5) **Non-political functions :** Apart from political functions, the League was entrusted with a host of non-political functions, the prime among them being checking slavery, protecting women and children

against exploitation prevention of disease, protecting prisoners of war, refugee care etc. the League was successful in performing its non-political functions.

5.4.3. EVALUATION OF THE WORKING OF THE LEAGUE

The League of Nations was established with the sole objective of maintaining world peace. But unfortunately, the League proved to be a powerless institution. The League was however, successful in settling disputes among small states although it failed completely when matters related to big nations come up. The League also failed to prevent aggression committed by Japan and Italy. The League remained a silent spectator of the aggression committed by Germany. In the face of this, the League failed in applying its collective security system. The disarmament efforts of the League also failed and the great powers started a mad race for accumulation of more armaments.

The global and universal character of the League faced a hard blow when the Great Powers decided not to join it. The United States never joined the League and consequently, the collective security system of the League was weakened considerably. Although the membership of the big powers was a prerequisite for the League's success, for a long time the big powers were not represented in the League.

Moreover, it was widely felt that the League was dominated by Britain and France and consequently other nations began to lose their confidence in the League. The League also lacked mutual co-operation and identity of views among its members. The members remained busy with their narrow interests and failed to work for common interest which was essential for the success of the League. The U.S.A. because of its isolationist policy could not become the member of the

League, France looked upon the League as a means of its security against Germany, Britain was concerned with a policy which did not hamper its imperialist interests. All these added to the failure of the League.

Moreover, economic rivalry created by the economic depression of the thirties gave rise to serious international problems to which the League found no solution. The rise of economic nationalism completely shattered international co-operation.

The League of Nations also had inherent constitutional defects. The covenant of the League did not completely outlaw war. However, this obstacle did not create any serious hurdle towards the working of the collective security system. The failure of the League was mainly because the member-states were more conscious towards their own interest rather than working for the ideals and principles of the League.

Despite failure of the League, its importance and contribution in no way can be minimised. The League was the beginning in the direction of the establishment of a formal and permanent international organisation. This attempt started a new epoch in the history of International Organisations. The League had done a commendable job in the non-political field. A lot of humanitarian work was done in various directions, e.g. prohibition of traffic in women and children, care of refugees and prisoners of war and the like. It has also done a lot to protect the minorities and promote economic co-operation. Perhaps, the greatest contribution of the League of Nations was its influence in spreading the idea of international co-operation. It provided a forum in which states could meet and sort out differences peacefully. Within its own limits, the League has given a good account of itself.

5.5. THE FORMATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The League of Nations had become a powerless institution and it couldnot prevent the Second World War which broke out in 1939. The out break of the Second World war overshadowed the League of Nations which was formally dissolved in 1945 when the United Nations organisation was formed.

The Second World War resulted in widespread destruction and devastations. As the fear of war and destruction grew fierce, the idea of establishing a world organisation to ensure world peace became stronger. During the course of the Second World War many meetings, conferences and declarations by the Allied Powers had laid the foundation for the United Nations and made preparations for final agreement on the terms of the charter.

On 12th June 1941, some of the European nations of the world declared, “The only true basis of enduring peace is the willing co-operation of the free people in the world which is relieved of the menace of aggression, in which all may enjoy economic and social security. This declaration may be taken as the basis of the world organisation. In the same year on 14th August President Roosevelt of USA and Prime Minister Churchill of U.K declared on a ship in the Atlantic Ocean that as soon as war was over, they shall attempt to establish an organisation which shall guarantee freedom from fear, hunger, want and religious intoleration. They also promised that such an organisation shall promote co-operation in the economic field with the idea of giving economic and social security with improved labour conditions.

On January 1942, as many as 26 countries of the world assembled at Washington and signed the United Nations Declaration based on the principles enunciated in the Atlantic

charter. In October 1943 representatives of USA, USSR, UK and China met at Moscow and stressed the need for world organisation which should promote international understanding as soon as war was over. First blue print of the organisation was concluded on 7th October 1944 at Dumbarton Oaks conference which was attended by the USA, UK, USSR, France and China. The conference agreed that these powers shall be permanent members of the Security Council and also shall have veto power. It was also decided here that the name of the organisation shall be United Nations organisation. At San Francisco Conference held from 25th April 1945 to June 26, 1945, the proposals of Yalta Conference were finalised and a definite shape given to the Charter of the conference. The Conference at San Francisco was attended by 50 states. The formation of the organisation by 50 states. The formation of the organisation was, however, formally declared on 24th October, 1945 when the charter of the UNO was signed. This day is celebrated as UN day till date.

5.5.1. THE PRINCIPAL ORGANS OF THE U.N.

The charter provides for six principal organs of the United Nations; General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, Trusteeship Council, International Court of Justice and the secretariat.

- (a) The General Assembly is the principal organ of the United Nations. It consist of all the members of the U.N. Each state can send 5 representatives but can cast only one vote.

The General Assembly performs deliberative, supervisory, financial, elective and constituent functions. Its functions are to discuss, make recommendation, consider, notify and initiate studies. It

also plays a recommendatory and supervisory role, it also has powers in regard to finance, non-self governing territories, the election of the members of the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the judge of the International Court of Justice and the admission of new members on the recommendation of the Security Council.

- (b) The Security Council is the most important and powerful organ of the United Nations. The Security Council is entrusted with the primary responsibility of maintaining world peace and security. The Security Council is a permanent body. The total membership of the Council is 15. The U.S.A., USSR, UK, France and China are permanent members and 10 non-permanent members are elected by the General Assembly for two year term. The members of the Security Council are supposed to keep a representative at the U.N. headquarters at all times so that the Council can act if needed.

Each member of the Security Council shall have one vote. However, any member of the United Nations may participate in any discussion under the consideration of the Council without exercising the right to vote.

The permanent members of the Council enjoy veto power.

The Security Council performs deliberative executive, elective and regulatory powers primarily related to the maintenance of world peace.

- (c) The Economic and Social Council consists of 54 members elected by the General Assembly for a three year term. The Economic and Social Council was established to solve international social and economic

conditions which were necessary to create conditions of well being and security which are essential for peaceful and friendly relation among nations.

The Economic and Social Council has been charged with the duty to perform economic, social, cultural, educational, health and other humanitarian functions of the United Nations. The ECOSOC was conceived as a co-ordinator of the activities of the several specialised agencies which are created to undertake economic and social welfare activities.

- (d) Trusteeship Council : The Trusteeship Council was set up to supervise and administer trust territories placed under its disposal by individual agreements. This function was earlier performed through the Mandates System of the League of Nations. The basic objective of the Trusteeship Council is not only establishing rules over the people of the backward territories but also to work for the progressive development and independence of these areas.
- (e) The International Court of Justice (ICT) is the principal judicial organ of the United Nations with its Headquarters at Hague. The ICT functions in accordance with the annexed statute and replaced the Permanent Court of International Justice under the League. The ICT is open to the parties of this statute which automatically includes all members of the United Nations. A state which is not a member to the UN may become a party to the statute on conditions determined by the General Assembly on the recommendation of the Security Council.

The Court consists of 15 judges known as the members of the court. They are elected by a concurrent vote of the General Assembly and Security Council.

The judges are chosen on the basis of their qualification rather than on the basis of their nationality.

The jurisdiction of the court covers all questions which states refer to it and all matters provided for in the UN charter or in treaties conventions in force.

- (f) The Secretariat is the headquarters office of the United Nations. The Secretariat may be called an International Civil Service. The Secretariat consists of thousands of international civil servants headed by the Secretary General. The Secretariat acts as the executive agent and provides secretariat services for other principal organs of the U.N. It arranges for and services the meetings of the organs and agencies of the United Nation.

In addition to six principal organs, the United Nations has about 18 specialised agencies such as the WHO, UNESCO, ILO, FAO etc. Besides, certain commissions are also associated with the UN such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees etc.

5.5.2 AN APPRAISAL OF UN'S ROLE IN MAINTAINING WORLD PEACE :

The UN was established with the sole aim of maintaining international peace and security, the pacific settlement of international disputes and the establishment of international co-operation. But an appraisal of the UN's role in maintaining world peace suggests that usually the UN came into the picture when the disputes assumed serious dimension and posed a real threat to world peace. The UN charter calls upon the member-states to settle their disputes through peaceful methods and only when the pacific methods proved insufficient, the General assembly and the Security Council are called upon to step in to maintain and perpetuate peace.

Even then, the United Nations has contributed directly or indirectly to the settlement of disputes which could otherwise have posed a serious threat to world peace. In fact, the fate of the United Nations in its role to maintain world peace has been a mixed one. If it failed in many cases, it has also dealt more or less successfully with many international disputes.

The U.N. was successful in restoring peace in the Middle East, Congo, Cyprus, Namibia, Cambodia etc. It is true that the U.N. has failed to handle some of the political disputes, but it would be unfair to blame the U.N. for these failures on the international scene. In reality, the U.N. has to function within certain limitations. The political and security issues are taken up from the cold war considerations and the power politics has failed the U.N. from becoming an effective instrument for world peace. Moreover, the provision of veto power enjoyed by the Five Big Powers is a great hurdle in the way of UN's maintaining world peace and security. No action can be taken by the Security Council without the unanimous consent of all Five Big Powers. Moreover, in case any of the Big Powers is an aggressor, no action can be taken against such action. The veto power is misused and hereby it has considerably weakened the U.N. The Big Powers impose certain rules upon others but exempt themselves from such rules. Again the Security Council does not possess any coercive power to punish the offending states. It also does not have its own forces and for that it has to depend on the member-states. The U.N. therefore, cannot come forward to help any victim of aggression. Moreover, the big powers have accumulated huge armaments and insist that the international organisations shall have no authority over them. They remain free to do as they like. In the near future, the U.N. can be expected to achieve world peace only if the member states, more importantly the

great powers are willing to support its peacemaking efforts. The success and failure of the United Nations would ultimately depend upon the interests and policies of the big powers.

5.6. INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION AND STATE SOVEREIGNTY

The International organisations are largely the result of treaties having voluntary nature of participation of sovereign states. But this doesnot mean that a state is bound to give up its sovereignty for the cause of institutionalising a world society.

An international organisation is composed of sovereign member-states and the decisions of such an organisation are binding on the member-states. As such, fear is expressed by certain quarters that the membership of such an organisation affects the sovereignty of the respective states. Moreover, state sovereignty of the respective states. Moreover, state sovereignty is restricted by the growth of international law and agreements legally contracted with other states. But such views have been challenged by thinkers who believe that the limitations imposed by international laws and treaties and conventions are not legally binding. Moreover, international organisations are the result of voluntary action and as such the limitation imposed by it are also self-imposed which are not legally binding and can be denounced by the sovereign states at its will. It can thus be stated that such restriction cannot be enforced by the state upon its citizens since it is not the product of sovereign power in the same sense as national law. In the ultimate analysis, each member state is the interpreter of its international obligations and maintains the right to determine its own standard of international conduct. However, most states recognise the need for a standard of international conduct based upon respect for the tenets of international laws and the requirements of comity of nations and good faith.

To sum up, it can be said that the relationship between state sovereignty and international organisations is not always conflictual. Rather, an effective international organisation requires able participation of member states that are willing to meet their obligations, formulating responsible positions and reaching meaningful decisions etc. States deficient in these respects are frequently pressed by involvement in international organisations to remedy their deficiencies and the agencies of the United Nations have attempted to give attention to building up capabilities of deficient states so that it does not create problems in realizing their sovereignty.

States, thus continue to remain the most important actors on the global stage, because international organisations are composed of member-states. Their decisions and recommendations are meaningless unless implemented by the member-states themselves. This is true of regional organisations as well. And even some international non-governmental organisations find it difficult to function without the support of one or more state, and so they seek to influence states, not to replace them.

5.7 CONCLUSION

From the above discussion, we find that international organisations are formed with the sole aim of preserving international peace and security and for promoting co-operation in all spheres of activity. We have also seen how the desire to prevent future devastations caused by wars resulting in the formation of the League of Nations and the United Nations. Though the League of Nations failed to fulfill its desired objectives and became obsolete, the United Nations continue to exist and is performing its activities efficiently to a large extent. Moreover, we have learnt that the functioning of international

organisations in no way has eroded the sovereignty of member-states who are the ultimate actors of the international system and preserve the final power of decision making with themselves. International organisations can function efficiently only with the active co-operation of the member-states.

In the next unit, we will discuss about Transnational / Multinational corporations and the state.

5.8 KEY WORDS

- **World Public Opinion** : It is the public opinion that transcends national boundaries and that unites members of different nations in a consensus with regard to at least certain fundamental international issues. The World Public Opinion effectively guards the interest of the humanity as a whole.
- **Collective Security** : Collective security is a collective measure for security. The basic objective of collective security is that an attack on one state would be regarded as an attack on all states. If any one state is attacked, all nations with their combined strength will face the aggression.
- **Cold War** : Cold war is not armed war but an ideological war. It is a state in which rivals while maintaining their peace time diplomatic relations continue their hostility. Both rivals use all means other than war to weaken each other.
- **Veto Power** : Constitutional right of a person / authority to reject something.

5.9 SUGGESTED READINGS

- Comparative Politics : Hans Raj
- International Relations : V.K. Malhotra
- International Relations : K.K. Ghai

5.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

- What is an International organisation ? Why are such organisations formed ?
- Discuss the causes for the failure of the League of Nations in the light of its working.
- Discuss the role of the UN in maintaining world peace.
- Discuss the relation between state sovereignty and international organisations. Do you think that there has been an erosion of state sovereignty as a result of membership of international organisations.

5.11 REFERENCES

- International Politics : L.S. Srivastava and V.P. Joshi and Relations
- International Relations : V.K. Malhotra
- Politics Among Nations : Hans Morgenthau

BLOCK- 5

Unit - 4

MULTINATIONAL – TRANSNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS AND THE STATE

STRUCTURE

- 5.1 INTRODUCTION
- 5.2 MULTINATIONAL/TRANSNATIONAL COMPANIES : MEANING
- 5.3 NATURE AND CHARACTERISTICS OF MNC'S
- 5.4 DECISION MAKING
- 5.5 TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER
- 5.6 EFFECTS OF MNC'S ON THE HOST NATIONS
- 5.7 MNC AND THE EROSION OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY
- 5.8 CONCLUSION
- 5.9 KEY WORDS
- 5.10 SUGGESTED READINGS
- 5.11 MODEL QUESTIONS
- 5.12 REFERENCES

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the preceding units you have learnt about regional integration and international organisations and their relation with the state. We learnt that regional organisations come into being to fulfil the common requirements and aspirations of the regions. Further, international organisations are formed to promote world peace and interdependence.

In this unit, we will learn about transnational and multinational corporations that have become the most powerful non-state entities and their relation with the state.

Objectives :

After reading this unit, you should be able to :

- know the distinct features of MNC's,
- develop an understanding of the impact of the presence of MNCs in host countries.
- Critically evaluate the relationship between MNC's and host countries.

5.2 MULTINATIONAL/TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS : MEANING

Multinational corporations or multinational firms are the firms that own control or manage production and distribution facilities in several countries. It can also be referred to as international corporations. The International Labour Organisation has defined an MNC as a corporation that has its management headquarters in one country, known as the home country, and operates in several other countries, known as host countries.

The MNC's expand business to different countries by establishing production plants which are under the supervision of the parent firm. MNCs may expand business through both

horizontal and vertical integration. In case of vertical integration, the subsidiary provides input to the parent which produces a final good. Oil companies are good examples of vertically integrated MNCs. To have control over the input or technology, MNCs integrate vertically. Again in case of other MNCs which are horizontally integrated, the subsidiary produces a similar good to that of the parent. The soft drink company is an example of horizontally integrated MNC. Here the subsidiary is a bottling company which produces pretty much the same product as the parent.

Some multinational corporations are very big, with budgets that exceed some nations gross domestic products (GDPs). MNC's play an influential role in the local economy, and even the world economy, play an important role in international relations and globalisation.

Similarly Transnational Corporations have also become some of the most powerful economic and political entities of the world today. Transnational Corporations (TNC's) refer to international organisations that transcend the idea of a nation-state and operates on a truly global level.

Transnational relations are defined as "contacts, coalitions and interactions across state boundaries that are not controlled by the central foreign policy organs of government. Examples of transnational entities are "multinational business enterprises and revolutionary movements; trade unions and scientific networks etc."

A Transnational Corporation differs from a traditional MNC in sense that it doesnot identify itself with one national home. While the traditional MNC's are national companies with foreign subsidiaries, TNC's spread out their operations in many countries sustaining high levels of local responsiveness. However, the terms TNC and MNC are often used interchangeably.

5.3 NATURE AND CHARACTERISTICS

Before going into a detailed discussion on the management practices of MNC's, it is essential to understand their nature and characteristics.

A firm is considered a multinational corporation (MNC) if it owns, in part or in whole, a subsidiary in a second country. High profile MNC's have many subsidiaries.

Multinational Corporations are important factors in processes of globalisation. National and local governments often compete against one another to attract MNC facilities, with the expectation of increased tax revenue, employment and economic activity. With the development of the process of globalisation across the world, the nature of multinational corporations has undergone a change. This is basically due to the initiation of new techniques taking place at the stage of production techniques within the arena of MNC's. Earlier, there was a clear boundary line between production activities being undertaken at the headquarters and secondary activities accruing in the subsidiary affiliates which is no longer in vogue in the contemporary times as the companies have been remodeled globally with the headquarters for the sake of strategic decision making. In present times, several new developments like the diversification of production activities, adoption of global marketing strategies with an emphasis on creating a uniform brand image, and recruitment of top management personnel from across the globe indicate beyond doubt the globalisation of MNC. It is in the background of unprecedented growth in the utter importance of MNCs that the political connotations of MNCs are often scrutinized.

The main features of MNCs can be classified as follows:

1. **Area of Operation :** MNCs operate in more than one country. The typical multinational corporation normally functions with a headquarters that is based in one country, while other facilities are based in locations in other countries. A MNC may operate both manufacturing and marketing activities in a number of countries.
2. **Origin :** The origin of MNC's dates back to several centuries, but their real growth started after the Second World War. Majority of the MNC's are from developed countries like the USA, UK, Japan, Germany etc. In recent years MNCs from countries like Korea, Taiwan, India, China etc are operating in the world markets.
3. **Comprehensive Term :** In general, the term 'MNC' is a comprehensive term and includes international and transnational corporations. In some circles, a multinational corporation is referred to as a multinational enterprise or a transnational corporation. The term global corporation is also included in the list of MNC.
4. **Profit Motive :** MNCs are profit – oriented rather than social-oriented. Their criteria for making decisions are profits to their shareholders who belong to many different states rather than national security or social welfare of the host country.
5. **Management :** In case of MNCs, the parent company works like a holding company. The subsidiary companies are to operate under the guidance and control of parent company. The subsidiaries function as per the policies and directions of parent organisations.
6. **Manufacture and Marketing Activities :** Generally MNCs operate in many product lines. Diversification

into various product lines was earlier confined to the MNCs from the US. But now MNCs of all countries have accepted product diversification as a corporate objective. Majority of the MNCs are engaged in pharmaceutical, petrochemicals, engineering, consumer goods etc.

7. **Quality Consciousness :** MNCs are quality and cost conscious and managed by professionals and experts. They have their own organisation culture and systems. MNC's believe in the concept of total quality management and for achieving this they lay emphasis on strengthening the realm of technology. They spend billions of dollars on research and development. They also possess management and marketing technologies.

The above are some of the characteristics of Multinational Corporations.

5.4 DECISION – MAKING AND MANAGEMENT PRACTICES OF MNC's

Generally, in an MNC, decision making in regard to all important matters, is centralized in the parent company. Hence, its subsidiary or affiliate will depend on the parent company for all its major decisions. This includes finance, technology, choice of products, choice of partner in the case of an affiliate, labour management, exporting and importing etc. In some cases, the parent company decides even the quality control of its products. This control is normally exercised through regular weekly, fortnightly, monthly and quarterly reportings. The higher the control, the greater is the frequency of reporting. This crucial feature of central decision making raises a number of issues to a host country and its government.

On the basis of decision making between the parent body and affiliates, MNC's are based on three different models.

In the first model the executive headquarter is placed in one nation while the production facilities are located in one or more other countries. This model often allows the company to take advantage of benefits of incorporating in a given locality, while also being able to produce goods and services in areas where the cost of production is lower. Another structural feature for an MNC is to base the parent company in one nation and operate subsidiaries in other countries around the world. With this model, just about all the functions of the parent are based in the country of origin. In this case, the subsidiaries function more or less independently.

A third approach to set up an MNC involves the establishment of a headquarter in one country that oversees a diverse conglomeration that stretches to many different countries and industries. With this model, the MNC includes affiliates, subsidiaries and possible even some facilities that report directly to the headquarters.

But irrespective of the models mentioned above, the division of authority between the parent company and subsidiaries depend on a variety of factors which include the size of the company, the extent of capital investment, the level of competitiveness in the environment, degree of technology, level of product diversification, competence of managers in host country etc.

5.5 TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER

Modern technology and managerial services and made available to enterprises established in different parts of the globe by multinational corporations. As a result, the productivity of these enterprises increases and resources are

optimally used. It is due to globalisation that technology has been transferred from developed countries to developing. The MNC's which flourished in this era of globalisation make available marketing services, especially export related marketing research, advertisement, spread of marketing informations, storage facilities, transport, packing designs etc. Local employees can learn about these things and the local economy can benefit from this new expertise.

The MNC's with their superior technology, professional, managerial competence make radical changes in the existing production system of the country. They can offer investment on research and development. These corporations apply innovations to underdeveloped countries through their subsidiaries. The MNCs import training to local employees in respect of modern techniques of production, marketing, financing, exports etc.

5.6 EFFECTS OF MNC's ON THE HOST COUNTRIES

Multinational Corporations have become very big and powerful. Some, for example, are worth more than the entire GDP of many countries. So MNC's can have an enormous effect, for good and for ill, on the countries they do business in, especially if those countries are small and poor.

Let us discuss the arguments for and against the operation of MNC's in host countries.

Arguments for MNC's (The positive role) :

1. MNC's bring in the flow of foreign capital into the host country in the form of foreign direct investment. The transfer of capital from developed to developing countries will be mutually beneficial. The flow of capital to poor countries will foster industrialization and

commercial development and the developed countries with their surplus capital will earn profit.

2. Multinationals apart from providing financial resources also transfer superior technology, entrepreneurial skill and new ideas to the host countries. These can be transferred to their local counterparts by means of training programs which in turn increases the productivity and return in these countries.
3. MNCs also contribute to filling the foreign exchange or trade gap. An inflow of foreign capital can reduce or even remove the deficit in the balance of payments if the MNC's can generate a not positive flow of export earnings.
4. The increasing sphere of MNC's activities in industrial and commercial spheres generate job opportunities for different categories of workers and there is greater use of available manpower in the host nations.
5. Apart from these, the MNC's bring several other benefits to the host countries such as;
 - (a) The domestic labour may benefit in the form of higher real wages
 - (b) The consumers benefit by way of lower prices and better quality products
 - (c) MNC's expenditures on research and development (R&D) is bound to benefit the host country.

There are also indirect gains through the realization of external economics.

Arguments against MNC's (The negative role) :

1. MNC's aggravate regional inequality in the host states. MNC's are interested in setting up industries in

particular regions and hence those regions develop rapidly and other regions remain under developed.

2. MNC's give more importance to the production of luxury goods than production of mass consumption goods. Thus, the scarce resources of the country are not put to optimum use.
3. Again, although MNC's provide capital, they also lower domestic savings and investment rates in the host country. MNC's often fail to reinvest much of their profits and may also encourage expansion of indigenous firms.
4. The management, entrepreneurial skills, technology and overseas contacts provided by the MNC's many have little impact on developing local skills and resources. Such technology may not be in conformity with the consumption needs, size of the domestic market of the host nations which may aggravate unemployment problem.
5. The working pattern of MNC's reveals that they do not engage in R and D activities in underdeveloped countries and try to retain control and shift R and D activities to the home countries. However, the host countries have to bear the bulk of their costs.
6. MNC may damage the host countries by suppressing domestic entrepreneurship through their superior knowledge, worldwide contacts and advertising skill. They drive out local competitors and inhibit the emergence of small scale enterprises.

5.7 MNC AND HOST COUNTRIES GOVERNMENT POLICIES : THE EROSION OF STATE SOVEREIGNTY

Multinational companies have become the most powerful and wealthy non-state actors. They are entities that owe allegiance to no single state, command allegiance from no single recognized people and do not assume administrative or judicial functions.

As we have already seen that multinational corporation is a corporation or enterprise that manages production establishments or delivers services in at least two countries. Large multinationals have budgets that exceed those of many countries. MNCs can also have a powerful influence in international relations and local economies.

MNCs have gained increasing prominence largely owing to the fact that foreign direct investment from MNC's can help promote and sustain developments in host countries in comparison to countries that choose not to encourage foreign direct investment from MNC's. States desiring to develop economically have therefore encouraged MNCs to integrate their economy with the global economy. And this has enabled the MNC's to gain an indirect influence upon the policies that a state may pursue. The multinational corporations are increasing and their powers both economic and political are accumulating as well. However, these institutions do not aim at providing public goods and are definitely not concerned about the welfare of citizens of the developing state where they have a subsidiary. The primary aim of multinational corporations is to maximise profits and keep the shareholders as well as the board of directors satisfied.

This is not to say that MNC's are becoming too powerful and are gaining more power than nation-states. It is

true that MNC's have accumulated a lot of economic power but this does not necessarily reduce the prominence of states.

The international system in which MNC's were created was originally state dominated. The earliest MNC's were state sponsored, e.g. the British East India Company. Gradually as MNC's evolved, they became less reliant on states to open up trade with other countries. They eventually grew large enough to initiate trade dialogue with other countries on their own. Moreover, at first MNC's had a technological advantage over domestic firms which allowed MNC's to dominate local markets and reap considerable profits. Over time the MNC's continued to evolve until now some MNC's specialize just in efficiently co-ordinating production within the international market. This explains the reason why power is shifting from states to market entities. And it is in this context that the power of multinationals should be reduced or at least stopped from accumulating. This can be ensured by a variety of measures which might include imposing strict rules and restrictions on MNC's. The imposition of such restrictions should be done on a unitary basis so that the MNC's do not withdraw their investments from those countries which will offer them optimally lowest level of regulations. Again it is also imperative to ensure that Multilateral Agreement on Investment is not passed. The fulfillment of these conditions will ensure that the power of multinational corporations is stopped from acceleration.

The multinational corporations, however, are vital for the economic growth of the developing world. Moreover, due to large economies of scale, MNC's would probably be able to deliver their products at relatively low prices to those who can afford them.

MNC's are the result of market imperfections. They supplement or compete with states, aggravate the power

discrepancies between the developed and the developing states but are not incompatible with states per se. Some recent developments, however, undermine, the ability of a state to retain its traditional attributes or carry out its traditional functions. But irrespective of this, non-state corporations, no matter how wealthy and powerful, need states to provide the essential infrastructure facilities they require, to grant the tax incentives they demand, to provide the docile labour, judicial services and social security that facilitate their operations. Moreover, no MNC or TNC is willing to accept responsibility for enhancing social equity or all round economic development, only states can do that and hence the state continues to remain the primary actor of international relations.

5.8 CONCLUSION

We have learnt from the foregoing discussion that Multinational Corporations are also known as transnational corporations. They manage their trading activities in a number of countries. The MNC normally functions with a headquarter that is based in one country, while other facilities are based in locations in other countries. The activities of these institutions have both positive and negative impacts on world economies, environment and society. Since the MNC's are undermining the sovereignty of a state and as such the status of a nation state needs to be elevated and strengthened as an effective means of loosening the position of MNCs.

5.9 KEY WORDS

- **Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) :** Investment in a foreign country where the investors retain control over the use of the invested capital.

- **MNC** : Firms that own, control or manage production and distribution facilities in several countries.

5.10 SUGGESTED READINGS

- B. Emmott “Survey on Multinational”, The Economist, March 27th, 1993.
- C. Tugendhat “The Multinationals”

5.11 MODEL QUESTIONS

- a. Discuss the meaning, nature and characteristics of MNC's.
- b. Evaluate the effects of MNC's on the host state. Do you think that there has been erosion of state sovereignty as a result of MNC's ?

5.12 REFERENCES

International Relations : V.K. Malhotra

BLOCK- 5

Unit - 1

STATE AND GLOBALISATION

STRUCTURE

5.1 OBJECTIVES

5.2 INTRODUCTION

5.3 MEANING OF GLOBALISATION

5.3.1 FEATURES OF GLOBALISATION

5.3.2 FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR
GLOBALISATION

C.Y.P. – 1

5.4 POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE IMPACTS OF
GLOBALISATION

5.5 GLOBALISATION AND ITS IMPACT ON STATE
SOVEREIGNTY

C.Y.P. – 2

5.6 CONCLUSION

5.7 KEY WORDS

5.8 SAMPLE QUESTIONS

5.9 REFERENCES

5.1 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you should be able.

1. To know the meaning and features of globalisation.
2. To identify the positive and negative consequences of globalisation.
3. To highlight the impact of globalisation on the sovereignty of the state.

5.2 INTRODUCTION

Globalisation as we all know is a process of growing interdependence between people of all nations. It is a process of international integration. Human interaction over long distances existed thousands of years ago. Global movement of people, goods and ideas expanded significantly in the early 19th century with development of new forms of transportation and telecommunication that seem to “compress” time and space. In the 20th century, road vehicles and airlines made transportation much faster as well easier than ever before. Electronic communication, most notably internet, connected billions of people in new ways. In the light of the growing impact of globalization world over, in this unit an attempt will be made to highlight the features and effect of globalisation. At the same time an effort will also be made to evaluate whether globalisation has led to the demise, the resurgence or the transformation of state power.

5.3 MEANING OF GLOBALISATION

Globalisation is a process of growing interdependence among people of all nations. A buzzword of the 21st century,

the term “globalisation” has acquired considerable force during the 1990’s.

The study on the meaning and content of globalisation should start with Roland Robertson, who could be said to be the father of globalisation. In his article, “Mapping the Global Condition”, he said that global culture is not the culture of a particular nation-state, say, U.S. or Europe, the culture of a nation-state cannot be global culture because it is homogenous and integrated.

Global Culture is therefore, necessarily a trans-societal culture which takes a variety of forms which have preceded the inter-state relations into which nation – states can be regarded as being embedded and processed which sustain the exchange and processed which sustain the exchange and flow of goods, people, information, knowledge and images which give rise to communication process on a global level.

Globalisation is so controversial because the term has different meaning for different people.

Globalisation has been considered by some quarters as the consequence of modernization. Anthony Giddens links modernization with globalization. For him modernization means a capitalist system, which is concerned with commodity production where there are social relations between the owners of private capital and non-owners who sell their labour for wages. The second feature of modernity is industrialism, third is nation-state and finally nation states power to surveillance. All these features of modernity are involved in the process of globalisation.

Globalisation can thus be defined as the intensification of worldwide social relations, which links distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shared by events occurring many miles away and vice-versa.

To be more precise, it is a gradual and ongoing expansion of interaction processes, forms of organisation and co-operation outside the traditional space defined by sovereignty.

It is a historical process which involves more than simple economic and other linkages between separate nation-states or national economics. It is analytically distinct from interdependence or international relations. The two denote growth in connections and linkages among sovereign states whereas the globalisation process involves the inter-penetration of people and ideas, not just the movement of goods and capital.

To talk about globalisation in the field of politics is to acknowledge that politics is no longer defined by national, legal or territorial boundaries. A stretching of the political process has occurred to the extent that decisions and actions in one part of the world can have world-wide repercussions. Associated with this is a deepening of the political process to the degree that developments can have global effects even at the local level. Finally, this stretching and joining have been supplemented by a broadening of politics in a sense that the growing array of issues which have surfaced on the international political agenda has been accompanied by the emergence of new kind of actors such as the NGO's, networks of human rights groups, citizen assemblies and international media.

The result is a "compression" of the world, and the corresponding diminution in the significance of the nation – state. By eroding the distinction between external and internal, globalisation invites the denationalization of the territorial space of state. In contrast to the territorial form of nation – state, globalisation conjures up images of overflowing rivers,

washing away all the frontier checkpoints and controls ultimately the bulwark of the nation – state.

Globalisation typically is seen as a process driven by economic and technological forces. However, its effects are not limited to these domain in other words, globalisation is not reducible to single logic e.g. capitalism. It refers to the pattern of growing global inter – connectedness across the different domains – social, economic, cultural, technological and political. Globalisation, therefore, requires a multi-casual explanation.

5.3.1. FEATURES OF GLOBALIZATION

- Globalisation includes the creation of new and the multiplication of existing social networks and activities that increasingly overcome traditional political, economic, cultural and geographical boundaries.
- Globalisation involves the integration of domestic economy with global economy. It involves opening up of the economy. It involves opening up of the economy to foreign capital, foreign investment, foreign technology and free competition.
- Globalisation involves a stretching of social, political and economic activities across political frontiers so that events, decisions and activities in one region of the world come to have significance for individuals and communities in distant regions of the globe e.g., civil wars and conflicts in the world's poorest regions increase the flow of asylum seekers and illegal migrants into the world's affluent countries.
- The growing magnitude of interconnectedness as a result of globalisation is in almost every sphere of social

existence from the economic to the ecological, from the activities of Microsoft to the spread of harmful microbes, such as the SRS virus, from the intensification of world trade to the spread of weapons of mass destruction.

- Information technology (IT) is an integral part of the process of globalisation. Technological innovations or technological transfer benefit most of the developing and Least Developing Countries (LDC's), as for example the advent of mobile phones, internet etc.
- Expansion of multi-national corporations (MNC's) is another feature of globalisation. These corporations have unique and empirical capacity to increase production and distribution.

Thus globalisation is characterized by shrinking space, shrinking time and disappearing borders. It has searing open the door to opportunities.

5.3.2 FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR GLOBALISATION

The major causes of emergence of globalisation are :

- **Policies of Liberalisation :** The adoption of the policies of liberalization by nation-states in the post-communist era accounted for the growth of globalisation. As a result, restrictions on international economic transactions were removed which paved the way to globalisation.
- **Technological Revolution :** Improvement of the means of transport and communication has converted the world into a global village. Jet air crafts, computers, satellites, internet, e-commerce and information

technology have served to remove frontiers of time and space.

- **New forms of Industrial Organisation :** New management techniques in industrial organisation has also accelerated the process of globalisation.
- **Failure of Soviet Socialist Model :** As a result of centrally planned economy, the Soviet Union and East European countries economies suffered a miserable sit back. Consequently, the communist system collapsed in these countries due to dismal economic performance, controlled markets and closed door policy. After the failure of the Soviet Socialist Model, all these countries adopted Western model of free market economy and policies of liberalisation and globalisation.
- **Example of Some Developing Countries :** The experiences of some of the developing countries also promoted the idea of globalisation. Countries like South Korea, Thailand, Malaysia, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore as a result of their extraordinary economic performances earned the name of ‘Asian Tigers’. These success stories of globalisation inspired other countries to get their economies globalised in due course.
- **Role of International Institutions :** Several international organisations namely WTO, the IMF and the World Bank as well as the ILO, the UNDP, the UNCTAD etc., have also created an international environment in which the process of globalisation got accelerated.

5.4 POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE IMPACTS OF GLOBALISATION

The impact of globalisation is visible in almost all sectors, in fact, the state system is also not left untouched. Openness is obvious in economic, social and cultural sectors under globalisation. At present no country can even think of development, keeping itself aloof from the globalisation process.

While some view globalisation as a process that is beneficial to world economic development, others believe that it increases inequality and creates problems. Globalisation in its essence has merits as well as demerits. Globalisation has proved to be beneficial to all countries and especially to developing countries. Its merits are as under;

1. **Beneficial to Developing Countries :** The globalisation has promoted economic equality and reduced poverty. The integration of the poor economics with richer ones has provided avenues to the poor people to improve their lives.
2. **Free Flow of Foreign Capital :** Globalisation encourages flow of foreign capital in the form of foreign direct investment, commercial borrowings, collaborations etc. There have also been major changes in industrial structure which have led to increases in the power, profits and productivity of those firms and corporations that have the capacity, human and capital resources to choose among many countries and suppliers for their sources of materials, production facilities and markets. Moreover, the flow of foreign capital is mutually beneficial for developed as well as underdeveloped countries. The developed countries earn profit with transference of

capital and in case of underdeveloped countries, investment in productive activities increase.

3. **Entry of Multinational Corporations :** Globalisation encourages entry of multinational corporations. These corporations have unique capacity to increase production and distribution with their superior technology. These corporations bring modern technology with them.
4. **Increase in Knowledge :** Rapid increase in knowledge through Globalisation provides a new potential for developing countries to grow faster. The knowledge explosion is driving technical change, which is changing the nature of global interaction and competition.
5. **Socio-economic Transformation :** Globalisation is not only an economic phenomenon. It is also a cultural and social phenomenon. It is found that due to globalisation, personnel in management and other superior positions will come to underdeveloped countries with their own life styles which will have a good influence on these societies.
6. **Growing competition across the globe :** Globalisation has led to growing competition across the globe. There are beneficial aspects that increase production & efficiency. Competition and increasing market space can lead to specialisation and an improved division of labour. There are also economies of scale and scope that have salutary effects on costs and prices which eventually provide a strong impetus for economic growth. Trade gains also accrue to a wider array of actors which include individuals, firms, nations, trading blocs and entire regions. Competition thus has relative gains for all parties, with the potential for increased production, output and higher wage levels and living standards, thereby improving human welfare and standard of living.

After discussing the merits, let us now discuss the evils of globalisation ;

The costs of globalisation can lead to conflicts at various levels, especially since many of the beneficiaries of globalisation have been the richer countries of the OECD. The result has not been convergence rather divergence of income worldwide, with rapid growth of economy , mainly Asian joining richer nation but with poor nations of Africa, Latin America and even some in East and Central Europe, slipping further behind.

Another consideration is that sovereign countries have lost control over their economies and that such control has shifted to more powerful countries, multinational firms and international financial institutions. The rationale behind this concern suggests that national sovereignty has been systematically undermined by globalisation.

A section of scholars consider globalisation as agency for dependency and neo-colonialism. At the same time, globalisation has non-economic effects that involve greater risk and costs. The globalisation of insecurity, for example, has become a source of regional conflict, sectarian violence and ethnic irredentism. There has been a proliferation of conventional weapons and weapons of mass destruction. Greater inter-connectedness is also raising new security threats stemming from and compounded by, for example, deficient energy and water supplies, illegitimate and autocratic regimes, terrorism, environmental impacts such as global warming and pandemics such as HIV/AIDS.

The critics are of the view that globalisation will lead the foreign countries to cut-throat competition. It will weaken political, social and economic independence. Multinational might be in a position to manipulate things to their advantage which will prove to be detrimental to the interests of poor

nations. By way of making use of improved and sophisticated technology in their production system, these corporations fix lower price for their own interest and thus compete out local producers. Once the indigenous industry is completely destroyed, multinational corporations retain full control over the market.

Apart from these, globalisation creates favourable and conducive conditions for all forms of particularization, localization and even fragmentation. The challenge posed by localization is serious. The interaction between global and local is also termed as hybridization of institutions or fragmentation of society. The developing countries of Asia and Africa are much scared of the expansion of globalisation. They consider it to be a new kind of imperialism which exercises its hegemony in the fields of economy and culture. The other part of this process is that globalisation in the long run would establish a uniform civil order. The end of this process is homogenization. By and large, the challenges of globalisation in all its different forms and manifestations will require greater co-operative efforts among major and emerging powers in full consultation and the participation of poorer developing countries.

5.5 GLOBALISATION AND ITS IMPACT ON STATE SOVEREIGNTY

The concept of sovereignty refers to the three-fold capacity of a state which is the “absolute supremacy over internal affairs within its territory, absolute right to govern its people and freedom from any external interference in the above matters”. So a state is sovereign provided it has the ability to make and implement laws within its territory, and can function without any external power and assistance. In the similar way, a state does not acknowledge any higher authority above itself in

the world of independent states. Thus from the above definition one can draw the conclusion that either a state can be sovereign or not, since sovereignty is defined as the absolute supremacy and right of the government in a given state.

Different theories are advanced to explain the meaning of globalisation : some of these appear simple and logical, while others merely seem to add to the confusion surrounding globalisation, debate about it has raised some serious questions about the viability of fiscal sovereignty, and therefore, the nation state.

A realist like Steven D. Krasner agrees on the collapsing autonomy of states but deny the impact of globalisation on nation state which could possibly lead to the death of state sovereignty. In this context he argues, "Those who proclaim the death of sovereignty misread the history. The nation state has a keen instinct for survival and has so far adapted to new challenges, even the challenge of globalisation". Furthermore he also argues that globalisation is not a new challenge or phenomenon but the question remains as to whether contemporary globalisation is likely to have different impact on the nation-state than that of the past. Because globalisation today distinguishes itself from that of the past in terms of rapid communication, market liberalization and the global integration of goods, services and production. In recent times, state sovereignty in many developing countries in the South has been severely reduced under the influence of globalisation and of increasingly detailed prescriptions from the International Financial Institutions (IFI's) and other external actors. Under the pressure from the IFI's and the new dispensation of the WTO, liberalization, privatization and structural adjustment policies have been imposed or adopted by many countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, thereby diminishing the economic role of the state in framing its

policies or setting its development goals. State sovereignty is no more absolute and non-state actors are playing significant role in national politics of states as well as in international politics. Economic policies of developing countries are being dictated by IFI's or by donor (developed) countries. These developments have resulted in dependency and the international marketisation of domestic economies wherein the movement of capital, goods and services are made dependent on the exterior factors as national barriers to investments and trade have been removed.

But opponents of this view argue that in present times no state can think of development keeping itself aloof from globalisation. According to them in the present scenario, change in the state system has become very important. It is a result of globalisation that now-a-days the democratic system has become stronger in comparison to the earlier ones. In the state people are given more freedom. In fact, a communist country like china is also on the track to have a liberal economic system.

The countries which are non-democratic and are ruled by militaries are also influenced by globalisation. In these countries also with the human freedom and global change are agreed to, accept for the developmental change. The state organisations are also liberal so that they can connect the influence of liberal economy and cultural openness with globalisation. Because of globalisation, the state organisations have now adopted the preventive measures, ensure economic system, administrative advantages and ensure freedom for more than a billion people of the country.

Moreover, the state continues to remain the most important authority in international relations that is accountable towards its population for dispensing justice and providing security. No other non-state actor how so ever powerful and

rich may it be performs welfare activities other than the state and as such the state continues to remain the most powerful actor in international relations.

5.6 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, globalisation comes with many challenges and has different facets but it is developing countries that have to confront many of the most difficult-to-manage risks relating to their integration into the global economy and global markets. A direct consequence of this is that globalisation exacerbates inequality, raising its political risks and widening already existing social cleavages. The challenge is to ensure an orderly transition to more competitive, less rent-seeking and rules – based economic systems, with more ready access to social assets, especially education and health.

5.7 KEY WORDS

- **Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)** : Investment made by the rich foreign countries in their subsidiary countries.
- **Multi-national Corporations (MNC)** : Corporations that manage and maintain their commercial activities in more than one country.
- **Neo-colonialism** : Indirect control exerted by rich countries over poor countries by controlling their economics.

5.8 SAMPLE QUESTIONS

- What do you mean by Globalisation ? What are the essential features of Globalisation ?
- Discuss in brief the merits and demerits of globalisation.
- What is the impact of globalisation on the sovereignty of nation states ?

5.9 REFERENCES

- International Relations – V.K. Malhotra
- Globalisation and World Politics – John Baylis,
Steve Smith

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress – (CYP – 1)

- Identify the causes for the growth of globalisation.

Check Your Progress – (CYP – 2)

- What are the positive effects of globalisation ?

BLOCK- 5

Unit - 2

REGIONAL INTEGRATION & STATE

STRUCTURE

- 5.1 INTRODUCTION
- 5.2 OBJECTIVES
- 5.3 MEANING OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION
 - 5.3.1 HISTORY OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION
 - 5.3.2 FORMS OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION
- 5.4 THE ROLE OF STATE IN REGIONAL INTEGRATION
- 5.5 RECENT REGIONAL INTEGRATION
- 5.6 PROBLEMS OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION
- CHECK YOUR PROGRESS
- 5.7 CONCLUSION
- 5.8 KEY WORDS
- 5.9 SUGGESTED READINGS
- 5.10 MODEL QUESTIONS
- 5.11 REFERENCES

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the preceding chapter, we have discussed globalisation and the state. We have learnt that globalisation is a process of growing interdependence among the people of all countries. In a broader sense, globalisation is the expansion and intensification of connections and movements of people, goods, capital, ideas and culture among countries. We have also studied the merits and demerits of globalisation. Apart from, we have studied the form of globalisation and the role of the state in the era of globalisation. In this unit, we shall discuss regional integration and state. The forces of globalisation have brought about significant changes in the relation among states. As a result, new trends have emerged in the relation among states. Regional integration is one of such trends. In this unit, we shall discuss in detail the regional integration and the role of state in it.

5.2 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will know,

1. What Regional Integration is and the compulsions of regional groupings.
2. about the forms of regional integration and
3. the role of the state in regional groupings.

5.3 MEANING OF REGIONAL INTERNATIONAL

Regional integration is a process by which states co-operate with one another through regional institutions and rules for the achievement of certain specific objectives. Such an integration is based upon location in a given geographical area

for safeguarding and promoting of the participants interests and is sanctified by a treaty or other arrangements.

To Bruce Russett, a region is constituted with a group of people having common characteristics such as social and cultural homogeneity, economic interdependence as evidenced from intra-regional trade, common political ideas, religion, moral values, class structure and common aspirations. However if statehood is to be protected, states need to seek co-operation and assistance from neighbouring or regional states. It is a political reality that a state can wield more power if it acts together with a group of states. That is why regional groupings take place within a region for promoting their common interest.

In short, regional integration is the joining of individual states within a region into a larger whole. The degree of integration depends upon the willingness and commitment of independent sovereign states to share their sovereignty. The objectives of regional integration could range from economic to political, although it has generally become a political economy initiative where commercial purposes are the means to achieve broader socio-political and security objectives.

The compulsions and consequences of regional groupings of states can be described as follows :

- A regional group acting together can have more military power with other groups of states.
- A visible regional grouping can command more commercial interests.
- A regional grouping gives them stronger negotiating power.
- A regional grouping can collectively defend a member state from any aggression.

- A regional grouping with different interests allows the states to trade or to sell their support for issues that are important to other members in exchange for support of issues that are important to themselves.

5.3.1 HISTORY OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION

The process of regional integration has been evolutionary. Though a few regional organisations came into being even before World War I and in the inter – war period (1918 – 1939), its growth became unprecedented, especially after World War II.

Prior to World War I, regional integration was practiced in a rather limited way in the Inter – American, the Balkan and the Baltic areas. During this period there was some progress towards economic regionalism which resulted in the formation of regional organisation. However, they lacked clear and precise definition and objective and were of a relatively minor nature.

During the interwar period (1918 – 39), a large number of regional arrangements came into being. However, most of them remained undeveloped and were never fully organized. Among these, mention may be made of the Little Entente, composed of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Romania and created shortly after the conclusion of war. It gradually developed into a broader political organisation and after 1933 came to approximate a close diplomatic confederation with definite organisational structures. There were many other attempts through agreements to form grouping of states in Eastern Europe and the Balkan area, but these attempts did not lead to any regional organisations.

In the U.S.A., the Inter-American System which formally began in 1889 had expanded steadily in both purposes

and machinery prior to World War II, but it had not explicitly accepted the principles of common defense or close economic co-operation. However, before 1939, Inter-American collaboration had been present in many areas of interest such as public health, trade, agriculture, education, child welfare and so on. There also existed an elaborate machinery for the promotion of these common interests. The Inter – American system could properly be regarded as a regional arrangement, even before World War II.

World War II brought unprecedented co-operation among the American Republics. They started co-operating in a number of areas including common defense, exchange of essential materials, finance and culture. The formation of the Organisation of American States (OAS) was the result of such co-operation.

In Western Europe, a large number of regional organisations, both economic and military were formed. The Benelux Union was formed by Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg to operate as a single customs union. Benelux Union represented the first official action of West European countries towards integration and it paved the way for more extensive moves in the same direction.

The organisation for European Economic Co-operation created in April, 1948 was the most comprehensive regional arrangement in Western Europe. The organisation aimed at promoting European economic co-operation, especially in matters of trade, international payments and movements of labour.

All these developments in regional integration were largely due to the crisis of the post-war order that led to the emergence of the new global political structure. This new global political structure made obsolete the classical Westphalian concept of a system of sovereign states to

conceptualise world politics. The concept of sovereignty becomes looser and the old legal definitions of an ultimate and fully autonomous power of a nation-state are no longer meaningful. Sovereignty has gradually lost meaning as power over the economy. All regional integration projects during the Cold War were built on the Westphalian state system and were to serve economic growth as well as security motives in their assistance to state-building goals.

North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), a regional defense organisation came into being on 4th April, 1949 when the representatives of twelve states signed the North Atlantic Pact in Washington.

East European rival to NATO, Warsaw Treaty organisation came into existence on 14th May, 1955. The signatories of the Warsaw Pact were the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Albania, Bulgaria & Romania.

Arab League is the first and the most comprehensive non-western regional organisation of the Middle East. It was formed in March 1945. All of the Arab states are the members of Arab League. In February 1955, a bilateral security pact was concluded between Turkey and Iraq, which turned into multilateral Baghdad pact when subsequently Britain, Pakistan and Iran subscribed to it. In March 1959, Iraq withdraw from the Baghdad Pact and thereafter it came to be known as the Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO).

Similarly in May 1963, the Organisation of African Unity was formed in the Addis Ababa Conference. The Conference passed proposals for African unity, mutual co-operation in different fields and end of imperialism in Africa. It is the most important and comprehensive regional organisation in Africa.

Similar attempts were made toward integration in South-East Asia and Asia-Pacific region. The formation of the South East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO) in 1954, Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 1967 and South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation (SAARC) in 1985 can largely be attributed to such attempts of economic and military co-operation.

Regional integration and globalisation are the two phenomena challenging the existing global order based upon sovereign states at the beginning of the 21st century. The two processes deeply affect the stability of the Westphalian state system, thus contributing to both disorder and a new global order.

5.3.2 FORMS OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION

The Cold War gave rise to many regional groupings or umbrella structure in all continents. Economic regionalism and security regionalism are two important trends. Economic organisations include European Union, ASEAN, Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation Forum, NAFTA etc. Security regionalism include groupings like NATO, WTO, CENTO, SEATO etc.

Examples of Economic Integration

- a. Association of South-East Asian States :** The ASEAN was established in 1967. Its immediate objective was economic co-operation growth and to promote regional peace and security.

The main objectives of ASEAN are :

- to accelerate economic growth, social and cultural development in the region.

- to promote collaboration in matters of common interest in economic, social, cultural and technical fields,
- to collaborate in the development of agriculture, trade, industry, transport and communication.
- to promote Southeast Asian studies.
- to promote regional peace and stability.
- to maintain close and beneficial co-operation with the existing international and regional organisation with similar aims and objectives.

Although its aims were directed towards economic co-operation, in the late 1960's there was a fear of communism spreading in the region from Vietnam. Political observers believed that the formation of ASEAN was designed to prevent communist influence in the region by making concerted efforts to exploit natural resources to improve the quality of life of people so that they did not become victims to the ideology of communism.

b. European Union : The European Union aimed at establishing a 'General Common Market' without competition. The purpose was to convert six nations or 'Little Europe' into an overall free trade area, in which common economic policies were pursued and there were no trade barriers. The following are objectives of the European Economic Community :

- To establish a free trade area for member states within the community
- To eliminate tariff restrictions on imports and exports among the member states,
- to adopt common trade and tariff policies with regard to the countries outside community.

- to provide free-movement of labour and capital within the community.
- to pursue common policies in regard to transport and agriculture and
- to equalize wage, social conditions, taxes and fiscal policies within the community.

Examples of Military Integration :

a.

5.4 POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE IMPACTS OF GLOBALISATION

The impact of globalisation is visible in almost all sectors, in fact, the state system is also not left untouched. Openness is obvious in economic, social and cultural sectors under globalisation. At present no country can even think of development, keeping itself aloof from the globalisation process.

While some view globalisation as a process that is beneficial to world economic development, others believe that it increases inequality and creates problems. Globalisation in its essence has merits as well as demerits. Globalisation has proved to be beneficial to all countries and especially to developing countries. Its merits are as under;

- 7. Beneficial to Developing Countries :** The globalisation has promoted economic equality and reduced poverty. The integration of the poor economics with richer ones has provided avenues to the poor people to improve their lives.

8. **Free Flow of Foreign Capital :** Globalisation encourages flow of foreign capital in the form of foreign direct investment, commercial borrowings, collaborations etc. There have also been major changes in industrial structure which have led to increases in the power, profits and productivity of those firms and corporations that have the capacity, human and capital resources to choose among many countries and suppliers for their sources of materials, production facilities and markets. Moreover, the flow of foreign capital is mutually beneficial for developed as well as underdeveloped countries. The developed countries earn profit with transference of capital and in case of underdeveloped countries, investment in productive activities increase.
9. **Entry of Multinational Corporations :** Globalisation encourages entry of multinational corporations. These corporations have unique capacity to increase production and distribution with their superior technology. These corporations bring modern technology with them.
10. **Increase in Knowledge :** Rapid increase in knowledge through Globalisation provides a new potential for developing countries to grow faster. The knowledge explosion is driving technical change, which is changing the nature of global interaction and competition.
11. **Socio-economic Transformation :** Globalisation is not only an economic phenomenon. It is also a cultural and social phenomenon. It is found that due to globalisation, personnel in management and other superior positions will come to underdeveloped countries with their own life styles which will have a good influence on these societies.
12. **Growing competition across the globe :** Globalisation has led to growing competition across the globe. There are beneficial aspects that increase production &

efficiency. Competition and increasing market space can lead to specialisation and an improved division of labour. There are also economies of scale and scope that have salutary effects on costs and prices which eventually provide a strong impetus for economic growth. Trade gains also accrue to a wider array of actors which include individuals, firms, nations, trading blocs and entire regions. Competition thus has relative gains for all parties, with the potential for increased production, output and higher wage levels and living standards, thereby improving human welfare and standard of living.

After discussing the merits, let us now discuss the evils of globalisation ;

The costs of globalisation can lead to conflicts at various levels, especially since many of the beneficiaries of globalisation have been the richer countries of the OECD. The result has not been convergence rather divergence of income worldwide, with rapid growth of economy , mainly Asian joining richer nation but with poor nations of Africa, Latin America and even some in East and Central Europe, slipping further behind.

Another consideration is that sovereign countries have lost control over their economies and that such control has shifted to more powerful countries, multinational firms and international financial institutions. The rationale behind this concern suggests that national sovereignty has been systematically undermined by globalisation.

A section of scholars consider iglobalisation as agency for dependency and neo-colonialism. At the same time, globalisation has non-economic effects that involve greater risk and costs. The globalisation of insecurity, for example, has become a source of regional conflict, sectarian violence and ethnic irredentism. There has been a proliferation of

conventional weapons and weapons of mass destruction. Greater inter-connectedness is also raising new security threats stemming from and compounded by, for example, deficient energy and water supplies, illegitimate and autocratic regimes, terrorism, environmental impacts such as global warming and pandemics such as HIV/AIDS.

The critics are of the view that globalisation will lead the foreign countries to cut-throat competition. It will weaken political, social and economic independence. Multinational might be in a position to manipulate things to their advantage which will prove to be detrimental to the interests of poor nations. By way of making use of improved and sophisticated technology in their production system, these corporations fix lower price for their own interest and thus compete out local producers. Once the indigenous industry is completely destroyed, multinational corporations retain full control over the market.

Apart from these, globalisation creates favourable and conducive conditions for all forms of particularization, localization and even fragmentation. The challenge posed by localization is serious. The interaction between global and local is also termed as hybridization of institutions or fragmentation of society. The developing countries of Asia and Africa are much scared of the expansion of globalisation. They consider it to be a new kind of imperialism which exercises its hegemony in the fields of economy and culture. The other part of this process is that globalisation in the long run would establish a uniform civil order. The end of this process is homogenization. By and large, the challenges of globalisation in all its different forms and manifestations will require greater co-operative efforts among major and emerging powers in full consultation and the participation of poorer developing countries.

5.5 GLOBALISATION AND ITS IMPACT ON STATE SOVEREIGNTY

The concept of sovereignty refers to the three-fold capacity of a state which is the “absolute supremacy over internal affairs within its territory, absolute right to govern its people and freedom from any external interference in the above matters”. So a state is sovereign provided it has the ability to make and implement laws within its territory, and can function without any external power and assistance. In the similar way, a state does not acknowledge any higher authority above itself in the world of independent states. Thus from the above definition one can draw the conclusion that either a state can be sovereign or not, since sovereignty is defined as the absolute supremacy and right of the government in a given state.

Different theories are advanced to explain the meaning of globalisation : some of these appear simple and logical, while others merely seem to add to the confusion surrounding globalisation, debate about it has raised some serious questions about the viability of fiscal sovereignty, and therefore, the nation state.

A realist like Steven D. Krasner agrees on the collapsing autonomy of states but deny the impact of globalisation on nation state which could possibly lead to the death of state sovereignty. In this context he argues, “Those who proclaim the death of sovereignty misread the history. The nation state has a keen instinct for survival and has so far adapted to new challenges, even the challenge of globalisation”. Furthermore he also argues that globalisation is not a new challenge or phenomenon but the question remains as to whether contemporary globalisation is likely to have different impact on the nation-state than that of the past. Because globalisation today distinguishes itself from that of the

past in terms of rapid communication, market liberalization and the global integration of goods, services and production. In recent times, state sovereignty in many developing countries in the South has been severely reduced under the influence of globalisation and of increasingly detailed prescriptions from the International Financial Institutions (IFI's) and other external actors. Under the pressure from the IFI's and the new dispensation of the WTO, liberalization, privatization and structural adjustment policies have been imposed or adopted by many countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America, thereby diminishing the economic role of the state in framing its policies or setting its development goals. State sovereignty is no more absolute and non-state actors are playing significant role in national politics of states as well as in international politics. Economic policies of developing countries are being dictated by IFI's or by donor (developed) countries. These developments have resulted in dependency and the international marketisation of domestic economies wherein the movement of capital, goods and services are made dependent on the exterior factors as national barriers to investments and trade have been removed.

But opponents of this view argue that in present times no state can think of development keeping itself aloof from globalisation. According to them in the present scenario, change in the state system has become very important. It is a result of globalisation that now-a-days the democratic system has become stronger in comparison to the earlier ones. In the state people are given more freedom. In fact, a communist country like china is also on the track to have a liberal economic system.

The countries which are non-democratic and are ruled by militaries are also influenced by globalisation. In these countries also with the human freedom and global change are

agreed to, accept for the developmental change. The state organisations are also liberal so that they can connect the influence of liberal economy and cultural openness with globalisation. Because of globalisation, the state organisations have now adopted the preventive measures, ensure economic system, administrative advantages and ensure freedom for more than a billion people of the country.

Moreover, the state continues to remain the most important authority in international relations that is accountable towards its population for dispensing justice and providing security. No other non-state actor how so ever powerful and rich may it be performs welfare activities other than the state and as such the state continues to remain the most powerful actor in international relations.

5.6 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, globalisation comes with many challenges and has different facets but it is developing countries that have to confront many of the most difficult-to-manage risks relating to their integration into the global economy and global markets. A direct consequence of this is that globalisation exacerbates inequality, raising its political risks and widening already existing social cleavages. The challenge is to ensure an orderly transition to more competitive, less rent-seeking and rules – based economic systems, with more ready access to social assets, especially education and health.

5.7 KEY WORDS

- **Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)** : Investment made by the rich foreign countries in their subsidiary countries.
- **Multi-national Corporations (MNC)** : Corporations that manage and maintain their commercial activities in more than one country.
- **Neo-colonialism** : Indirect control exerted by rich countries over poor countries by controlling their economics.

5.8 SAMPLE QUESTIONS

- What do you mean by Globalisation ? What are the essential features of Globalisation ?
- Discuss in brief the merits and demerits of globalisation.
- What is the impact of globalisation on the sovereignty of nation states ?

5.9 REFERENCES

- International Relations – V.K. Malhotra
- Globalisation and World Politics – John Baylis,
Steve Smith

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress – (CYP – 1)

- Identify the causes for the growth of globalisation.

Check Your Progress – (CYP – 2)

- What are the positive effects of globalisation ?
